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THE ENJOYMENT OF ART IN AMERICA

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Plate 1

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THE ENJOYMENT OF ART IN AMERICA

A SURVEY OF THE PERMANENT COLLECTIONS OF PAINTING, SCULPTURE, CERAMICS & DECORATIVE ARTS IN AMERICAN AND CANADIAN MUSEUMS: BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE MASTERPIECES OF ART FROM PREHISTORIC TO MODERN TIMES

By

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Introduction by

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To the memory of A. S.

Acknowledgments

THIS volume owes its existence to the generosity of our art museums without whose ready co-operation and active encouragement so ambitious a project could not have been undertaken. It was most gratifying to encounter a warm enthusiasm among museum authorities, and it is a pleasure to record that of more than one hundred museums approached for assistance none refused the fullest co-operation.

In expressing their appreciation to the museum authorities who have given unstintingly of their time the authors wish to thank particularly Dr. George H. Edgell, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Dr. Francis Henry Taylor, Director, and Dr. Horace H. F. Jayne, Vice-Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. David E. Finley, Director, and Mr. H. A. McBride, Administrator of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Mary D. Benson, Curator of the Bache Collection; Mr. Morris Carter, Director of the Gardner Museum; Mr. Daniel Catton Rich, Director of the Art Institute of Chicago; Dr. John Ellerton Lodge, Director of the Freer Gallery; Mr. Blake-More Godwin, Director of the Toledo Museum of Art; Mrs. Juliana R. Force, Director of the Whitney Museum; Director Fiske Kimball and Dr. Marceau of the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Dr. Frederick Mortimer Clapp, Director of the Frick Collection; Dr. Walter Heil, Director, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum; Dr. Charles F. Martin, President of the Montreal Art Association; Mr. H. O. McCurry, Director of the National Gallery of Canada; Mr. Martin Baldwin, Director of the Art Gallery of Toronto; Dr. Paul J. Sachs, Associate Director and Miss Margaret E. Gilman, Secretary of the Fogg Art Museum; Mr. Edgar C. Schenck, Director of the Honolulu Academy of Arts; Dr. Maurice Block, Curator of the Huntington Art Gallery; and all other museum officials too numerous to mention, who have materially helped to bring this project to its final realization.

Any attempt to cover, even superficially, so vast a field as that encompassed by the text, would have been presumptuous and impossible of achievement had it not been for the advice freely bestowed and the patient care with which various parts of the manuscripts were read by various authorities. To Dr. John Shapley the authors are deeply grateful for his continuous aid and advice; to Dr. Horace H. F. Jayne, Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Professor Arthur Upham Pope, Dr. Phyllis Ackerman, Dr. Léo Bronstein, Dr. George H. Edgell, Dr. Maurice S. Dimand, and Mr. George H. McCall, who generously gave of their time and knowledge in making corrections and suggesting revisions, though in no case are they to be held responsible for statements made or errors that may have occurred, the authors are also greatly indebted.

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The illustrations in this volume represent a series of compromises, first, between those examples of art works that were especially desirable and those that were available for illustration purposes. Among the accessible plates some balance had to be achieved between undersized halftones and large handsome examples which, however, were not always as characteristic or illustrative of significant developments as might have been desired. Finally, the problem was always present of choosing between oft-reproduced but essential masterpieces and art works

that are less than great but which constitute the ranking pride of some smaller, progressive gallery. The illustrations are largely conditioned by these three sets of alternatives and the choices inevitably imposed in an attempt to reconcile them. While certain aspects may have suffered thereby, it is to be hoped that the total result is not without certain other compensations.

Size of plate, then, cannot be taken as a measure of importance. Some of the contemporary Americans, for example, who may quite likely be little more than catalogue names two or three decades hence, have been included in large plates because they strongly interest museum directors and visitors today; and since this volume is intended to reflect the scope and proportions of our museum collections, it must hazard the same pitfalls that beset their groping progress. Finally, while certain museums could not be represented in the present volume, their work deserves the greatest commendation, for these museums are placing the bulk of their income not on the easy choice of old masters but on the works of little-known contemporary artists who continue to prove that our own creative traditions are very much alive.

Acknowledgments for the plates will be simplified if it is stated that in every case museums supplied the halftones of objects reproduced from their collections, except where plates were borrowed of items illustrated in loan collection catalogues; among the museums who lent plates of works belonging to other institutions, the authors gratefully list the following: Albright Art Gallery, Brooklyn Museum, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Carnegie Institute, Fogg Art Museum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Middle American Research Institute, Mills College, Philadelphia Museum of Art, University of Minnesota, Walters Art Gallery and Rhode Island School of Design Museum.

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Introduction

IN 1938 the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston planned an extensive loan exhibition of medieval art to be held in the following winter. By the autumn of 1939 the world was at war and it was impossible to borrow works of art from Europe. The museum staff considered abandoning the scheme entirely but decided to spurn defeatism and hold an exhibition derived entirely from American sources. It was felt that if lenders would be generous, there was material enough in America for a great exhibition. The lenders were generous and the result was one of the great exhibitions of medieval art. Even the technical experts were amazed to find how rich America was in medieval works.

If the display was astonishing to experts, one can well imagine how little the public realized the wealth of America in works of art, not only medieval, but from all epochs. The authors of this volume were among the few who recognized the wealth of American treasures and the need of a book which would serve as a guide to the best works of art in America.

This book is particularly opportune at a time when Americans cannot travel abroad and seek out the masterpieces in Europe, in the Near East and in Asia. We must rely on what we have, and rejoice in the fact, so beautifully revealed in this book, that we have so much.

As a museum director, I cannot but rejoice also in the revelation which this book affords of the work being done by the museums of the United States. The institutions in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore and similar large cities are well known. The public little realizes, however, how many other art museums there are in the United States and Canada, and how active they have been. Not only have they been steadily acquiring and exhibiting masterpieces, but they have rendered public service in education and as centers of information.

The last few years have seen extraordinary activity in acquisition. Owing to the war, many masterpieces, which otherwise would have remained abroad, have come to this country, some as refugees, their owners hoping that they may in time return to their homes. Others have come to remain permanently, and these are recorded in the book.

The appearance of *The Enjoyment of Art in America* is highly opportune. In time of war, art is even more vital than in time of peace. European experience has

proved this. The attendance in the National Gallery in London has been greater in the last few years than ever before. The attendance in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, for the first six months of 1942, corresponding almost exactly to the period of America's entry into the war, has been the greatest in the history of the museum. In an age of madness, when the forces of good are locked in a death grapple with the forces of evil, art reveals that the world once was sane and beautiful, and will be so again. It offers a vital encouragement in the struggle that must end in the triumph of light.

The public and, I feel, posterity, will owe a deep debt of gratitude to the authors who have opened the eyes of America to the splendid art masterpieces that we have, and pointed the way to the spiritual satisfaction and enjoyment that is needed in the world now as never before.

G. H. EDGELL,
Director, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts

Authors' Preface

IN TIME of war and in peace, as a stimulus and as a fortifying respite, the arts have traditionally served to soothe and console, to refresh and restore the spirit of man. Today, in a very real sense, these expressions of man's unfettered and free-ranging creative genius may be raised aloft as the symbols, more concrete than any speech or slogan—the very banners, under which all free men are rallied. For both these reasons and because America is dedicated to the preservation and extension of man's free spirit, the moment is altogether appropriate to take stock of the cultural and spiritual resources on our side of the Atlantic. For these masterpieces constitute the tangible evidence of that heritage in which all free nations share and which we are pledged to keep alive and intact from the bonfires of pure Aryanism. Moreover, such a survey of the treasures of our art museums, illustrating the genius of all men in whatever lands beyond the sea as well as at home, should serve especially to fortify our own democratic sympathies, for of these we shall have need in ever-increasing measure during the coming years of war and its aftermath.

While no one book can show more than a small fraction of all the works of art assembled in our public galleries, it should be possible within the covers of a single volume to offer a comprehensive view of these human documents, symbols of other cultures which we are determined to safeguard.

If the war has precipitated such cultural inventories generally, the long-felt need of a survey in the field of art actually antedates the present conflict. It is a curious fact that while a great many American tourists were flocking to the museums of Europe during the past decades, European scholars were turning their attention to the art wealth of this country. They knew that for several generations, priceless treasures, some purchased, others excavated and secured as a share of important archeological findings, had made their way into American collections and museums. So steady, indeed, had been the influx of art into this country, that a survey of Britain's art collections was undertaken a few years ago, largely because England was expressing the fear that too many masterpieces had been carried across the Atlantic. Similarly, one of Italy's foremost art authorities went to three-volume length to discuss the masterpieces of Italian art to be found in America. A dozen like publications covering other schools of art attest to the fact that Europe has long suspected what many of us are only just discovering.

Since the outbreak of the war America has become increasingly aware that her

museums are stored with art treasures which rival and often surpass those in Europe. Three exhibitions held during 1940 served generally to drive home this point: the display called *Arts of the Middle Ages* held in Boston; *Six Thousand Years of Persian Art* organized by the Iranian Institute in New York, and finally, the 1940 *World's Fair Art Exhibit.* All three had been planned with the intention of borrowing a great deal of material from abroad, but with the declaration of war in Europe, the organizers were forced to fall back upon loans from American museums, dealers and private collectors.

The significance and scope of the materials assembled for the exhibitions from exclusively American sources astonished even the specialists who agreed that the displays compared most favorably with those held in former years, which had borrowed heavily from European sources. Moreover, the Persian Exhibition was acknowledged superior in many respects to the Burlington House Exhibition held in London in 1931, when all of Europe and the Near East had participated.

One other circumstance has served particularly to make the general public aware of the phenomenal growth of America's art collections. The art of Europe and Asia, which came to these shores in exchange for the hard cash of industrialists and merchants, has been rapidly finding its way into our public museums, while many of the great private collections are being thrown open to the public. The Frick, Nelson, Bache, Mellon, Kress and Bliss collections are scattered, if magnificent, examples of this progression; others, like the Widener Collection, continue to follow the same trend. It is interesting to note in this connection the statement made by a member of the Widener family on the occasion of the gift of the Widener Collection (ultimately destined for the National Gallery of Art): "The days of America's privately owned treasure houses are over. They are gone with the wind as inevitably as the great Southern plantations of before the Civil War. . . . Today there is a general and salutary leveling of extravagance to safeguard this great heritage of ours, America. We feel that such a gift to the nation is one small step in the disarming of those individuals and ideologies that are foreign to the American way." Summary evidence of this trend is revealed by a book entitled *Old World Masters in New World Collections,* published about a decade ago, to offer the American public "a glimpse at otherwise inaccessible treasures in private collections." Today most of the paintings described and illustrated in that volume hang in our public museums.

As a result of these donations and bequests to the public museums, the general cultural resources of America have been immeasurably enriched, and many of our museums have become internationally important. Moreover, while some of the American museums rival those of Europe in several fields of Western art, they have surpassed them in assembling magnificent collections of Near and Far Eastern art. According to Benjamin March, late curator of Oriental Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, "There can be little doubt that the Asiatic art collection of the Boston

Museum, *taken as a whole,* is the most important in the world under one roof."

While some of the American museums have risen to important position more recently, as their collections increased in scope and quality, others have enjoyed international prestige for many years. Aside from such "Louvres" as the National Gallery in Washington, and the Metropolitan Museum, a great many museums throughout the country have specialized in one particular field of art, so that some of their collections are hardly excelled anywhere. The English paintings at the Huntington Gallery in San Marino, California; the Flemish paintings of the Johnson Collection now housed in the Philadelphia Museum; the Asiatic collections of the Freer Gallery; the Oriental textiles of the Moore Collection in the Yale University Gallery of Fine Arts; the decorative arts of the Cooper Union; the modern French paintings at the Art Institute of Chicago; the medieval rooms of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore; the Byzantine treasures at Dumbarton Oaks; the Gothic Tapestries and sculptures at the Cloisters in New York; the Chinese ceramics at the Fogg Museum—these and a score of other collections are evidence of an astonishing transition from our old dismal galleries full of plaster casts and third-rate European masters. The knowledge of experts, the discriminating taste of collectors and the wise administration of private and public funds are enabling American museums to show their public the full panorama of European, Asiatic, African and American cultures.

While a not inconsiderable portion of Europe's art treasures have been transported across the Atlantic and incorporated in our own collections, it is well to recognize that the Parthenon, the frescoes in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, or the Cathedrals of Rouen or Chartres must forever remain on the site of their creation. Similarly, there is little in this country to match the great body of Italian Renaissance masterpieces scattered throughout Europe. But for the great majority of Americans the treasures housed in our own museums are of equal significance, because even in times of peace and security the art works in foreign lands are beyond the reach of the average student and museum visitor, whereas on our own shores even the humblest person is within stone's throw of some equally brilliant display of art which is freely offered by our museums every day in the year.

The development of our American museums is a story into which may be woven the social and cultural evolution of the American people. It is a story that must be reserved for other telling, but it will surely include an account of American clipper ships returning home from the Orient with curious and fascinating bits of carved ivory and images of pagan gods cast in bronze; it will speak of those rugged captains of industry who blackened the sky with the soot of their factories and, having flung ugly structures across the American horizon, turned to Europe for a pastoral landscape of smiling skies or a serene Madonna; and finally it will treat of an economic revolution and of beautiful museum structures emerging from a welter of unsightly red-brick store fronts, billboards and sprawling warehouses.

AUTHORS' PREFACE

Keeping pace with the newly-constructed buildings, there has developed a new science of museum management; this has, in turn, shifted emphasis on the interests of all the people with the result that Americans are taking to their museums as they took to the movies. Curators are vying with each other in an effort to exhibit the great art treasures more dramatically, and the public has been responding by flocking to the museums in ever-increasing numbers. The dance recital, the film, music and drama as well as history, geography, economics and literature have been flowing out of the gallery halls into correlated study classrooms as adjuncts to the museum collections. From being a "mausoleum of relics where old men came and sat practising for the grave," the American museum has become a lively center of interest not only for adults but also for school children—the Toledo Museum being the first in the world to admit children unaccompanied by adults.

Other museums have lost little time in following suit: into storage rooms and basements has gone much of the material that had outlived its usefulness, while the important items are being highlighted in a manner so vivid that plain folk come again and again to see and enjoy those things which have hitherto been the special concern of the student and esthete. Turnstile attendance has shown that forty, fifty and sixty percent of the city populations are visiting their local museums annually; cab drivers and factory workers are twiddling their Sunday caps and privately making up their minds about the pictures they like best.

Fortunately the American mind has always been given to clear, vivid images. This aptitude for visual instruction is utilized to the fullest extent by museum directors who seek to display their treasures from the layman's present-day point of view. Thus an exhibition like "Glamour Secrets of the Ancient World" brings not only the student and housewife, but the beautician, cosmetic salesman and manufacturer to admire the cosmetic spoon, three thousand years old, carved in the form of a dancing girl, or the symmetrical beauty of a Grecian lady's hairdress. It is this practice of the museums to display their contents in a manner calculated to attract the average citizen which elicited the following tribute from a European art authority:

"European museums aim at collecting and exhibiting works of art. In America you have added to this fundamental object . . . the interpreting of what is so collected to the public and the attracting and taking care of that same public *in order to make the museum itself the cultural center of the community,* by connecting it ultimately with all the arts and sciences and with education. Here, it seems to me, is America's greatest contribution to the science of museum practice."

The doors of our museums are wide open and the public has a full opportunity to discover and enjoy the world of art. The trail leads from Vancouver and Seattle to San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego; from Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal to Boston, Worcester, Hartford and New York; from Washington to Atlanta and New Orleans; throughout the vigorous Mid-west: Cleveland, Toledo, Indianapolis,

St. Louis, Kansas City and Milwaukee; along the great highways that run through the United States and Canada, and along many unexpected byways.

If there is any renaissance in the realm of art in America, it lies not so much in the creation of a native art, for that has been slowly evolving these past seventy-five years. Rather is it to be detected in the museums and among the masses of the people. One may see its reflection in restaurant murals, post offices and kitchen gadgets. All of these have their inception in the museum turnstiles. People are now avidly seeking out all the sources of beauty that lie about them, anxious to have clarified the genius and temper of older civilizations and to borrow whatever may be transmuted into present-day use. Perhaps fundamentally their desire is to grasp from out of the confusion and distracting urgencies of living some momentary vision that will illuminate the meaning of their own existence. Others recognize in the arts an opportunity to intensify their experiences, to instruct their perceptions, to refine their visual response to the world about them and to refresh their faded or wearied spirits. Above all, the museum remains the ideal "people's university" wherein may be developed that temper of mind, that sympathy with and understanding of other peoples, so essential to a working democracy.

This book is intended as a guide to the various schools and periods of art; not only to Western painting which recent years have seen so widely popularized, but to those neglected masterpieces: the strange but beautifully expressive sculpture of Asia; the curious shapes of things made by the ancient peoples of North and South America; the exquisite products of the loom and the potter's wheel and the silversmith's mallet; the graceful sweep of the Oriental's ink-brush, or again, the period rooms wherein may be recaptured the mood and character of an age gone by. It will illustrate the works of art produced in every major period, in the hope that many fine examples of truly great art which have hitherto been neglected by students and museum visitors will bid for equal attention with the more publicized works of well-known masters. In time of war, even more than in peace, the need for spiritual communication with other lands and earlier epochs, for a "community of memory and hope," must not be denied.

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THE ENJOYMENT OF ART IN AMERICA

I
Art of Ancient Egypt

OUR modern culture, which we usually speak of as "European" or "Western," actually had its birth in the highlands and fertile valleys of the Near East. In the valleys of the Nile, and of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in Mesopotamia, there arose the first great civilizations and the first great art. Both regions were old in culture when the men of Europe were still groping in the half-savage existence of the New Stone Age. It was from the East that there gradually filtered into the West the knowledge that helped mankind to triumph over his environment, to establish his superiority over the brute world.

It would be impossible to enumerate here all that the West inherited from the East. Most important are the use of metals and the art of writing. When man exchanged his clumsy stone weapons and tools for those of keen-edged metal, he found a new security against wild beasts and human enemies, a new efficiency in hunting and fighting, and providing shelter against the elements. He could also perfect the techniques of art. When he learned to write and read, he became an historical being: the past was his to use, the future his to shape. Along with these two great gifts came others—the science of navigation, the rudiments of astronomy, the calendar which divided time into years, months and days, the beginnings of medicine. Out of the East came many skills, such as glass-making and the weaving of patterned textiles; the fabulous monsters and heraldic animals of ancient Mesopotamia journeyed far through time and space to adorn the cathedrals, textiles and coats of arms of Medieval Europe, and from there entered the repertory of Western ornament.

Long before the fall of Rome, the source of this great inheritance was forgotten in the West, if, indeed, it had ever been consciously realized. Yet the ancient civilizations of the East were always part of the lore of Western men. To the Greek historian, Herodotus, writing in the fifth century B.C., the early history of Egypt and Babylonia, even the more recent history of Assyria was already ancient history, and it is not to be wondered at, if, in his account, fact and fable were occasionally strangely tangled. Medieval Europe learned of the past from the classics or rather chiefly from later Latin authors who badly distorted what the older authors had written. Yet, in their often fantastic accounts, and even more in the record handed down through the Bible, the splendor of the ancient East was still living for Western men. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, occasional travelers brought back

tales of monuments of heroic size and grandeur, still standing in witness of the fabulous past described in ancient books. But it was not until the beginning of modern archeology in the nineteenth century that any exact knowledge of the history and civilization of the ancient East came to the West that was heir to so much Eastern culture.

The land of Egypt is a narrow strip of fertile land watered by the Nile. On either side it is hemmed in by waterless desert, which crowds the arable land into a space about ten miles in width on either shore of the river. Many thousands of years ago the desert was well watered and inhabited by men who lived by hunting. During the last glacial period, however, the rains failed, the country gradually dried up, and men and animals in search of life-giving water moved into the valley of the Nile, then a region of marsh and jungle.

It is impossible to state just when all this happened. All that can be said with certainty is that probably by 5000 B.C., the Nile valley was inhabited by a settled, agricultural people, who had learned to store up grain for food and seed, had evolved a primitive system of irrigation and possessed flocks and herds of domesticated animals; they wove garments of linen cloth, were skilled in basketry and the making of pottery and fashioned well-finished tools, weapons and utensils out of stone.

All these things—and more—are revealed by the countless graves found and recorded by modern archeologists. The custom, early established, of burying the dead at the rim of the desert, safe in the preservative of the dry sands, has conserved a record of the civilization that antedates the earliest written history of Egypt. With the dead were buried things used in daily life—pots and baskets, tools, weapons and articles of adornment which help the archeologist piece together the story of the civilization of the men that used them.

Most of our leading museums possess many objects from prehistoric Egypt. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the Peabody Museum, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Brooklyn Museum, the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, the Field Museum in Chicago, and the Museum of the University of California in Berkeley all have impressive collections in this field, and most of the smaller museums possess examples.

Outstanding in these collections is the pottery. Some of it is undecorated, plain red or red with tops burned black in the ashes. Included in this group are pieces of almost perfect symmetry, molded without the aid of a wheel, thin and fine and burnished to a soft polish. Other types are decorated. Geometric designs painted in white on red or black bodies are followed by ornament of animal and plant motifs, Nile boats, primitive edifices, and, more rarely, human beings. We have been able to deduce that already long before the dawn of history, the Egyptians had an organized community life, that the communities were consolidated into a form of centralized government and, most important of all, that there existed the great

religious concept of man's immortality, which was to have so profound an effect on Egyptian life and Egyptian art.

Buried with the dead, in addition to pottery, are stone tools and weapons and stone vessels, some of them of extraordinarily fine workmanship. A number of examples exist of flint knives, the ivory handles of which are ornamented with finely drawn animals. One of the most remarkable of these, now in the Brooklyn Museum, shows accurately rendered, minute animals in rows covering the surface. Slate palettes on which to mix the paints with which the early Egyptians, like so many primitive peoples, decorated their bodies, are found in most collections. Some are skillfully wrought in the form of animals, birds or fish. Ivory combs and hairpins with tops similarly ornamented, bone, ivory or shell bracelets, ivory beads, stone beads, sometimes semi-precious, and strings of shells, tell of an ancient love of adornment. In the early graves are only scattered objects of metal (a few beads, a few minor objects fashioned from copper accidentally smelted), for the mining and smelting of metals was still unknown.

The predynastic graves have also yielded the first attempts at sculpture, small figures of men and women carved in wood, ivory or bone or modeled in clay. Whether these were magical figures—"good luck" pieces—or whether they represented divinities or first attempts at portraiture, is difficult to say. Some of the female figures were undoubtedly fertility goddesses; some were perhaps servants or wives to serve the dead in the world beyond the grave.

The written history of Egypt begins with the great king, Menes. This king, under whom the country is said to have been finally united, was long thought by scholars to be a mythical character. But objects bearing his name have been found in the burial grounds of Abydos, and he has taken his place as an established historical personage, possibly, as tradition holds, the first king of united Egypt. Just when the union was accomplished is not entirely certain. Most modern scholars place the date about the middle of the fourth millennium before Christ.

On the basis of later Egyptian records the entire subsequent history of Egypt has been divided into three main periods:

The Old Kingdom	(1st to 6th dynasty)	3400-2475 B.C.
The Middle Kingdom	(11th-12th dynasty)	2160-1788 B.C.
The New Kingdom	(18th-20th dynasty)	1580-1100 B.C.

The first two dynasties of Egyptian history, beginning with King Menes, are a transition period, during which the civilization of prehistoric times was developed and foundations were laid for the cultural progress of the future. These dynasties are sometimes treated as a separate period, called "proto-dynastic" or "archaic." They witnessed important innovations: for the first time writing appears, so advanced,

however, that it must have had its beginning in the prehistoric epoch. For the first time, too, we have remains of what can justly be called architecture. The predynastic graves were covered simply with a mound of gravel. Now such graves become chambers roofed over with wood and protected by a superstructure of brick walls. It was an easy step from such structures to the brick tomb with sloping sides and flat top called *mastaba* by the Arabs. Mastaba tombs remain a constant feature during the Old Kingdom, though later they become more elaborate, decorated inside with painted or sculptured scenes.

The first two dynasties also saw the rich development of relief sculpture. Slate palettes of the early dynastic kings, such as the famous palette of Narmer, the Serpent King, in the Cairo Museum, are of hieratic beauty and great technical perfection. Sculpture in the round remains crude, but is often vigorous. The sculptures and other works of art show that in the first two dynasties the religious thought and the artistic conventions that had come into being during the long, slow growth of the predynastic period, began to assume the shape that was to influence life and art throughout the rest of Egyptian history. This does not mean that either life or art was frozen into immutable form: Egyptian art, in spite of its often rigid adherence to formulae of dress and pose, is no meaningless repetition; every great period has something new and vigorous to offer.

The age of the pyramid-builders, which begins with the third dynasty, about 3000 B.C., shows such sudden development that it seems to verify the tradition that its art was in the first instance inspired by a single outstanding genius, Imhotep, the architect-physician of King Zoser. For Zoser, Imhotep built the first of the pyramids—the step pyramid of Saqqara. This was not a true pyramid but a terraced structure rising to roughly pyramidal form. It was made not of brick but of stone. This pyramid, the funeral temple of Zoser, and the other buildings forming the sacred precinct, are the earliest structures ever built entirely of hewn stone.

Succeeding dynasties of the Old Kingdom developed what had been started in the reign of Zoser. Stone architecture, at first a replica of brick and wooden forms, rapidly created its own forms, and made possible the startling perfection of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh, a gigantic solid mass of masonry put together without mortar, built by King Khufu, or Cheops, to stand as one of the greatest engineering feats of all time. During the fourth and fifth dynasties pillars and columns came to be frequently used to support the roofs of vast halls, and these halls took the form surviving in Roman and early Christian basilicas and in later churches and cathedrals of Europe —that of a central aisle with lower side aisles, lighted by clerestory windows.

Now also appears the first real portrait sculpture of Egypt—remarkable likenesses of the strong-featured kings who built up the elaborate civilization of the Nile and of the officials who aided them in governing the kingdom (Plates 6, 7, 9). A very fine collection of Old Kingdom portrait sculpture is in the Boston Museum of

Fine Arts. Notable collections are to be found also in New York, Brooklyn and Philadelphia, and many of the other leading museums of America possess at least single examples. While the majority of Old Kingdom sculptures are in easily worked limestone, some are hewn with great precision and delicacy from exceedingly hard stones. A small number of fine pieces of wood-carving have also come down to us.

It is impossible to understand Egyptian art without knowing at least the bare elements of Egyptian religion. Most art—indeed one can say *all* great art—is religious. It is the expression, not so much of a belief or a cult, as of a momentary realization of a universal truth, sought in all times and by all men. The nature of Egyptian art requires explanation of the beliefs held by the men by and for whom it was made.

It is natural, that in a valley brought to fruitfulness by the annual inundation of the Nile, without which the shores would have been as barren as the surrounding desert, the miracle of Nature's annual rebirth should have made a profound impression. The greatest Egyptian god was the personification of this miracle—Osiris, the god of fertile life and of resurrection. Next to him in importance was the Sun-God, Re, the other great force of nature that made life rich and beautiful in the valley of the Nile. There were many other gods—indeed, they multiplied beyond all reason, and often became confused with one another, especially in the period of Egypt's decadence. But Osiris and Re were the greatest, and the idea of eternal life they represented was the belief that motivated all Egyptian art.

The Egyptian's belief in immortality was not perhaps of the highest. He desired not only an immortality of the spirit, but also the continued existence of the body. He loved life, and tried to ensure for himself a continuance of the good things of this world in the world to come. For that reason, tombs were built strong as fortresses, with the body of the deceased cunningly hidden in subterranean chambers and mummified, or as we would say, embalmed, in defiance of change. Store-rooms to house prized possessions and household furnishings were part of every important tomb; portrait statues were developed to serve as a dwelling place for the soul. The tomb walls were decorated with scenes of daily life—with flocks and herds and records of abundant harvest, with pictures of hunting and fishing, and of feasting, with musicians and dancing girls to provide entertainment (Plate 8). Such scenes, painted or carved in low-relief and then colored, were magical representations taking the place of the actuality left behind by the dead.

To the reliefs in tombs and temples we owe a great part of our knowledge of the ancient Egyptians; how they lived and dressed, what they ate and how they took their pleasure. They show us religious ceremonies, war and the chase, husbandmen and artisans at work; they even depict the long and ceremonious progress of the dead to the grave—his mummification and coffining, the funeral procession accompanied by priests and mourners, the rites at the tomb and the final sealing of the door into eternity.

Conventions already fixed in the archaic period for the statues of kings and important personages, such as the frontality and an established formality of pose, persist, but there creeps often into the pictures on tomb walls, especially in the representation of animals and humble people, a freedom and a naturalism otherwise denied to Egyptian art. Even within the limits of established conventions there is a close observation, natural to lovers of life and nature, that prevents the art of the tombs, during the great periods, from degenerating into empty formalism.

By the end of the Old Kingdom most of the skills known to the Egyptian artist and craftsman were established. Metal-work is sufficiently developed in the sixth dynasty to create the life-size copper portrait statues of King Pepi I and his son—partly of hammered but partly perhaps also of cast copper. Furniture, inlaid and with ivory fittings, cunningly worked precious metals, hand-woven cloth of incredible fineness rivaling the finest hand-woven linen of modern times have been found in the tombs. Glazing, already known in predynastic times, reaches new perfection on tiles, such as those of the chapel of Zoser. Pottery deteriorates, but vessels of alabaster and other hard stones are wrought to incredible thinness and refinement of shape. Not only in architecture and sculpture, but in all the products of the age, there is a force and majesty never equaled in the later history of Egyptian art.

By the end of the Old Kingdom, the local governors of the provinces had established themselves as hereditary "monarchs" and had acquired so much power that they no longer respected the omnipotence of the king. From early times he had been guarded in sanctity, and was referred to as "the great god." His sanctity was now no longer sufficient to protect him; the nobles arrogated power to themselves and there came about a feudal period, marked by civil wars and foreign invasions of nomads from the Asiatic east and from the unknown regions to the south.

From this period of strife, little has survived. At the end of the eleventh dynasty, however, Egypt was again united under a strong central government, and the twelfth dynasty saw the great flowering of the Middle Kingdom. Only a small portion is left of what must have been an enormous artistic production of this period. A few of the sculptures preserved in our museums are as forceful as those of the Old Kingdom, but their power is a rather brutal one as contrasted with the slow strength of the best Old Kingdom work. A fine example is the portrait of Sesostris III as a sphinx in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 12). A well-wrought piece in the Worcester Museum, less rugged, more conventional in treatment (Plate 10), is characteristic of another style current in the period. A bronze in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 17) showing a peasant at rest is illustrative of the charming naturalism that occasionally comes out in all periods of Egyptian art in representations of humble people, and is paralleled in certain lively details of the reliefs of rock tombs of the Middle Kingdom at Meir.

We know that the Middle Kingdom built many temples, but with the exception

of a temple at Deir el-Bahri, and a small temple, perhaps more properly called a shrine, which has been rescued, stone by stone, from the pylon of a later temple into which it was built, hardly enough remains of any structure to reconstruct the ground plans. This little shrine built by Sesostris I is of great refinement of proportion, and shows a lightness such as we rarely associate with Egyptian architecture, but which was certainly a feature of private architecture and perhaps of more of the sacred architecture than we realize. The great "labyrinth," a sort of religious and civic center built in the oasis of the Fayum by Amenemhet III—a structure so vast and impressive as to find a place in the fable of the ancient world—was still standing in the Roman period. Today it is leveled to the dust, and its outlines can be traced only with difficulty.

Royal pyramids were still erected over intricate tomb-chambers skillfully built in stone, but the pyramids were constructed of brick and have crumbled into shapeless mounds. From some of these tombs has come the exquisite jewelry in which the Middle Kingdom excelled and of which the Metropolitan Museum possesses beautiful examples.

In many of the tombs have been found wooden models of houses and pleasure pavilions, granaries, bakeries, breweries and butcher shops, ships and boats, servants and offering-bearers, to provide food and service for the dead in the future life. In this period first appear the *ushabtis,* or "answerers," little figures of wood, stone or faïence, usually made in the likeness of the dead in his mummy-wrappings and destined to serve in his place for all the arduous or disagreeable tasks of the other world. In this period, too, the scarab, or representation of the sacred beetle, already known in the Old Kingdom as a symbol of the sun and an emblem of immortality, becomes very frequent. Scarabs of the Middle Kingdom are among the most skilled products of the lapidary's art, carved of hard stones with minute exactitude. They usually combined the function of amulet and seal, bearing on their flat under-surface the name and titles of the owner, and used by him for the stamping of documents. Later, in the New Kingdom, they sometimes bear inscriptions commemorative of great events. Pictured walls are less frequent in the Middle Kingdom than in earlier and later periods, but those that exist continue the story of Egyptian daily life. On the rock-tombs of the monarchs at Beni Hasan appear representations of foreigners which show that Egypt, so self-sufficient and exclusive, was in contact with peoples from the outside world. Some contact had probably always existed, but from this time onward Egypt's relationship with its neighbors—Crete, Syria, Mesopotamia and near-by Nubia—was to become closer and of more importance.

For some, the New Kingdom marks the apex of Egyptian civilization. Unquestionably, it was the period of Egypt's widest power and influence. Before its end, all the rulers of the civilized world paid tribute or homage to the Pharaoh. Wasp-waisted Cretans, bearded Semites from Syria, coal-black Nubians, tattooed Libyans and

nomads from the Eastern desert are all pictured on tombs and temples bringing rich tribute of flocks and herds, strange animals from the upper reaches of the Nile, and curiously wrought vessels of precious metals. Egyptian suzerainty at one time stretched as far as the Euphrates. Kings of Babylonia and Syria sent respectful gifts to the Pharaohs, and a Babylonian princess made the long journey over land and sea to become the wife of an Egyptian king. Egypt was rich and powerful, and her power and riches were reflected in her art.

It was an age of feverish production, of richly decorated and furnished tombs, enormous temples, giant obelisks and colossal statues, but also of gracious and intimate works like the delightful kneeling figure of a king in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 18), and of minor arts of the utmost delicacy and charm But in much of the art of the period, especially as it drew to a close, there is a touch of weariness, a hint of decadence.

Shortly before the sixteenth century, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, Ahmose I, established his capital at Thebes. Ahmose was a remarkable man. Before he died, he had not only victoriously followed the enemy on to Syrian shores, but had gathered together the disorganized remnants of the state, and laid the foundations of a vast governmental system, militaristic and bureaucratic. The structure that was built on that foundation developed into something approaching a state socialism, which lasted for nearly four hundred years before it crashed of its own weight. Many other great names mark the eighteenth dynasty: that of Queen Hatsheput, the first great woman ruler of history (of whom there are a number of statues in the Metropolitan Museum), whose great rock-temple of Deir el-Bahri is one of the wonders of the Theban valley; that of Tuthmosis III, the conqueror of Syria; the Amenhoteps, especially the last and most famous of them, Amenhotep IV, known to posterity under his later name, Ikhnaton; and finally Tutenkhamon, the ineffectual boy-king whose chief claim to fame lies in the fact that his rich tomb lay all but untouched for thirty-five hundred years to dazzle the eyes and minds of the twentieth century.

Most of the great temples still standing in Egypt are the works of the New Kingdom; they are of an impressive size and grandeur. The great temple of Amon-Re, the Sun-God, at Karnak, is a vast complex of hypostyle, or columned halls leading into one another through open courtyards, surrounded by colonnades. The greatest of these halls, supported by one hundred and thirty-four columns, is of "basilical" form. The clerestory windows, little more than slits when first met with in the Old Kingdom, are now vast windows. Columns and walls are covered with reliefs and inscriptions and still bear traces of the vivid colors in which they were painted more than two thousand years ago. The later temple complex of Rameses III at Medinet Habu, excavated by the University of Chicago, is another enormous construction, as much fortifications as temple, for it was built in troubled times.

The pylons forming monumental gateways, so characteristic to us of Egyptian

temples, are an architectural feature first met with in the New Kingdom. Dominating the sacred precincts were enormous obelisks, quarried out of single blocks of stone. The quarrying, transportation and erection of these still command the wonder and admiration of engineers. The obelisk of Tuthmosis III, in Central Park, New York City, is almost seventy feet high; Queen Hatsheput's obelisks passed ninety feet, and the tallest of all, also of Tuthmosis III, at the Lateran in Rome, towers one hundred and five feet into the air.

In the New Kingdom, burials reached new peaks of extravagance; the mummies of this period have preserved for us the features of kings and nobles in uncanny lifelikeness. Coffins and sarcophagi became more elaborate, funeral furnishings more costly. The tombs themselves, however, were outwardly less impressive than ever before. It had been discovered that the body, deified in death, was not safe from the depredations of immoral men who coveted its rich adornments and equipment. Tombs were built, accordingly, in obscure regions, those of the rulers in the lonely Theban valley now known as the Valley of the Kings, and the funeral temples, once a part of the tomb-complex, were erected at a distance, on the edge of the fertile land. In the rock of the valley walls were hollowed chambers or chapels. From these, a concealed entrance communicated with a deep underground vault, in which the dead were laid to rest. In spite of stringent laws and elaborate precautions, most of these tombs were rifled in antiquity, sometimes almost before the funeral meats were cold. Even those that have been plundered, however, retain their pictured walls in all their freshness of painting or polychromed relief. The style of painting is characteristic of the New Kingdom; the artificial frontality of representation which shows head and legs in profile and upper body in full, often yields to an almost naturalistic treatment. Ceremonial scenes remain formal, following the old conventions, as in the funeral stele in the Walters Art Gallery (Plate 14). Intimate scenes such as those of dancers and musicians entertaining banqueters, have a freedom and grace of movement hitherto unknown. Representations of animals, in which Egyptians always excelled, take on a new liveliness. This movement toward naturalism reached its height in the art of Tell el-Amarna.

The story of Ikhnaton and his royal city of Tell el-Amarna has often been told. The young king, Amenhotep IV, conceived the idea of one universal god, the Sun-God, Aton, and briefly succeeded in imposing that idea upon his people. It is impossible to tell from this distance how largely he was governed by pure idealism, and how far his movement was a political one, aimed at the growing power of the priests, especially those of Amon-Re, which threatened to engulf the authority of the Pharaohs. However it may be, Ikhnaton was briefly successful. He closed the temples, drove out the priests, erased the names of old gods and substituted that of Aton. He left the great city of Thebes, with its impressive monuments of the ancient faith, and built himself a new capital called the "Horizon of Aton" on the site now

known as Tell el-Amarna. After a brief reign, the "Heretic King" died unmourned. His people had never comprehended the simple grandeur of his religious ideal. The priests, deprived of power and rich revenue, secretly opposed him. To add to his unpopularity, his armies had met with defeat abroad. When he died, the city he had built was abandoned, and his name became anathema.

Thanks to him, however, we have in the deserted city of Aton a sort of Egyptian Pompeii, which has preserved many works of art expressing the gentle mysticism, the not quite robust humanity of the time. A fine collection of Amarna art is in the Brooklyn Museum. The city of Aton itself is one of the few monuments of private architecture in all of Egypt. Here have been preserved numerous houses of greater or less pretension and enough of the king's palace to enable us to picture a well-planned complex of lofty, pillared public rooms, living apartments and offices, set in a walled enclosure with pools, running streams and gardens. The rooms were decorated with wall paintings: one room, thought to have been an aviary, was transformed by painted walls into a marshland, with papyrus stalks springing from the water among lotus flowers and pads, up to the very ceiling. In another room was a painted floor, representing a garden pool surrounded by blossoming plants. In others, the walls were decorated with scenes from the life of the king, including charming domestic scenes such as that on the fragment in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, showing Ikhnaton's daughters playing together at the feet of their parents. Such an intimate scene, in the days of the early Pharaohs, would have been an inconceivable impiety.

Many objects of the Amarna period were found in the tomb of Tutenkhamon, in 1922. This tomb is the richest and most nearly complete of any ever found. The king rested undisturbed in a golden coffin, his face covered by a gold mask—a magnificent piece of portraiture, if, like much of the art of the later New Kingdom, remote and cold. His sarcophagus was set in a golden shrine, protected by winged goddesses. Along with him was a treasure of rich objects, many of them beautiful, all of them revealing the somewhat precious perfection of workmanship of this last great period of Egyptian art. Glazing and the kindred art of glass-making, work in wood and ivory and alabaster, gold and silver-smithing and jewelry all reached their greatest technical heights in this period (Plate 16). Some objects are of great refinement; others are elaborate to the point of vulgarity. Among the rarities in the tomb of Tutenkhamon were patterned textiles, tapestry-woven and embroidered; these, with a few others that have survived from the New Kingdom, are the earliest patterned textiles known.

The glory of Egypt passed forever with the New Kingdom. For a brief period in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., a dynasty of kings whose capital was at Sais, in the Delta, held Egypt together by force of mercenary arms. The Saites were antiquarians who sought to revive the Egypt of the Old Kingdom; they did not wish

to invent either new forms or motifs in their art. In spite of this, however, freshness, vigor and enterprise often crept into their work, and we possess a series of sculptured portraits of excellent workmanship, more realistic than the Old Kingdom sculptures they thought to imitate, but with much of the Old Kingdom's force.

The Saite period is the great age of bronzes. Old gods, long neglected, were restored to honor and imaged by the bronze caster and faïence maker. In earlier days, animals had been regarded as sacred symbols of certain gods; now they became gods in their own right whose images were venerated throughout the land. During this and the succeeding period a religious syncretism identified foreign gods with native ones and the ancient deities were represented in diverse and composite aspects.

The remainder of Egyptian art, as of Egyptian history, was a slow decline. In 525 B.C., Egypt passed under foreign domination, never again to become completely free. During the periods of Persian, Greek and Roman overlordship, the ancient artistic traditions survived in occasional pieces of fine workmanship, particularly of animal sculpture. Hawks, dogs, cows and especially cats were cast in bronze with a skill that was truly superb (Plates 13, 15). But not until a new truth sought to express itself in the popular art of the early Christian period, which we call Coptic, did a last vestige of the old creative power assert itself in Egypt.

II
Art of Mesopotamia

UNTIL recently, tradition gave precedence to Egypt as the most ancient center of civilization, but modern archeology has advanced the claim that there flourished a civilization in Mesopotamia whose earliest antecedents go back to the fourth millennium B.C., contemporary with or possibly a little earlier than predynastic Egyptian culture.

In prehistoric times the lower part of the Mesopotamian valley was inhabited by various unknown people; archeologists have sifted out three successive neolithic cultures each of which produced its own distinctive pottery. The last of these cultures was superseded by that of the Sumerians, a people of unknown origin who, by the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., lived in well-organized settlements carrying on extensive agricultural pursuits based on a system of communal irrigation. They also had an advanced system of pictograph writing which soon developed into the cuneiform symbols that became the basis of most Near Eastern alphabets; they knew how to work metal skillfully and had devised ways of measuring time and weight.

When the Sumerians first emerge in history, they are living in autonomous city-states, each ruled by its own priest-king. Some of these cities are known to us from Biblical accounts: Lagash, Nippur, Ur of the Chaldees. At Ur a joint expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and the British Museum uncovered, about forty feet below the present surface, a group of royal Sumerian tombs of the predynastic period (3500-3100 B.C.). Of these, the tomb of Queen Shubad was most sumptuously equipped. Here were found the queen's ornate headdress complete with ribbons and leaves of gold, and beads of carnelian and lapis lazuli; her massive gold and silver jewels, her toilet articles, elaborately fashioned musical instruments—lyres of copper, silver and gold; vases of steatite and alabaster, of silver and gold, ornamented in repoussé or engraved; copper weapons with ornate, intricate golden hilts and sheaths, and furniture inlaid with shell and semi-precious stones—even her chariot, with its little bronze figure of a donkey perched on the rein-guide. There was found, too, a masterpiece of the goldsmith's art, a little ram in gold, shell and lapis, his forefeet resting on the branches of a golden tree—possibly a representation of a moon divinity worshiping the tree of life, a motif destined to a long career in the history of Near Eastern art. Among the gems of the lapidary's art were the engraved cylinder seals which were to play an important rôle throughout Mesopotamian culture. Of all these objects, the one which has aroused the greatest popular admiration

is perhaps the queen's harp, now owned by the University Museum at Philadelphia. An inlaid mosaic design of mythological figures and animals decorates the sound box which terminates in a bull's head of gold, bearded in lapis lazuli. The most striking aspect of these objects is their literal realism. Here were no offerings devoutly fashioned to propitiate the gods by sympathetic magic; these sophisticated toys and trifles were frankly meant for the enjoyment of the royal lady and her numerous attendants who at her death were entombed alive in her burial chamber. However, while the intense spirituality of early Egyptian art is entirely lacking here, there is a freedom of movement and a vitality in the figures, both in relief and in the round, which are not to be found in the Near East for more than a thousand years, when the first Luristan bronzes were cast in regions to the west.

In the University Museum at Philadelphia are two inlaid mosaic alabaster reliefs from Ur which present a totally different aspect of Sumerian life. Here are scenes of husbandry, herdsmen milking their cows, churning butter, performing the daily chores of a pastoral people. Although the design is quite mechanical in its repetition, we note again that freedom in rendering animal forms which finds its greatest expression in such objects as the little copper bull in the University Museum (ca. 3100 B.C.), the large stone statue of a bull and the bronze plaque of two stags and an eagle in the British Museum (ca. 3100 B.C.).

At the other sites throughout the Mesopotamian valley have been found statuettes, both of limestone, originally polychromed, and cast copper, representing the ancient Sumerian racial type—short, stocky men with clean-shaven faces and heads, prominent noses, thick lips and bulging eyes. Hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, these little votive figures, dressed in shaggy, flounced tunics that often leave one shoulder bare, possess a strange monumentality. There is an air of earnest simplicity and devoutness about them that seems to be in keeping with their origin as shepherds of the hills. Somewhat later the racial type changes as the Akkadians, a Semitic people from the upper Mesopotamian valley, who wore long, carefully dressed hair and beards, filtered into Sumeria and gradually assumed control of the country.

It was a site in northeastern Mesopotamia, Tepe Gawra, that yielded the remains of the oldest completely organized town (ca. 4000 B.C.) discovered anywhere, though the people who inhabited this town are believed to have come down from the Iranian plateau where their culture presumably originated. By 3000 B.C., this northern part of the valley, inhabited by the Semitic Akkadians, was quite as advanced culturally as the Sumerian south. On the site of Kish, excavated by the Field Museum of Chicago and Oxford University, were found a number of terra cotta figurines, copper vessels, and cylinder seals engraved with figures from Sumerian mythology—the hero Gilgemesh grappling with two monsters, and other animal combat scenes, harking back to ancient primitive beliefs—motifs which indicate the close inter-

penetration of the two cultures at an early date. The Akkadians took over the gods of the Sumerian cults—Sin, the moon-god, Shamash, the sun, Ishtar, the goddess of fertility. They also adopted the cuneiform script of the Sumerians which, cut into wet clay tablets that were afterwards baked, formed an excellent recording system and one to which we owe most of our knowledge of these ancient cultures.

The whole of Mesopotamia was united under the rule of the Akkadian king, Sargon I (ca. 2500 B.C.), who created the first of the great eastern empires. A famous stele in the Louvre, commemorating the triumphs of Sargon's grandson, Naram-Sin, shows the king, followed by his victorious army, paying tribute to the sun-god who is personified by two solar disks, placed at the summit of a sky-mountain. From the time of Sargon date the finest cylinder seals; made of carnelian, agate, jasper, lapis lazuli and other semi-precious stone, they were engraved with *intaglio* designs, so that the cylinder, when rolled over wet clay or other malleable surfaces, left the design standing out in relief. The cunning workmanship of these seals is not even surpassed by that of the most beautiful Greek coins.

Toward the end of the third millennium appear the black diorite statues of Gudea, the priest-king of the ancient city of Lagash. These are among the few life-size statues known in Sumerian art; several are in the Louvre, a head is in the University Museum, another in the Boston Museum. The body is rendered with great economy and simplicity of modeling; it is firm under the drapery that flows in barely suggested folds. The head with its stylized arrangement of hair and eyebrows is handled with great vigor, but also with sensitive feeling for plastic relations. From Lagash, too, comes the superb silver vase in the Louvre, engraved with heraldic animal figures.

Shortly after the death of Sargon his empire crumbled, to be revived, after an interval of centuries, by Hammurabi (ca. 2100 B.C.), the greatest and most humane of the Mesopotamian rulers. His reign marks a great advance in civilization; a record of it has been preserved in his archives and on the black diorite stele inscribed with his code of laws. Hammurabi stands in an attitude of reverence before the enthroned figure of the god Shamash from whom he is receiving the code of laws. Hieratic and impersonal in character, this relief is not without dramatic intensity; there is a feeling of awe in the king's gesture as he raises his right hand to his lips to indicate that he will repeat and observe the divine message.

Hammurabi built his capital at Babylon (near the site of the present city of Baghdad). The largest and most important city of the ancient world, Babylon gave its name to the whole of the Mesopotamian realm which is henceforth referred to as the Babylonian empire. Since the Babylonians built in brick, their structures have not withstood the ravages of time and warfare, but excavators have succeeded in tracing the plan of the city and many of its monuments, chief among which was the ziggurat, a vast tower temple, built on a square base, with mounting staircases

which led up to a sacred shrine at the highest level. This temple of Babylon (the Biblical tower of Babel) was an architectural form which the Babylonians had taken over from the ancient Sumerians, for whom it probably embodied the concept of the sky-mountain, worshiped by almost all the people of the East as the home of their gods.

A new chapter of Mesopotamian history and art opens with the rise to power, about 1200 B.C., of the Assyrians who not only dominated the Tigris and Euphrates valley, but also spread their empire to the Mediterranean, into Asia Minor and across the sea to Egypt. The Assyrians were an ancient people, descendants of a Semitic tribe who had settled at Assur, in the highlands of the upper Tigris, before 3000 B.C. Long before they dreamed of world power, they established cultural contacts with their Sumerian neighbors in the south, from whom they borrowed the cuneiform system of writing as well as many art forms. They were also in contact, both friendly and hostile, with people of the West, notably the Hittites, from whom they derived foreign motives, such as the winged sun-disk and the lotus of Egypt and perhaps the idea of pictured history which became such an important feature of Assyrian art.

The chief deity of the Assyrians was Ashur, the god of war. They excelled in fighting, invented war machines such as battering rams, and developed chariot-and-elephant corps, the tank corps of antiquity. Small wonder, then, that their art was chiefly directed toward the glorification of the bravery and fierceness of their kings, commemorating their prowess in the hunt and their bloody victories over enemy nations. The chief constructions of the period were no longer temples, but palaces, built at Nineveh, and Khorsabad, capitals of the Assyrian kings. On these and other sites have been discovered vast complexes of vaulted halls and chambers built around a series of courtyards on a massive platform of brick, enclosed by battlemented walls, into which led arched gateways, flanked by towers and protected by huge human-headed bulls (Plate 5). Sometimes the walls were covered with revetments of glazed tiles, bearing polychromed figures of lions or other animals in relief. One of the earliest of the Assyrian kings, Tiglath Pileser I, wrote boastingly of the magnificence of his palace: "I made its interior brilliant like the dome of the heavens, decorated its walls like the splendor of the rising stars . . ." The art of glazing had long been known in Mesopotamia, but the Assyrians developed it and passed it on to be one of the glories of the new Babylon. From there it was handed down to be used and perfected by those great masters of glazing, the Persians.

Inside the palace, lofty halls were ornamented with richly colored frescoes in red, blue, white and black, such as those uncovered by the University of Chicago excavations at Khorsabad; here stylized ornamental motifs alternate with realistically rendered animals and winged genii, protectors of the king and his palace. Another favorite device of the Assyrians for decorating their palace interiors was the use

of polychromed alabaster reliefs, carved with scenes of battle or religious ceremonies. Here we see the Assyrian war lords unleashing the full fury of their military might, laying siege to cities, putting the enemy to the sword, impaling them on stakes, piling the dead in heaps, choking the rivers with their bodies. And across the narrative friezes, with little regard for the design, run bands of cuneiform inscriptions which recount the fabulous victories of the great Assyrian kings: Ashur-Nasir-Pal (884-857); Shalamaneser (859-824); Sargon II (722-705); Sennacherib (705-681) and Assurbanipal (667-626). In the religious scenes, the winged genii are shown performing the sacred fertilization rite (Plate 4), touching with the male blossom the female blossom of the date palm. The early reliefs are executed with a certain simplicity and breadth of design; later on, increasing attention is paid to detail, both realistic and ornamental.

A great many of these reliefs are to be found in the British Museum, the Louvre, and scattered about various museums in America. For all their richness of detail, their real beauty of ornament and skill of execution, these stories in stone which visualize for us the life of the Assyrians, their arms and equipment of war, the fortification of their cities, the barbaric splendor of their jewelry and costume, leave us singularly cold. It is a propaganda art, empty of all sentiment but a desire to overawe the spectator, impressive chiefly by reason of its magnitude and tireless reiteration which re-echoes in our mind like a ceaseless din. Not even the brutality of the subject matter moves us to emotion. The bulging muscles which degenerate into a formalized pattern have no plastic or structural significance. Only rarely, and then usually in representations of animals such as the famous lion hunt in the British Museum, or the team of horses in the Oriental Institute in Chicago, do these reliefs attain grandeur and beauty.

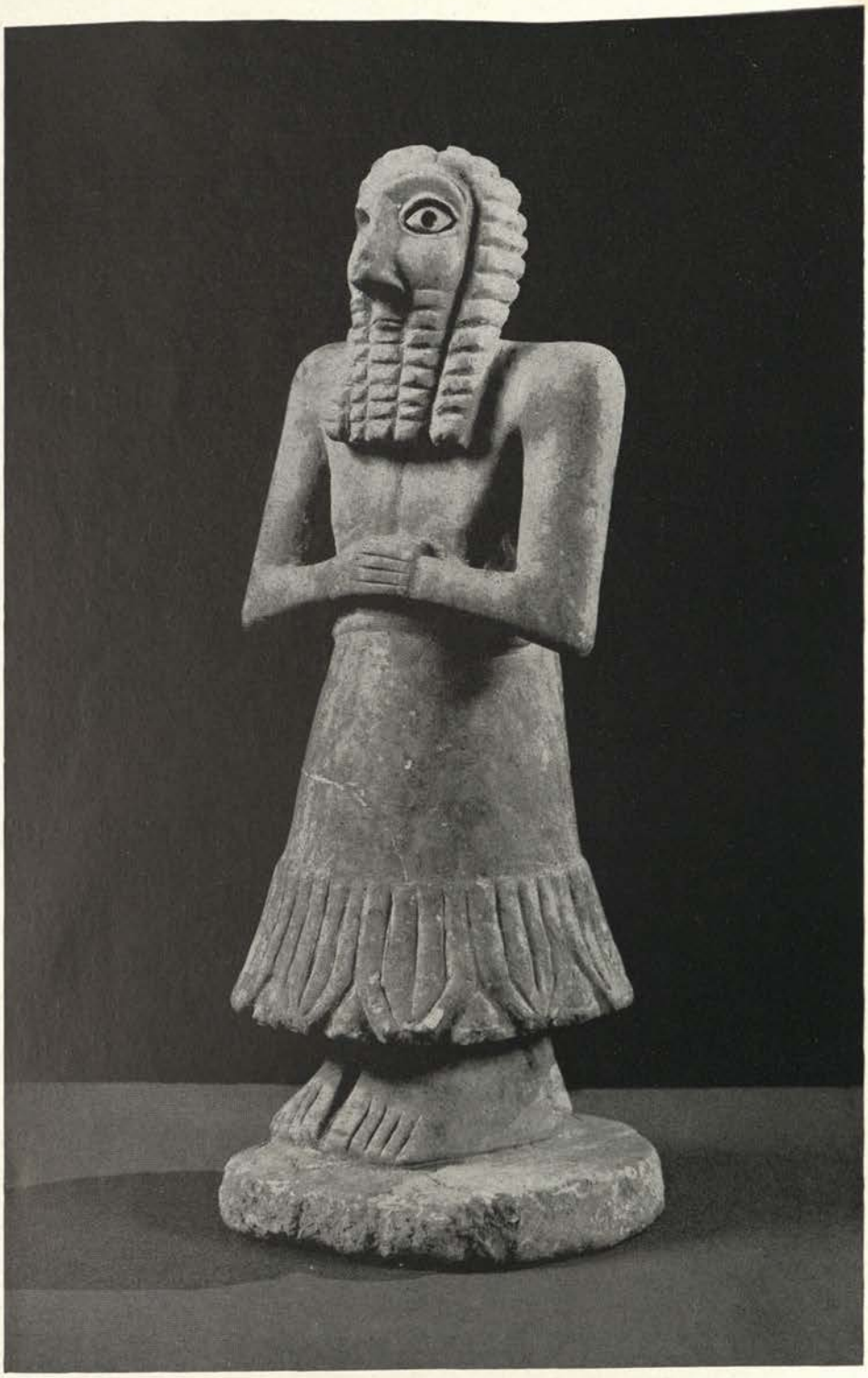
The Assyrian empire which had lasted for so many centuries, fell before a host of enemies. Assur was captured by the Medes who poured out of the northern mountains and joined forces with the Chaldeans, leveling to the dust the city of Nineveh, as the Assyrians had leveled so many cities of other nations. The last chapter of ancient Mesopotamian history is that of Chaldea, the new Babylonia which gained control of the entire valley and of the Mediterranean coast as well. It was the Chaldean king Nebuchadnezzar who destroyed Jerusalem and led the Hebrews into captivity. With the help of slave labor he rebuilt Babylon which had been ravaged by the Assyrians, and erected there the vast palace with terraced gardens which, as the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, became one of the wonders of the ancient world. Nebuchadnezzar revived the worship of the old gods, chief among whom were Marduk, and Ishtar, an ancient goddess of fertility known under many names, the prototype of the Greek Aphrodite. At Babylon he built a magnificent temple precinct linked with the royal palace by a walled avenue lined with

glazed tile reliefs. This avenue, known as the Procession Street, led to the Gate of Ishtar, a double gateway with six great towers, sumptuously decorated with glazed tiles. A great many of these tiles with figures of lions and other animals, are to be found in our museums (Plate 3).

The art of the neo-Babylonian empire was largely derived from that of Assyria, carrying on a tradition of sumptuous building, of fine workmanship in glazed tiles, in repoussé metal, in lavish textiles, all skillfully executed, but without much spiritual content. It would be too much to expect great spiritual heights in a people governed by a religion of fear, enslaved by soothsayers and necromancers. But if no sublime art was created in this period, out of the study of the stars, long believed in Mesopotamia to control the destiny of man, was born the modern science of astronomy, and out of the passion for the past which characterized neo-Babylonian culture, grew the royal archives of historical records and religious documents which have preserved for us so much of the ancient history of Mesopotamia.

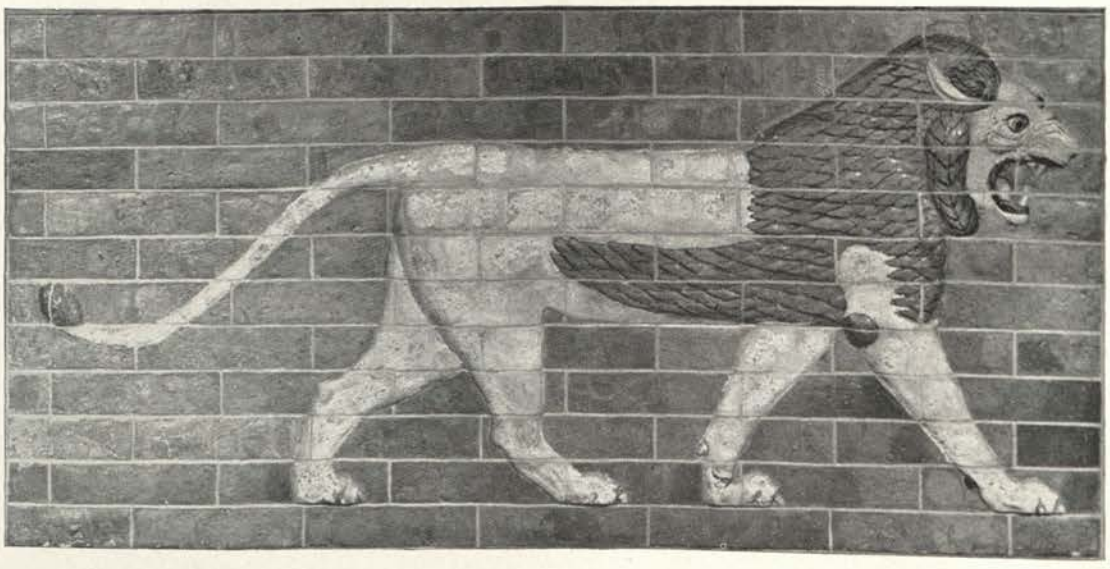
In Oriental art, down to the present day, not only the ancient motifs but also to a certain extent the ancient Near Eastern concepts of art have remained alive. Outwardly different as they are, the art of Ancient Egypt and that of Mesopotamia have a fundamental likeness: each strives to express the *idea* of being, rather than its actuality. Portraiture exists, as we have seen, but it is never realistic in the sense that Roman portraits, for example, are realistic. The anatomy of the human body is a matter of indifference. Painting and relief (which belongs in the Orient rather with painting than with sculpture) are blind to perspective, and content with two dimensions—the reliefs have little modeling, the paintings none. Color is used more as a symbol than as a likeness of the color in nature.

All this, as we shall see, is in direct conflict with the Greek ideal of a perfected realization of the forms of nature, which was to dominate Western art for more than two thousand years. Yet the modern spirit in art is very close to the Eastern concept, and artists today are increasingly becoming aware that realism in art is not reality.



Sumerian, 3000–2500 B.C. *Limestone Figure of a Divinity*

Plate 2. WORCESTER ART MUSEUM, *Worcester, Massachusetts*



Babylonian, 605–562 B.C. *Lion from the Procession Street at Babylon. Glazed Tile*

Plate 3. YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, *New Haven, Connecticut*

Assyrian, 9th Century B.C.

Winged Genius Fertilizing a Sacred Tree. Wall Relief from the Palace of Ashur-Nasir-Pal

Plate 4

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

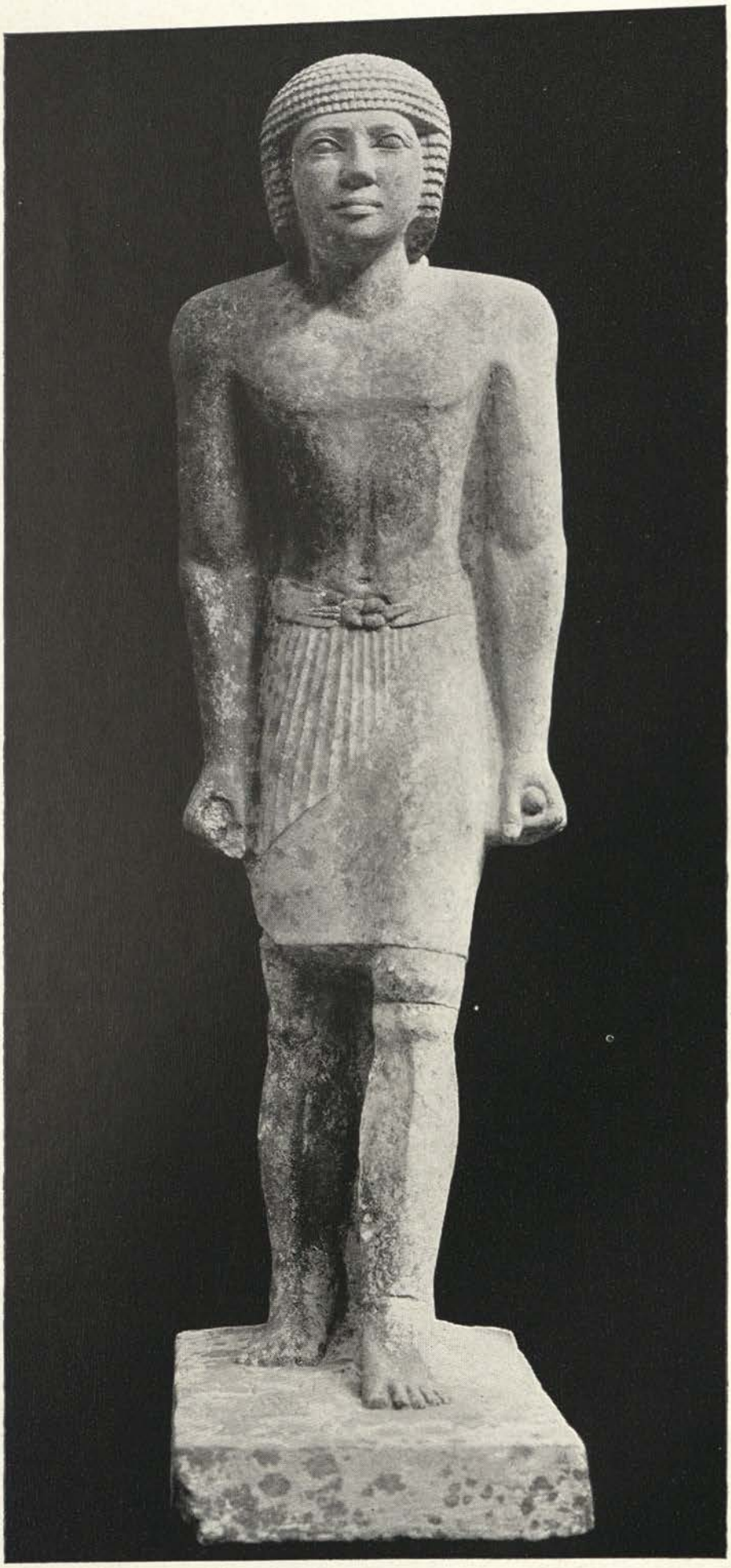
Assyrian, 8th Century B.C.

Great Winged Bull from the Palace Gateway of Sargon II at Khorsabad

Plate 5

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois



Egyptian, Old Kingdom,
4th Dynasty, 2900–2750 B.C.

Prince Ankh Haf

Plate 6

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Egyptian, Old Kingdom, ca. 3000 B.C. *King Mycerinus and Queen Khamerernebti. Slate*

Plate 7

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

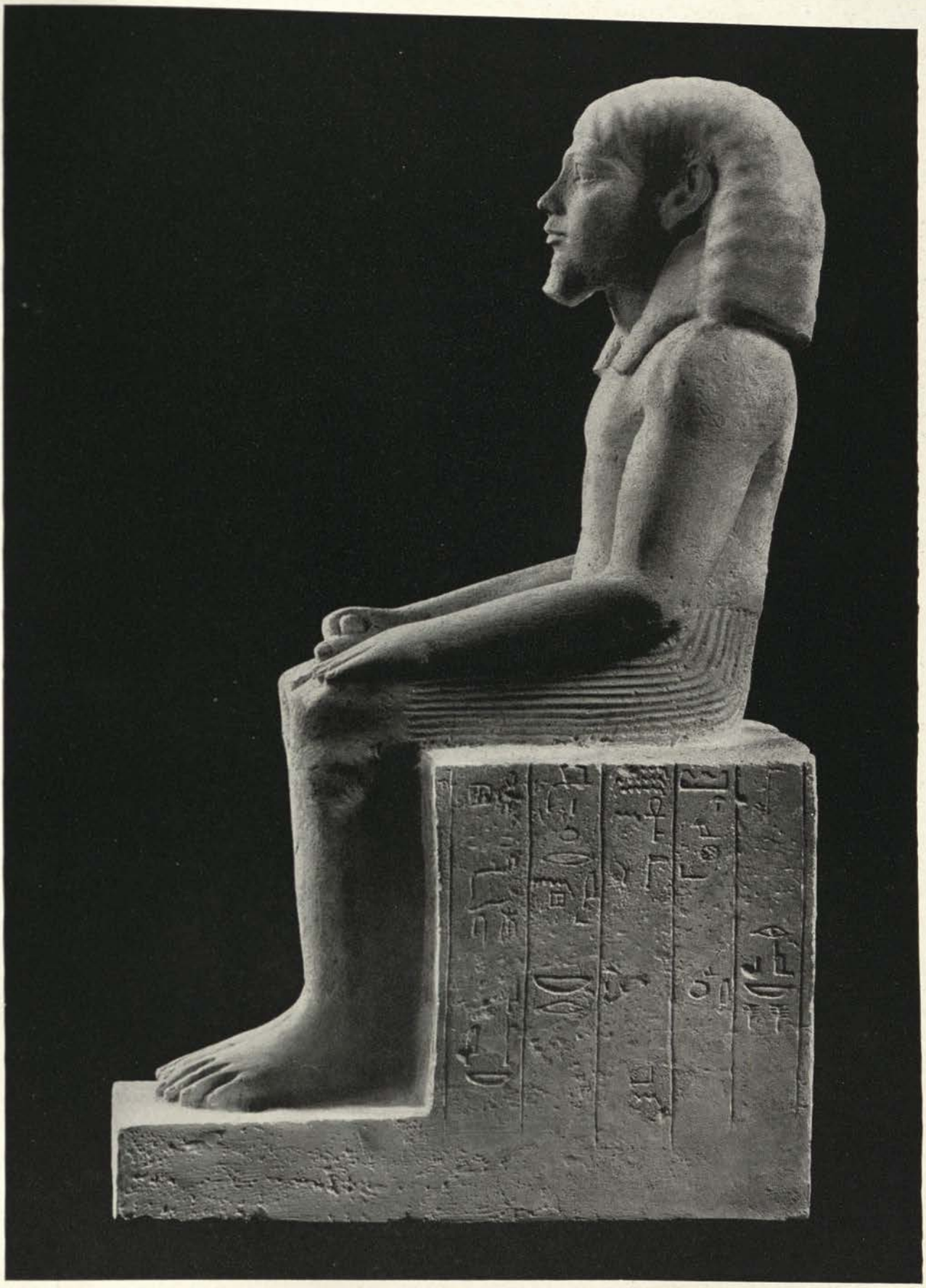
Boston, Massachusetts

Egyptian, Old Kingdom, 3200–2540 B.C. *Three Dancing Figures. Wall Fragment*

Plate 8. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland*

Egyptian, Old Kingdom, 5th Dynasty, 2750–2600 B.C. *The Overseer*

Plate 9. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*



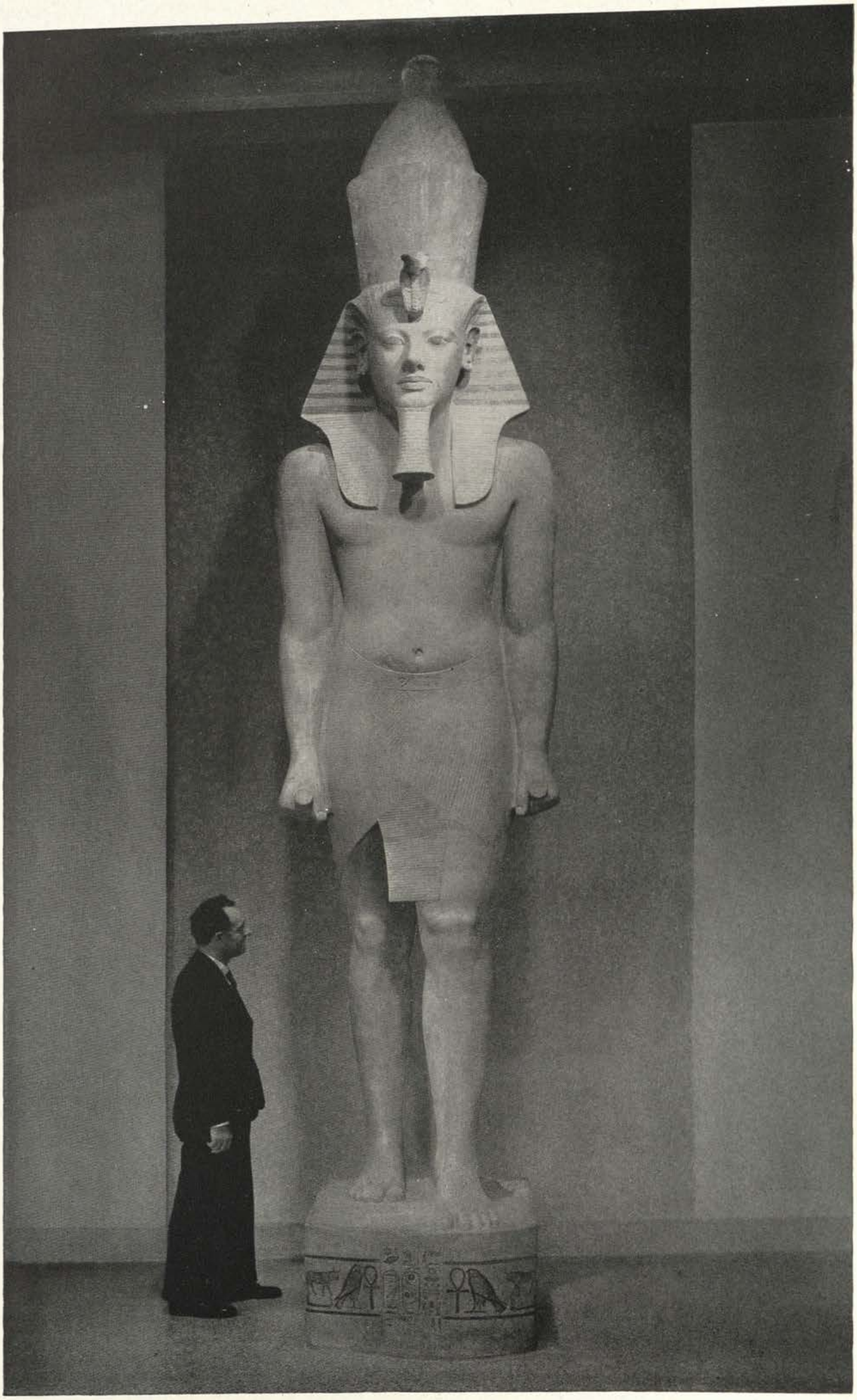
Egyptian, Middle Kingdom,
2200–1600 B.C.

Limestone Statuette

Plate 10

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts



Egyptian, New Kingdom,
1580–1100 B.C.

Statue of Tutenkhamon

Plate 11

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Chicago, Illinois

Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, 12th Dynasty, ca. 1850 B.C.

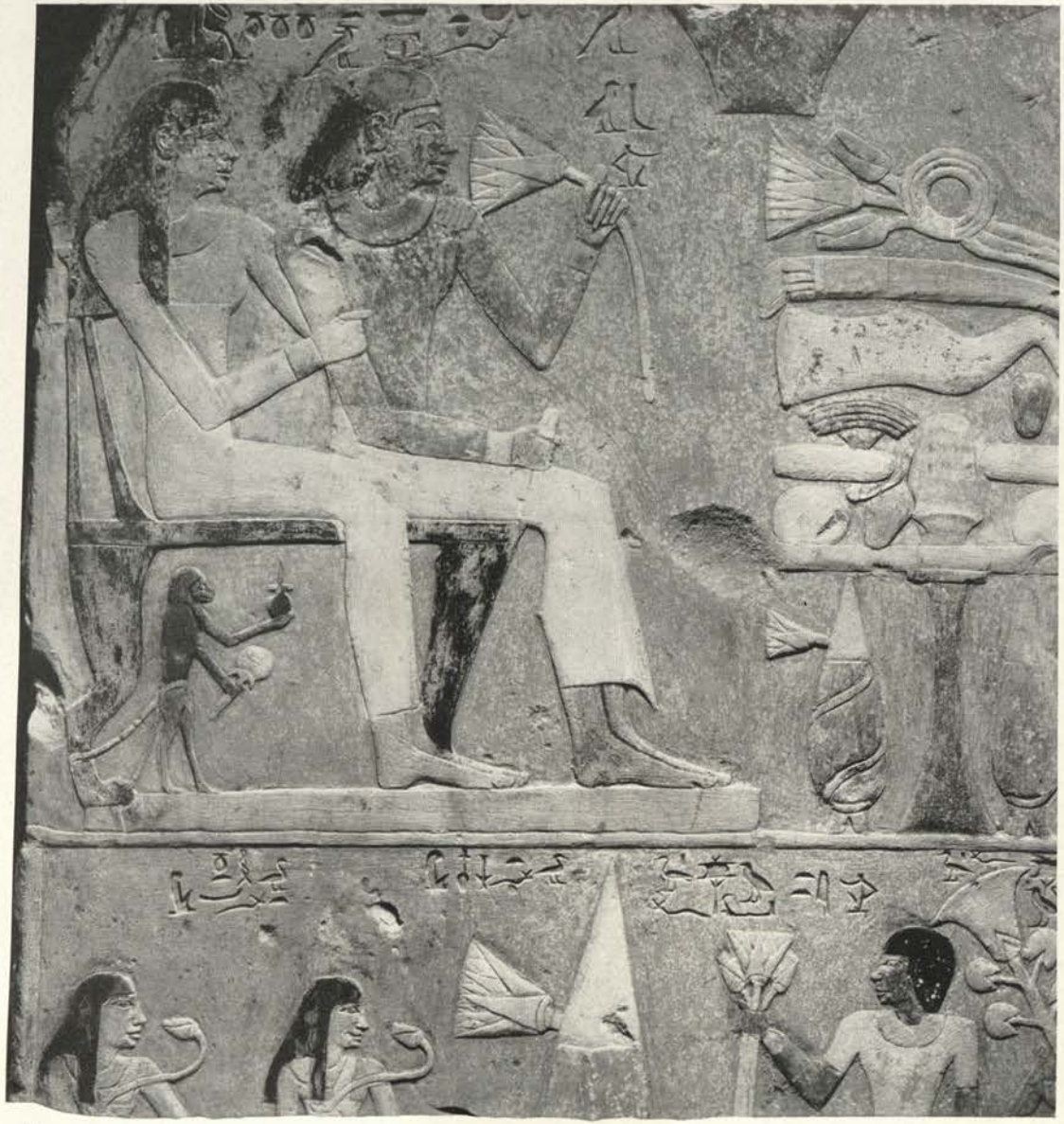
King Sesostris III as a Sphinx. Diorite

ROYAL ASIA

Egyptian Ptolemaic Period, ca. 332–30 B.C.

Hawk. Bronze

Plates 12 and 13. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*



Egyptian, New Kingdom, ca. 1500 B.C. *Funeral Stele. Detail*

Plate 14

WALTERS ART GALLERY

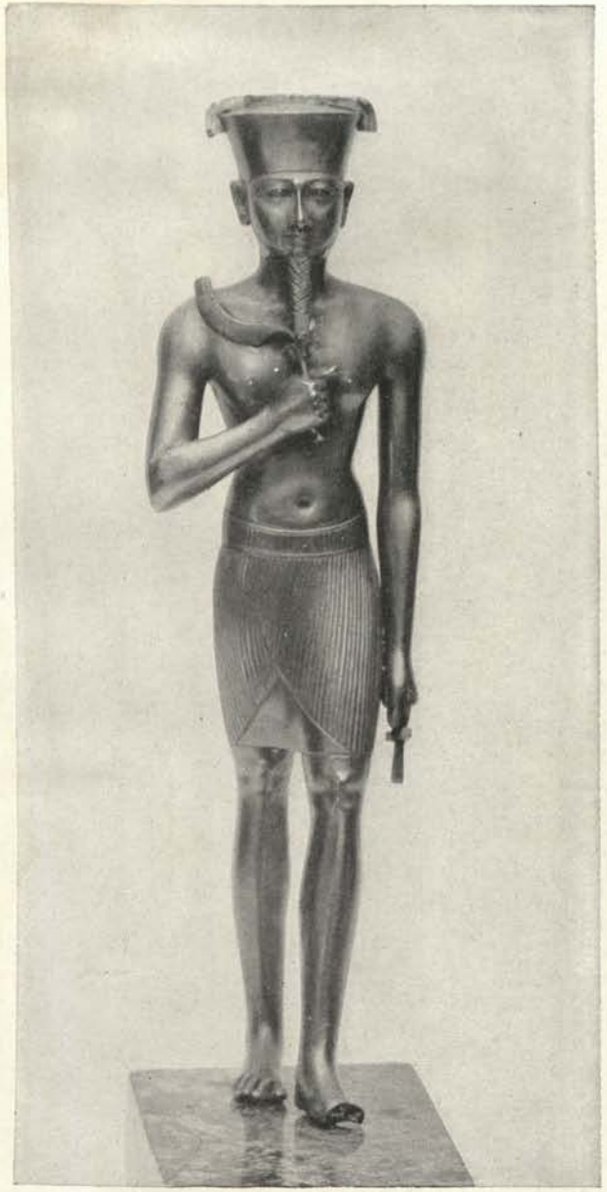
Baltimore, Maryland

Egyptian, Saite Period, 712–332 B.C. *Figure of a Cat. Bronze*

Plate 15

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

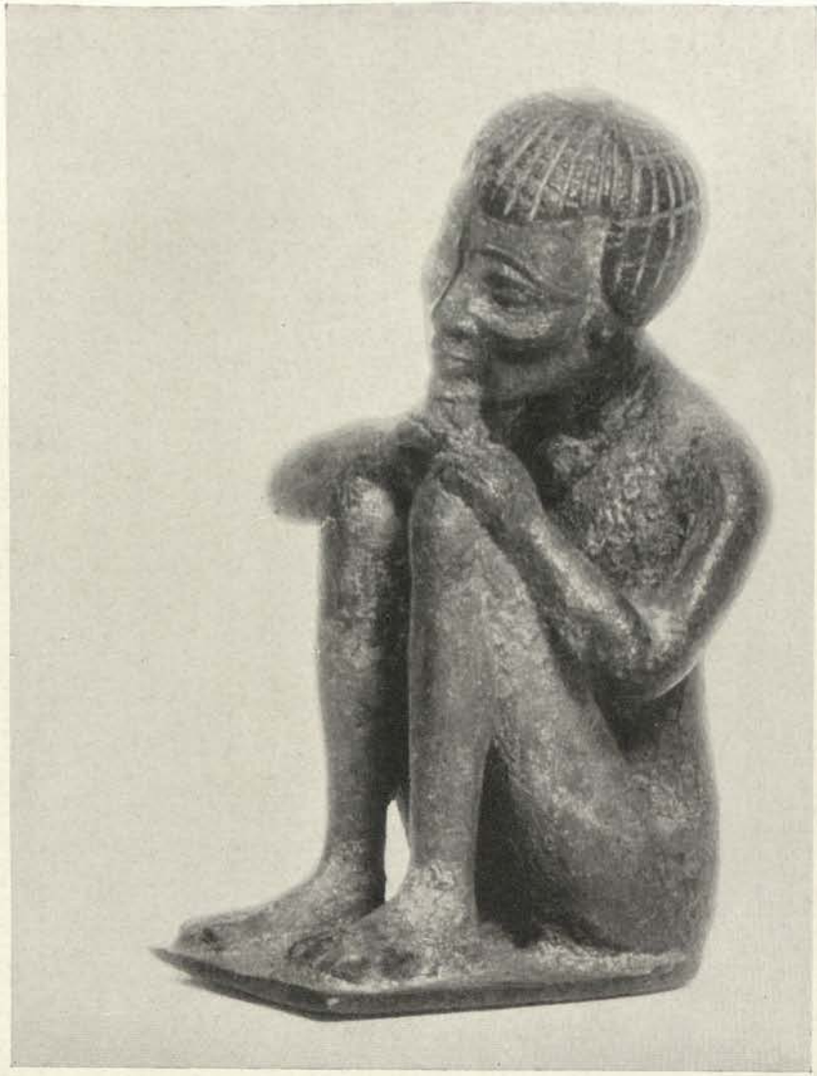


Egyptian, New Kingdom, ca. 1460 B.C. — *Gold Statuette of the God Amon from the Vicinity of the Great Temple of Amon at Karnak*

Plate 16

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

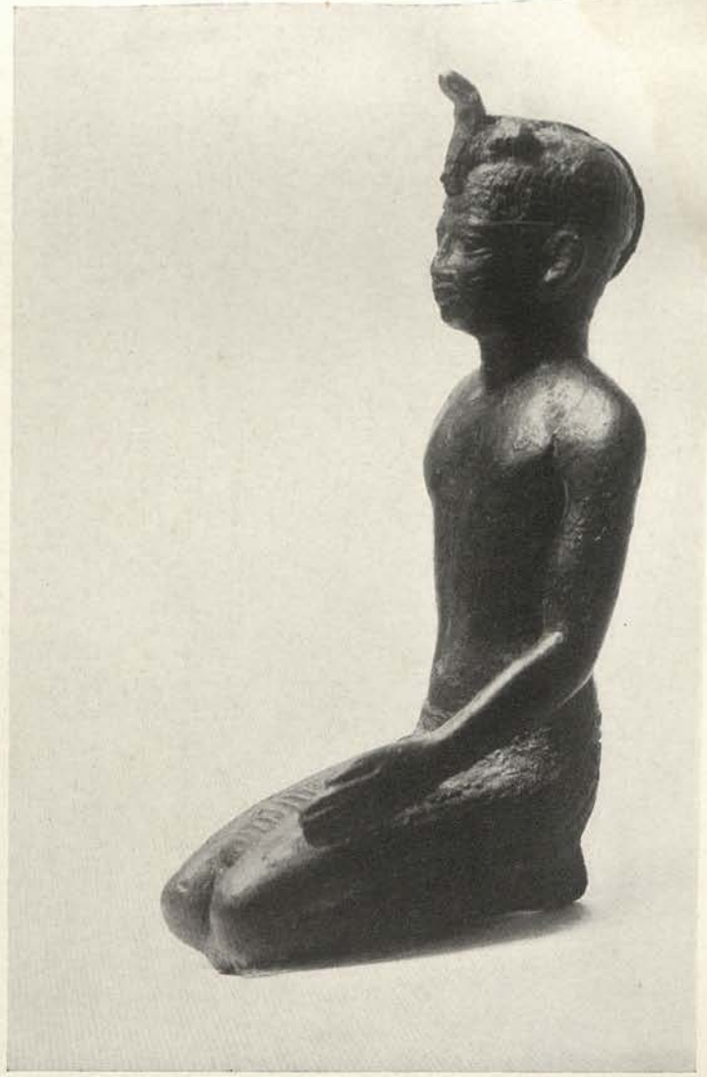


Egyptian, Middle Kingdom, ca. 2200–1600 B.C. — *A Peasant Resting. Bronze*

Plate 17

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Egyptian, New Kingdom, ca. 950 B.C. — *Kneeling Figure of a King. Bronze*

Plate 18

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

III
The Art of Greece and Rome

DURING the third millennium B.C., while the civilizations of the Near East were firmly taking root in the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris and Euphrates, a third culture was slowly emerging to the west, on the little island of Crete in the Aegean Sea. A few generations ago the history of this Aegean civilization was a sealed book. Although there were numerous references to it in Greek legend and history, resounding like the distant echoes of a lost voice, historians treated these tales of Cretan kings and minotaurs as myths born of the Greek imagination. But at the turn of the last century a young grocery clerk called Schliemann set out to realize a boyhood ambition—to find the fabled city of Troy—and succeeded in making one of the most dramatic and important discoveries in the history of archeology.

The finding of the ruins of Troy, and more important still, of Mycenae and the near-by citadel of Tiryns, was the first step in reconstructing this forgotten civilization; in 1900 came the discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans on the island of Crete itself, which made it possible to set back the date of this pre-Hellenic civilization as far as 3000 B.C. Near the little village of Knossos were found the remains of a series of palaces the oldest of which appeared to date from the third millennium. To this early period belong the little stone figurines of fertility goddesses, carved in a flat, two-dimensional style, or with softly rounded contours. The Western equivalent of Ishtar, the Assyrian mother-goddess, and prototypes of the later Greek Venus, these slender silhouettes all show the traditional symbolic gesture of arms folded beneath the breasts. (A number of museums, including the Metropolitan Museum, the Rhode Island School of Design Museum and the Royal Ontario Museum possess examples of these "Cycladic" figures, as they are called.)

Ascribed to a later period of Aegean culture are the remarkable frescoes and polychromed stucco decorations on the palace walls at Knossos; the huge earthenware jars, used to store grain and oil, and the handsomely decorated pottery; the steatite vases carved with scenes of bull-fighting games and harvest festivals, extraordinary in their realism; the exquisite ivory figurines of slim-waisted, full-breasted female divinities; and the lively animal groups rendered in glazed faïence. Since the written records of the Aegeans are as yet undeciphered, our knowledge of this culture and its antecedents is based entirely on these artistic remains. The very earliest objects show distinct Near Eastern affinities, while the architecture of Crete,

"complicated building complexes of beautiful halls and small chambers, of storerooms and corridors, of stairways and light-wells, interior courts and colonaded halls," points to a strong Egyptian influence.

The Aegean pottery which is thought to have some relationship with the ware produced by other neolithic cultures of Europe and Asia during the third and second millennia B.C., is primarily distinguished by its naturalistic treatment of plant and animal motifs. The starfish, the octopus, the dolphin, the sea-weed, the fluttering spear-grass and sedge—all the shimmering and elusive life of the Mediterranean waters, as well as the gay Mediterranean flora—crocus and myrtle, lily and hyacinth, are mirrored in this ceramic decoration. In mural painting and sculpture, the Cretan artist had acquired the ability to render the human body in a realistic manner full of verve, grace and elegance. Art critics are fond of comparing the Cretan frescoes to the work of French masters; and indeed, the gaily colored and spirited scenes of acrobatic games, ladies dressed in carelessly elegant fashion, attending bull-fights or performing ecstatic ritual dances, wasp-waisted youths bearing libation cups in religious processions, do indeed, in their decorative color scheme and animated linear rhythm, recall the spirit of Matisse, Derain and Dufy.

The great body of Cretan pottery, painting and metalwork which has survived is in the Museum of Candia at Crete and in the National Museum of Athens. Isolated examples are owned by the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, the University Museum of Philadelphia, the Brooklyn Museum, the Royal Ontario Museum, etc. At the Metropolitan Museum may be seen several rooms that vividly reconstruct the art of this period in a series of splendid facsimiles. These frescoes and other artistic remains help us to visualize the life and character of the Cretans, whose origins are shrouded in mystery. They were a dark, slender-limbed people of the so-called Mediterranean type, fond of sports, among which contests of bulls and human beings figured most prominently, and like the later Greeks, great lovers of the outdoors. Their civilization does not appear to have required any elaborate religious structures such as are found early in Egypt and the Near East, and it is assumed that their religion consisted of rather simple and primitive nature cults. The serpent, which symbolizes a beneficent nature force in so many primitive religions, seems to have played an important rôle in Cretan cults, and one of the most delightful examples of the Cretan sculpture to survive is the little ivory-and-gold figure of a goddess or priestess, holding a pair of serpents (Plate 19). Many gods of the Greek Olympus, on the other hand—Zeus, who was born on Mount Ida in Crete, Apollo, Aphrodite and Hermes among others—appear to have originated in Cretan mythology, indicating a more advanced stage of religious development.

The culture of Crete spread to Asia Minor and to many islands of the Aegean and Mediterranean. Mycenae, one of these Cretan colonies on the mainland,

eventually overshadowed Knossos, and Mycenaean culture, which fell heir to the accumulated traditions of the Aegean region, produced works of art which rivaled those of the island kingdom in refinement and luxury. From Mycenaean graves have come bronze daggers with superb inlays in various shades of gold, showing battle and hunting scenes; delightfully decorated pottery; death masks of beaten gold; ivory and gold ornaments and exquisite jewelry. In a grave near Vaphio, in Southern Greece, were found the famous Vaphio cups of solid gold with repoussé designs of animals executed with extraordinary vigor and realism.

By 1400 B.C., the Achaeans, a people of Indo-European origin, were on the move; they were followed by the Dorians and other Greek tribes who pressed southward and settled on the peninsula of Greece proper, as well as on the islands of the Aegean archipelago and along the fissured shoreline of Asia Minor.

> "Amidst the wine-dark sea . . . a fair rich island
> populous beyond compute, with ninety cities of
> mixed speech, where
> are Achaeans, Cydonians, Dorians of tossing crests
> and noble Pelasgians—"

thus runs Homer's description of the Island kingdom of Crete, indicating the great infiltration of Greek tribes. Crete became the cradle of many ancient Greek myths and gods, the home of Daedalus and Icarus, of the dread Minotaur to whom the flower of Greek youth was yearly sacrificed, of the beautiful Ariadne, daughter of King Minos of Crete who aided Theseus in finding his way out of the labyrinth and killing the bull-monster or Minotaur. Archeological discoveries and studies in the religion of this prehistoric civilization have given credence to many elements embodied in these legends. We know that conflicts ensued involving both Cretan and Mycenaean cities against the Greek newcomers who challenged the Cretan supremacy of the Mediterranean, and historians now incline to the view that the legend of Theseus is symbolic of this struggle of the Greeks with the Cretans, who apparently exacted tribute in the form of human beings.

With the coming of the Greek people the naturalistic style of the pre-Hellenic Aegean culture disappears completely and its place is taken by the geometric ornament of the most ancient vases (the so-called Dipylon style, named after the Dipylon or double gate in Athens where the finest examples were found). On the oldest of these vases, which have already assumed characteristic Greek shapes, are decorations applied in horizontal bands, consisting of hatching, zigzags, crosses and meanders with occasional stylized figures of human beings and animals. This archaic style, which lasted from about the ninth to about the seventh century B.C., is vigorous and forthright, well suited to the simple, agrarian society of the Homeric

age. By 700 B.C., these vases, which were chiefly used as funerary urns, showed an increasing use of narrative decoration—hunting scenes, chariot races, mourners lamenting their dead. The red body of the clay is now covered with a white slip, and the design as well as part of the body is painted in black, with touches of purple and red. The Metropolitan Museum owns several of these Dipylon vases, colossal in size.

In the seventh century B.C., Hellenic art received a strong impetus from the Orient. Greece had many colonies in Asia Minor and these cities, carrying on active trade with the Orient, transmitted many cultural influences from the East to the important trade centers of Greece. As a result of these Eastern contacts the Oriental repertory of design began to appear on the pottery manufactured chiefly at Corinth and Rhodes: the sphinx, the harpy, the ibex, the lotus flower, the palmette and other ancient symbols. This "orientalizing" ware was painted in black, purplish red and white; despite this limited color scheme the total effect is one of richness and exuberance. Excellent examples of both the geometric and "orientalizing" ware may be found at the Fogg Museum, the Museum of the University of California, the Johns Hopkins University Museum, the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and the Metropolitan Museum.

By the sixth century B.C., the archaic pottery of Greece has undergone considerable change in style and technique, and has become a highly characteristic medium of expression in Greek culture. The wares of Rhodes and Corinth are now supplanted by those of Athens which becomes the most important center of ceramic production in Western Europe. In the Near and Far East, pottery took a variety of forms, dictated more or less by the whim and sensitiveness of the potter; the Greeks, with their love of logic and rational design, early classified their ceramics into certain types which remained standardized throughout. The vessels for drinking and pouring liquids included the cup-shaped *kylix, kantharos* and *skyphos,* the *oenochoë,* a wine jug with round or trefoil mouth; the *olpe,* a simpler jug shape, and the *rhython,* a drinking horn in human or animal shape. For the storing and transportation of such staple products as oil, wine, grain or honey, there was the *amphora,* a large two-handled vessel; the massive *stamnos;* the *hydria,* a jug with three handles for lifting and carrying; the *krater,* a wide-mouthed mixing vessel. The *aryballos* and the *lecythus* were used for pouring oil, while the *pyxis* and *alabastron* contained perfumes and ointments. Filled with wine or oil, these vases were exported to distant shores, or presented to the winning athletes at the great festivals, or placed on graves and in temples as ritual offerings.

By the middle of the sixth century B.C., the so-called black-figured style had come into its own. Its technique consisted in drawing the figures in outline on the red clay surface of the vessel, and filling this outline with a lustrous black glaze. On the resulting silhouette, details were indicated by incised lines. Touches of purple,

red and white were often added. It was a technique which required a highly developed graphic skill, for the incised lines, in order to produce the desired effect, had to be swift, precise and telling. But the most accomplished of these vase painters were able to suggest, with an amazing economy of line, dynamic movement, complex spatial relations and dramatic sequence.

For about a hundred years (ca. 540-ca. 460 B.C.) this black-figured technique remained in vogue; the output became enormous, the workshops of Athens having gained a virtual monopoly in the production of pottery. Before long the style of decorating the vases became highly individual; schools of pottery painters developed, and signed works made their appearance. Earliest among these masters were Clitias, Nicosthenes, Amasis and Exekias; their work is still highly stylized, retaining to a marked extent a decorative quality which enhances the appearance of the vessel without marring its architectural form. The famous "François Vase" (discovered in the nineteenth century and named after its finder), is a black-figured krater dating from the first half of the sixth century B.C., and inscribed with the name of the painter Clitias. Of massive and noble proportions, the body of the vessel is decorated with five horizontal bands of figures forming a continuous narrative frieze. This vase, in the Archeological Museum at Florence, is one of the most impressive examples of the potter's and ceramic-painter's skill.

The same pronounced feeling for decorative patterns distinguishes a black-figured amphora signed by the painter Nicosthenes, in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design Museum. The mounted horsemen and standing figures are highly conventionalized, yet there is a fine sense of rhythm running through the entire composition.

The master Exekias is renowned for his superbly decorative kylix painting, *Dionysus Sailing over the Sea,* and his amphora painting, *Ajax and Achilles Playing Draughts.* In the former, the god, reclining in a dolphin-shaped sailboat, its mast entwined with a vine bearing huge bunches of grapes, is gliding over the water, suggested by lively dolphins darting back and forth. With admirable skill the artist had adjusted his design to the circular shape of the vessel, so that the form and the content of the composition are wholly suited to each other. The amphora painting is equally notable for its feeling of life and movement and its crisp, clear design.

Although there are few signed black-figured vases in our museums, there are many splendid examples which exhibit the influence of the great masters. Among these, mention might be made of a superb krater with the *Apotheosis of Herakles,* a lecythus showing *Europa on the Bull, and Hermes* (Plate 24), and an amphora with the popular mythological subject of Triptolemus Bringing the Gift of Grain to Mankind (Plate 22), all in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum; a handsome amphora showing a spirited chariot race, at the Fogg Museum; a plate with the figures of Athena, Dionysus and Poseidon, at the Royal Ontario Museum; a superb

krater on which the contest between Herakles and Apollo for the Delphic tripod is depicted; a hydria which once again portrays the favorite Athenian hero Herakles, struggling with the fierce lion of Nemea; a lovely lecythus with a group of athletes practicing to the music of the flutes; a krater showing the *Return of Hephaestus to Olympus* and a charming kylix painting of the *Birth of Athena;* this last group is owned by the Metropolitan Museum.

By 530, the vase painters of Athens had developed a new style which allowed far greater freedom of graphic expression. Instead of painting black figures on a red (or sometimes white) background, the process was reversed. The outline of the figures was incised on the red clay vessel, and the entire background was painted in black, so that the figure itself became a red silhouette. Detail lines to indicate draping, muscles, facial expression, were painted in black lines. This technique of painted instead of incised detail changed vase painting from a decorative to a purely pictorial art, for the painter, intent on achieving the illusion of realism which the new style invited, often ignored the structure of the vessel altogether, treating the rounded contours as a flat surface. Judged on their merit as graphic designs, however, the paintings of the red-figured vases are among the great achievements of Western art.

Realism becomes the dominant note as the Greek artist, at the turn of the sixth century, increases his knowledge of anatomy, foreshortening and perspective. "The archaic figures," writes J. D. Beazley, "with their clear geometric and spruce line-patterns no longer satisfy him. He is anxious to render the gradual transition from member to member, from plane to plane, the soft covering which half hides the machinery of the body, the contrasts of tension and slackness within one figure, the ripple of hair, the waywardness of drapery: to include in his art more of nature's manifold phenomena than before. That is one aim. At the same time he cannot but make his persons conform to the new ethical and social standard of his age: they must be dignified, effortless in their movements, reserved in their gestures, free from overmastering strain, rational as well as active: they must seem to be thinking beings, not mere creatures of instinct and impulse. This desire modifies and is modified by the first: art is to represent a humane, easy dignity of body and mind."

Rapidly the realistic red-figured style was to supplant the beautifully stylized decoration of black-figured pottery; at the same time, historical and genre scenes were to rival and surpass in popularity the earlier mythological subjects. The lively and varied panorama of Greek life is set before us in a series of civic and religious ceremonies, feasts and revels, intimate glimpses into the home, incidents from the life of the schoolboy, the athlete, the courtesan, the Vestal Virgin, the farmer and factory worker.

Of the hundreds of painters employed to decorate the prolific output of the Athenian factories, about a score were great masters; the names of some have survived on signed works, while others are known by their acknowledged masterpieces.

Among the former let us name Andokides, Epiktetus, Oltos, Euthymides, Euphronios, Sosias, Kleophrades, Brygos, Douris, and Makron. Among the latter are the Berlin Painter, so-called after his splendid painting on an amphora now in Berlin; the Pan Painter, whose most important work is a bell krater in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, showing Pan pursuing a shepherd; the Penthesilea Painter, named after his superb composition of Achilles and Penthesilea, on a cup in Munich; the Niobid Painter, whose chief work is a kylix krater in the Louvre, showing the death of the Niobids; the Panaitios Painter, one of the foremost ceramic artists of his day, and a number of others, among them several named after masterpieces in American museums: the Providence Painter, the Gallatin Painter, etc.

Epiktetus delights in adapting his compositions to the circular shape of the kylix. There is an impish humor in his figure of Seilenus (the eldest of the satyrs, and the constant companion and teacher of the god Dionysus). A kylix in the Robinson Collection at Johns Hopkins University shows Seilenus thirstily drinking from a huge amphora (Plate 34), while another kylix in the Boston Museum has a kneeling Seilenus, "lifting a horn to his lips; his face is wizened like a monkey's . . . he has a bright crimson tail." Still another kylix painted by Epiktetus, in the British Museum, shows Seilenus shrewdly weighing a wine-skin to determine the amount of wine left in it. These paintings of the bibulous god are the essence of sly humor, of tongue-in-cheek satire.

Kleophrades painted bold designs of great beauty and rare energy. A fragmentary krater in the Metropolitan Museum shows a striking scene of two warriors donning their armor, while a tall amphora with twisted handles, also in the Metropolitan Museum, portrays the dramatic incident of Apollo pursuing Herakles who has carried off the sacred tripod from the Delphic sanctuary. This vase, one of the most outstanding in the museum's collection, is a superb example of the powerful style of Kleophrades. A Panathenaic amphora in the Boston Museum by the same artist, showing a young victor laden with gifts, is more engaging but less brilliant in execution. A stamnos in the University Museum, Philadelphia, has two monumental compositions: *Herakles and the Lion,* and on the obverse, *Theseus and the Marathonian Bull.*

Brygos is one of the most dynamic painters; he delights in violent action, dionysiac revels and battle scenes, but occasionally he paints figures full of quiet charm and repose (Plate 25). A good many signed vases by this master are extant, while others have been identified as his work on the basis of stylistic comparison. The Metropolitan Museum has a plastic vase in the form of two female heads; the neck of this vessel is decorated with two satyrs, one playing a double flute, the other, reclining on a wine-skin, holding up a pair of castanets. A kantharos in the Boston Museum, considered one of the outstanding works by Brygos, has for its subject "Zeus, the Lover." One side shows Zeus and the boy Ganymede; on the reverse,

the amorous god is seen pursuing a fleeing maiden. Action is translated into swiftly moving rhythms, so that the whole composition becomes a joyous release of pent-up energies. Both the Boston Museum and the Metropolitan Museum own other works by Brygos, and there is a good example at the Yale University Art Gallery.

Douris, who is well represented in our museums, is especially noted for his scenes depicting the daily life of Greece; from his paintings we learn how the Athenian youth received his musical education, how the Athenian citizens caroused at their banquets, how warriors donned their armor before going into the fray. As a rule the designs of Douris are conceived along bold, sweeping lines, but he also loved to paint scenes of serene and quiet charm, like the well-known kylix at the Metropolitan Museum showing two young women folding away their clothes. The nude loveliness of their graceful, supple bodies seems to echo the lyric poetry of Sappho. The Boston Museum has four signed cups by Douris; a kylix with two running warriors is in the Robinson Collection at Baltimore, while another, showing the striding figure of the goddess Artemis armed with bow and arrow and carrying a torch, belongs to the Art Institute of Chicago.

Like Douris, the painter Makron caught the sweep and movement of action groups; one of his favorite subjects was that of maenads and satyrs dancing in wild abandon. The flowing, undulating curves of the female body are rendered with superlative and sensuous grace in Makron's paintings. His handling of drapery has extraordinary vigor and spontaneity; the bodies of nymphs and maenads throb and pulse under the sheer fabric of their swirling garments. A kylix in the Johns Hopkins Museum has for its subject a group of dancing maenads surrounding the god Dionysus; their gossamer tunics streaming in the wind, these maenads become the personification of wild ecstasy. More famous compositions by the master are the Boston Museum vase painting narrating the story of Helen of Troy, and the kylix at the Metropolitan Museum with a group of men and women. Here, too, the rich play of draperies, subtly accentuating the movements and lines of the body, add immeasurably to the exquisite rhythmic pattern.

"There is no finer vase in Boston, there is no finer vase anywhere than the bell krater with Pan pursuing a shepherd on one side and Artemis killing Acteon on the other. The technique is admirable: the Artemis and Acteon is perhaps the most finished group in all vase painting." So writes J. D. Beazley, noted authority, of a work by an anonymous master who has been named the Pan Painter after his masterpiece in the Boston Museum. The artist's use of incisive line, the dramatic boldness of his composition, the freshness and vigor with which he interprets his theme, the "lean, surprising, devilishly elegant figures," stand out as one of the unique achievements of Attic vase painting. Altogether, there are eight vases by this gifted painter in our museums; in addition to the famous bell krater, Boston owns an exquisite lecythus showing a hunter with his dog (Plate 23) and another with Eros

holding a fawn, as well as two amphorae, all painted with the same brilliantly fluent technique; another amphora is at Bowdoin College, while the Metropolitan Museum owns a krater with Dionysus and Silen, and a kotyle which represents Theseus killing the Minotaur.

The Penthesilea Painter derives his name from a cup in Munich which has for its theme the meeting of Achilles and Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons. This master is considered one of the chief exponents of the trend toward naturalism which made itself felt throughout this period. There is an increasing tendency to treat figures as individuals rather than types; facial expressions assume greater significance and the human body is painted with greater care and expressiveness. One of the finest works by the Penthesilea Painter is a vase in the Boston Museum which portrays the *Rising of Kore*. J. D. Beazley's description of the scene is admirable: "There is a stir, a rumour in the forest, and two goatmen rush up to find out what's afoot: one starts back aghast, the other capers and bellows in uncontrollable excitement, for they see a goddess slowly and awfully rising out of the ground. It is a kind of wild, woodland counterpart to that gracious sea-piece, the *Birth of Aphrodite* on the Ludovisi Throne." Besides this charming cup in Boston, there is a white-ground pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum depicting the *Judgment of Paris;* several other cups by the same master are in the Metropolitan Museum and in the Philadelphia Museum.

White-ground vases became very popular during the fifth century; they generally took the shape of the pyxis or lecythus, the delicate and pleasing proportions of these vessels combining well with the soft touches of polychrome which were added in color washes. Intended to be placed as offerings on graves, this white-ground pottery was painted with scenes which symbolized the departure of life: Charon ferrying the dead across the River Styx; Orpheus bidding farewell to Eurydice. The drawing here is sketchy and impressionistic, lacking the sculptural quality and precision of detail which distinguish the black-figured and red-figured vases; but in their freedom and spontaneity these compositions probably reflect the spirit of Greek mural painting of the time. Nothing survives of the work of the great painters of Greece—Polygnotus, Apelles, Zeuxis—but the contemporary vase painting does, to some extent at least, reflect the iconography and style of this pictorial art.

Pottery and bronze objects constituted the main body of Greek art during the prehistoric period (1100-700 B.C.), but with the formation of the Greek city-states, there arose a need for monumental sculpture and architecture. This archaic period saw the erection of a number of beautiful temples dedicated to the cults of the various Olympian deities: graceful columns in the sober Doric or the lighter, more decorative Ionic style, surrounded the inner sanctuary in which was placed the sacred

statue of the god. The severely simple column-and-lintel construction of this Greek architecture was distinguished by its exquisite sense of proportion. To it we owe some of the most beautiful and noblest buildings ever erected.

The origin of many details of architectural ornament, which we consider to be especially characteristic of Greek art, can be traced back to Egyptian and sometimes Near-Eastern models, and the amazingly rapid progress of Greek culture to the highest level of artistic achievement is in its first phase evidently stimulated by the plastic art of Egypt.

The earliest Greek statues that have come down to us date from the end of the seventh century. They are rigidly frontal, barely emerging from the block of stone, obviously fashioned after ancient prototypes in wood. For centuries these archaic statues were unknown; when they were discovered in the nineteenth century, the prevailing concept of Greek art—an idealized naturalism—relegated these highly stylized figures with their "strange taut attitudes" to the limbo of archeological curiosities. It remained for later generations to affirm their intrinsic esthetic qualities: a superb vitality, a highly expressive, rhythmic structure, a monumentality tempered by the warmth of polychrome coloring which has been marvelously well preserved in some instances. The most famous of these archaic statues is probably the *Hera of Samos* in the Louvre, a tall, columnar figure, draped in the flowing Greek garments (the long *chiton* and the shorter, heavier *himation*) which already at this early date inspired the Greek sculptors to create rhythmic patterns of great beauty.

Throughout this period the Greek sculptors were interested in the draped female figure and the nude male; the former is commonly known as *kore* (maiden), the latter as *kouros* (youth), though the statues of standing male figures are often referred to as "Apollos." A considerable number of *korai* or maidens have been preserved, indicating their great popularity as goddesses, priestesses or votive figures. Dating from the middle of the sixth century, they have been found at widely scattered sites throughout the Greek Islands and Asia Minor; at Delos was found a statue of the Winged Victory, prototype of the famous *Nikė* of Samothrace in the Louvre; at Delphi excavators uncovered, on the façade of a temple, two charming Caryatids, columnar, draped statues that were to have their counterpart later in the beautiful maidens supporting the Erechtheum Porch. Two other splendid statues belonging to this class have come from Asia Minor: the "Aphrodite" in the Louvre and a similar figure in the Lyons Museum; indeed, scholars believe that this type of *kore* may have originated in the East, or at least in Ionia, the eastern Greek province, and that Ionic sculptors may have carried the style to Athens. At any rate, before 480 B.C., they were being produced in considerable number at Athens, both in terra cotta and in marble; some of the finest *korai* were those which graced the ancient Athenian Acropolis. In 480 B.C., however, the Acropolis was sacked by the Persians and its statues buried beneath mountains of debris where they

remained until the spade of the archeologist uncovered them. One of the most beautiful of these archaic figures from the Acropolis is the so-called "Peplos Maiden" in Athens, a figure of great dignity and charm, aloof and smiling (the celebrated "archaic smile"), elegant in her richly draped garments and carefully dressed coiffure.

Both the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum own fine examples of female figures from this archaic period. In Boston there is a delightful terra cotta statuette of a woman in loosely draped garments, holding a dove clasped to her breast—presumably the goddess Aphrodite, to whom the dove was sacred, or else a woman worshiper of the goddess, bringing a votive offering. A better illustration of the great dignity and beauty possessed by these archaic figures is afforded by the small marble statue of a woman bearing offerings, in the Metropolitan Museum. The schematic arrangement of the draped garments is carried out with an extraordinary feeling for stylized design, the difference in weight and texture of the garments being suggested by a skillful variation in the spacing of the folds. The hair is treated as a single mass; the face, with its suggestion of a smile, is at once tender and austere. Again there is evidence of that "simplicity and precision of form and unsurpassed sureness in stylization" which, as Stanley Casson has pointed out, have endeared archaic sculpture to such artists of our own day as Mestrovic, Bourdelle, Epstein and Maillol.

More sophisticated are the little female figures which adorn a group of bronze mirrors that have come down to us from the archaic period. A charming example in the Boston Museum shows, appropriately enough, the goddess Aphrodite; she is clad in a draped *himation* and holds a flower in her outstretched hand. Of the group in the Metropolitan Museum, the most engaging by far is the mirror which has for its support the bronze figure of a slender little girl, nude, her hair elaborately dressed in spiral curls.

The archaic male figures are represented by a number of standing *kouroi* or "Archaic Apollos"; in some cases the head alone remains, but even that is sufficient to enrich our knowledge of this early phase of Greek sculpture. Foremost among these male figures is a group in the National Museum at Athens: the celebrated *Apollo of Sounion* who retains "the Egyptian scheme of broad shoulders, narrow waist and small flanks"; his arms are still rigidly held to the sides of his body, his fists clenched, but he strides forward, and there is an air of energy and forceful vitality about him; the *Apollo of Melos* is a slender youth who lacks the vigor of the Sounion Apollo and has something of the ascetic about him, while another "Apollo," from Attica, is full-bodied and smiling. The "Apollo" at the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 20) is closely related to the figure in the Museum at Athens. His hair is rendered in the same decorative stylization; his body, like theirs, has just emerged from the strict frontality of Egyptian sculpture and is beginning to move about. As in the other *kouroi* the bodily structure submits to a schematic treatment;

but, to quote Miss Gisela Richter, "the simplification in the rendering of form imparts a grandeur to these early figures which makes us forget the departures from anatomical truths."

When the *Archaic Apollo* was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, the *Manchester Guardian* wrote enthusiastically that it was "one of the most important purchases ever made by a museum in the sphere of Greek art." Like the *kouroi* in the Museum at Athens, our Apollo does, indeed, epitomize those qualities of simplicity, austerity and grandeur which characterize the archaic art of Greece. Somewhat later than the *Apollo* is an Attic grave-relief in the Metropolitan Museum, representing a young athlete and his little sister. An inscription on this relief reads: "*This was erected by Megakles, his father, in memory of his beloved Menon, with whom rests Phainarete, beloved daughter.*" Like the famous gravestone of the *hoplite* Aristion in Athens, the New York stele, fragmentary though it is, conveys admirably the calm, philosophic spirit with which the ancient Greeks appear to have accepted the idea of death. Stylistically, the head of the athlete shows greater elaboration of detail in the treatment of the hair and in the suggestion of facial expression than is common in the "Apollo" figures, indicating the growing trend toward naturalism.

Among the heads of *kouroi* that have been preserved, the oldest (ca. 600 B.C.) and most famous are the so-called Dipylon head in the Athens Museum (found in the Dipylon cemetery) which, although damaged, is full of intense vitality, and the "Rampin" head in the Louvre (named after its former owner), of unusual interest because the hair and beard are both treated with elaborate stylization. In America there is a fine marble head of the sixth century, in the Boston Museum, and another, dating from the end of the sixth century, in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City; in both heads, the modeling of the face is broad and unusually sensitive, while the hair is richly stylized; another archaic head, in the Metropolitan Museum, has the fillet-bound hair, geometrically arranged, and the smiling countenance typical of the "Apollos." To the later archaic period (550-480 B.C.) belong two closely related heads, one in Boston, the other in the Metropolitan Museum. These lack the elaborate stylization of the older heads, for the modeling is extremely broad and simple; the hair is no longer arranged in spiral ringlets but treated as a single mass, while sensitive features reveal a growing sense of individuality.

In addition to the monumental sculptures of archaic Greece, our museums possess a number of excellent small bronzes which supplement our knowledge of this period. Among the most interesting of these are the *Hermes Carrying a Ram* in the Boston Museum; *Herakles Wielding His Club* and an *Arcadian Peasant* in the Metropolitan Museum (Plates 35, 36), all dating from the sixth century.

The period with which we have dealt so far (700-500 B.C.) saw the emergence of the powerful Greek city-states, each with far-flung colonies scattered from the

south of France and Northern Spain to the Black Sea and Asia Minor. It saw the replacement of the ruling oligarchy by a succession of tyrants, some benevolent, like Periander and Pisistratos, and others who abused their power until they were either ousted or slain, their dictatorship being replaced by a democratic form of government. Owing allegiance to no centralized government, the city-states, despite intense commercial rivalry and internecine feuds, assiduously fostered the spirit of Hellenism by organizing great religious and athletic festivals, the most famous of which were held at Olympia, Delphi and Delos. It was because of this striving for "a common culture, a common ritual and a common idea of an organized and civilized way of life" that Greece succeeded in keeping aloof from "barbarian" nations; and in the centuries that followed, her creative expression like her political development became something peculiarly and inalienably her own.

Many of the masterpieces of archaic sculpture discussed above had been commissioned to adorn splendid public buildings—the temple of Athene at Athens, the temple of Apollo at Delphi, the "Treasury" of Siphnos; for the Greek city-states were waxing prosperous, and civic pride called for fitting monuments. But at the turn of the fifth century the growing power of the Achaemenid Persians who were consolidating their world empire began to clash with Greek interests, and while other rivals, Carthage and Etruria, were menacing Greece in the West, Persia unleashed her forces in the East. For the next two decades (500-480 B.C.) all the resources which Greece could muster were devoted to her war effort; in a series of battles which have become symbolic in the annals of history—Marathon, Salamis, Plataea—she repulsed the Persian expeditionary force, destroyed the flower of Achaemenid manhood, and emerged victorious from one of the world's decisive conflicts.

In the period of recovery and reconstruction which followed the Persian wars, national feeling ran high. The mighty monarch of the East, he whom the Greek historians called "king of kings," had been defeated by the Greek cities; temples and monuments arose to honor the gods who had helped the Greeks to victory, and to celebrate the hard-won Greek mastery of the Mediterranean. The next three decades ushered in an era of great artistic activity which paralleled the almost miraculous development of Greek drama and philosophy; Aeschylus probed into the emotions of humanity; the scientists and philosophers examined the physical nature of the universe; and the sculptors were preoccupied with solving the problems of creating figures that moved freely in space. To a certain extent the solution had already been worked out by the sculptors who carved the dynamic groups of figures which filled the pediments of the Temple of Aphaia in Aegina (an island in the Gulf of Athens which had remained unaffected by the Persian wars). But the gods and heroes who struggle in these pediment groups (the scenes are episodes from the Trojan War) are still archaic in appearance, despite their marvelous freedom of

limb; and the Greek sculptors were attempting to create figures that would have all the vitality of living men and embody their ideal of physical beauty as well.

The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, built during this reconstruction era (ca. 460 B.C.) shows, in its spirited reliefs representing the Twelve Labors of Herakles, this transition from the archaic to the so-called classic phase of Greek sculpture. There are still many traces of archaism, but there is an insistent striving to break away from the stylization of the earlier period and to achieve the complete freedom of naturalism.

Contemporary with the pedimental figures from the Temple of Zeus at Olympia is the famous life-size statue of the *Charioteer of Delphi,* the only monumental figure in bronze to survive from this period. The striking assertion of realism is well exemplified here; for while the hair is still elaborated in a conventional pattern, it is no longer arranged in the tight, geometric curls of the archaic "Apollos" but tumbles loosely about the head, while eyes, nose and mouth are almost startling in their lifelikeness. Most significant of all, the "archaic smile" has disappeared; the *Charioteer* wears the arrogant expression of a trained athlete steeled for a contest of nerve and sinew.

Among the artists of this transitional period, only one distinct personality emerges—that of the sculptor Myron of Athens, who seems to have been active approximately from 480 to 440 B.C. All his original works have perished, but excellent copies made in Roman times have been preserved for us of at least two of his masterpieces—his *Discobolus* or Discus Thrower and his statue of the satyr Marsyas. Both figures convey the dynamic quality of Myron's work, his interest in movement, his ability to handle the human body in action. The sculptors immediately preceding and following Myron were also preoccupied with the problem of rendering the movements of the human body. The great athletic festivals of Greece provided an unsurpassed opportunity for studying the swift-moving, well-balanced, superbly poised figures of young athletes, and the Greek sculptors never tired of recording the speed and grace of the runner, the suppleness of the discus thrower and pole-vaulter, the vigorous muscle-play of the boxer.

Several figures in our museums typify this style: a Discobolus (apparently antedating Myron's famous statue); a figure of a man raising his hand in a gesture of prayer and salute, and a young athlete with arms outstretched, all at the Metropolitan Museum; a statuette of the aged Herakles and a bronze statuette of a youth hunching his back, both in the Boston Museum. Most of these figures probably reflect the influence of Myron, or perhaps Myron was most representative of the revolutionary change which, as Miss Richter points out, "took place by the uneven distribution of the weight of the body and the consequent abandonment of the symmetrical pose; for by making the figure rest more on one leg than on the other, the two become different and the medium line of the body forms a curve instead of

a straight line. The variety and interest gained by this innovation are amazing. The figure suddenly acquires elasticity; it can walk and move about and is no longer confined to one place."

From the Italian peninsula, which at this time housed a number of Greek colonies, have come some notable works fashioned by Greek sculptors. Most interesting among these are two beautiful marble reliefs, the so-called "Ludovisi Throne" in the National Museum, Rome, and another relief which appears to be closely related to it, in the Boston Museum (Plate 37). The "Ludovisi" relief which, like the Boston one, is three-sided, represents a subject which has been variously interpreted as *The Birth of Aphrodite* or *The Rising of Kove* (an earth-goddess), while the Boston relief is said to represent the contest between Aphrodite and Persephone for Adonis. Whether these two reliefs once formed, as has been asserted by critics, part of the same compositional scheme (a great altar), or whether they were executed independently, they are certainly animated by the same spirit, a quickening response to the miracle of human life.

The period of transition in Greek art came to an end in the middle of the fifth century B.C., when both sculpture and architecture achieved a dramatic climax. Under the brilliant leadership of Pericles, Athens emerged as the great political and cultural center of Greece. Her port, the Piræus, was thronged with vessels from every part of the world; her growing commerce, as well as the ambitious building program undertaken by Pericles, taxed the demands of labor so heavily that it became necessary to import thousands of slaves, and before long the slave population outnumbered the citizens of Athens. Athenian industries thus founded on slave labor yielded huge returns, but it is characteristic of the spirit of the age that these profits were freely spent on great public enterprises, while the private citizen of Athens lived in utmost simplicity.

Having set himself the task of beautifying Athens, so that she might become "the teacher of mankind," Pericles appointed the renowned sculptor Phidias to supervise the construction of the buildings that were to grace the Acropolis: the Parthenon, a temple sacred to Athena Parthenos, the Virgin Goddess of the city; the Propylæa or monumental entrance gate; the temple of Niké Apteros, the Wingless Victory; and various other structures that remain, although partly ruined, among the greatest architectural monuments of all time.

Phidias is acknowledged by ancient writers the greatest master of antiquity. Not only did he supervise the erection of the magnificent Acropolis structures, but he is also believed to have planned their sculptural decorations, and to have executed certain of the statues. Of his original works, none has survived; the great gold and ivory statue of Athena, which he made for the Parthenon, is known to us only through mediocre copies which convey little of the artist's original conception. Another celebrated work, his monumental statue of Zeus, made for the sanctuary at

Olympia, was known to antiquity as one of the seven wonders of the world; classical writers vied with each other in describing its beauty, but we know of it only from their descriptions and some reproductions on ancient coins. However, while the Athena Parthenos and other Phidian statues of the goddess have survived only in poor copies, we are more fortunate in the case of the Olympian Zeus, for a splendid marble head of the god, owned by the Boston Museum, quite faithfully reflects the heroic style of Phidias.

The figures of the Parthenon are in many ways the greatest achievement of Greek sculpture. They consist of two monumental groups in full round which formerly filled the eastern and western pediments, and a series of low-reliefs carved on the metopes (the panels between the beam-ends), as well as a magnificent carved frieze which ran the whole circumference of the interior building, or cella. The composition of the eastern pediment represented, according to ancient authorities, the birth of the goddess Athena, while in the western pediment was depicted the struggle of Athena and Poseidon for the city of Athens; the metopes showed scenes of combat —the Athenians struggling with centaurs and Amazons, as well as actual foes, while the frieze celebrated the Panathenaic procession held in Athens every fourth year.

While many of the glorious marbles suffered later in the partial destruction of the Acropolis, many of the figures have been preserved, the most memorable being a group of deities, and various sections of the Panathenaic frieze. Perhaps the finest of the Parthenon marbles are those which were brought to England in the nineteenth century where, as the celebrated "Elgin Marbles," they remain one of the greatest treasures of the British Museum. Among these are the "Three Fates" from the eastern pediment; the metope reliefs of Lapiths battling with centaurs, and the superb group of horsemen from the Panathenaic frieze representing all the citizens of Athens paying homage to their tutelary goddess.

With the Parthenon sculptures, Greek art attains a universality which it had hitherto not possessed. Even more so than the harmoniously proportioned buildings, these figures of gods and men reflect the rationality and lucidity of Greek thought; there is no sense of groping uncertainty here: the figures move about freely with consummate ease. The classic restraint which has since become synonymous with Greek art, is everywhere apparent: a lofty serenity marks even the most dramatic motif, and the heroic combats of centaurs and Lapiths take place in an atmosphere of Olympian calm. The general treatment of the figures is broad and firm; the last vestige of archaism has disappeared; the decorative treatment of hair and garments, the insistence on detail have given way to broad, sweeping masses that emphasize the salient attractions. This idealizing tendency is perhaps the most striking characteristic of later fifth century sculpture, so that while the figures emerge as glorious beings in the plenitude of youthful vigor and physical beauty, there is an implied sense of the superhuman about them.

The Parthenon sculptors continued the archaic tradition of portraying the nude male body while the female body was draped in softly flowing garments. The treatment of the draperies in such figures as the "Three Fates" or the Caryatids—the tall, columnar figures of maidens supporting the roof of the Erechtheum porch, or even more strikingly, the *Victory Tying Her Sandal,* from the Temple of Wingless Victory, must be counted among the subtlest achievements of plastic art.

Almost equally revered by the ancients was the sculptor Polyclitus of Argos, a contemporary of Phidias. Similarly intent on the representation of the human form at its utmost perfection, unlike Phidias who chose gods for his subjects, Polyclitus glorified the god-like grace and beauty of Greek athletes and maidens. The custom of making copies of famous statues has preserved for us three subjects by Polyclitus: the *Doryphorus* or Spear-bearer; the *Diadumenus,* an athlete winding a fillet about his brow; and the *Wounded Amazon.* All three are known through marbles of varying excellence. That same custom in later Greek and especially in Roman times has often rendered difficult the task of determining the original form of a given subject, for a sculptor commissioned to make such a copy often introduced his own variations on the theme, and sometimes barely alluded to the original. Moreover, the originals were usually cast in bronze, while the copies were executed in marble, a medium that necessitated the placing of a support (usually a tree-stump) beside the figure, so that certain changes in the composition were inevitably imposed. In many cases, however, it is at least possible to arrive at the artist's intention by comparing later copies with images struck on coins and with descriptions left by the classical writers.

In the case of Polyclitus, all evidence indicates that the three surviving subjects are faithfully rendered after his originals. *The Diadumenus,* represented by a superb copy in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 31), is handled with consummate skill: he has the athlete's splendid physique here modeled in broad, free masses. The *Wounded Amazon* (Plate 32) at the Metropolitan Museum is an especially fine rendition of the original. According to tradition, this figure was entered in a contest of the three foremost sculptors of the age: Phidias, Polyclitus and Kresilas (known to us through copies of his portrait bust of Pericles). Each executed a statue of an Amazon to adorn the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and Polyclitus is reported to have won first prize with the *Wounded Amazon.* A number of other figures reflecting the style of Polyclitus are to be found in American museums; the finest of these, according to Professor George H. Chase, is the figure of a youth in the Farnsworth Museum at Wellesley College (Plate 42); Rhode Island has another *Amazon,* while a *Narcissus* in the Fogg Museum is notable for its fine modeling. The style of Kresilas is admirably conveyed by a head of an athlete in the Metropolitan Museum, and equally well in a head of *Diomed* owned by the Boston Museum.

Indicative of the philosophic temper of the fifth century in Greece are the grave-reliefs, depicting family groups or individuals performing some pleasant, familiar task.

No stress or grief mars these faces in quiet repose; they are serene and beautiful, calm and gracious. The most famous and certainly the loveliest of these tombstones is the stela of Hegesos in the museum at Athens, representing a Grecian lady glancing for the last time at the box of jewels which a maidservant holds up for her inspection; there is no sorrow as the hand lifts a precious jewel from the box; rather is the feeling one of dignity and calm resignation. The most impressive monument of this kind in America is the fifth century stela of a warrior in the Worcester Museum.

Toward the end of the fifth century, significant changes took place in the political and economic life of Greece which left their impress upon the art of the following century. The rivalry for individual power, inherent in the autonomous organization of the Greek city-states, broke out with full fury in 431 B.C. The Peloponnesian War which ensued resulted in temporary supremacy now for one city-state, now for another; Athens forfeited her political hegemony, never to retrieve it again, while Sparta and Thebes each claimed the leadership for a time, only to relinquish it to a stronger contestant.

At the end of the Peloponnesian War the Greek cities were left in a state of utter exhaustion. The long struggle had drained the public treasuries, although individual fortunes had steadily accumulated. No wave of civic pride and enthusiasm, such as had marked the end of the Persian Wars, manifested itself. There was hardly a family in Greece that had escaped the loss of some beloved person, and the spiritual weariness that set in as an aftermath of the war lacked even the consolation of a national victory or common achievement.

The vast sculptural ensembles of the fifth century, beautiful in their lofty idealism, but remote and impersonal, no longer sufficed as an expression of human experience; individual tragedy could no longer find alleviation in the sight of these serene and impassive Olympian deities. The gods were constrained to descend to the immediate level of man in order to retain his devotion. An eagerness to explore the causes of joy and suffering was now manifested. Artists became absorbed in the problem of analyzing and rendering human emotions; but it was not the everyday experience of men that they sought to record; rather was it the occult experience of the individual in communion with the powers that shaped his life. The attempt to comprehend not only the physical nature of things but also the laws that govern man's relation to the universe had always been characteristic of the speculative, inquiring Greek mind. In the fourth century it prompted the immortal dialogues of Plato and the analytical writings of Aristotle; but men were also led to seek an answer to the eternal Why by less rational methods. Mystery cults introduced from the East became popular, especially the famed Eleusinian Mysteries, and fourth century art reflects not only a rational, but more often a mystic approach to life.

The greatest name in fourth century sculpture is that of Praxiteles. In him we have the first master whose work is known to us not merely from Roman copies, but

from an extant original—the celebrated marble statue of Hermes holding the infant god Dionysus, now in the museum at Olympia. The stalwart figure of the young god, gracefully leaning toward the infant, typifies the esthetic ideal of the fourth century. Since the preceding period had solved every technical problem connected with the ideal representation of the human body in marble, clay or bronze, there remained only the possibility of further refinement, of introducing elements that soften the austere beauty of fifth century art. This was the task which Praxiteles and his followers undertook, and while their work is different in spirit from the heroically conceived statues of the fifth century, it is no less masterful in execution.

The Hermes of Praxiteles as well as two statues attributed to the hand of the master and surviving only in copies—the Aphrodite of Cnidus in the Vatican and the "Marble Faun" in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, illustrate the new spirit which animates Greek sculpture. All three figures frankly extol the beauty of the human body. They attempt not so much to represent as to *reproduce* the human figure. Sculpture has become imitative rather than expressive. Classic harmony and restraint yield to sensuous grace; gleaming marble translates the satin texture of human flesh; radiant limbs pulsate with life. In the Cnidian Aphrodite we find, for the first time, a nude female body modeled for its sheer physical loveliness; in the "Marble Faun," a curly-headed youth, nude save for a tiger skin slung about his shoulder, an erotic note, suggested by the languorous pose of the body and the dreamy smile characteristic of Praxiteles, is sounded.

Several famous Praxitelean works have found their way into American museums; outstanding among these are the *Head of Aphrodite* in the Boston Museum (Plate 30) and the enchanting *Head of a Young Girl* in the Toledo Museum (Plate 29). In both works one notes the exquisite contours, the delicate modeling proceeding subtly from plane to plane, the hair, treated in flowing masses, the lips curved in a tender smile, the soft reverie of the eyes with their melting, far-away gaze. Nothing could be warmer, more human, more gracious in its appeal than these idealized portraits of Grecian womanhood. But the accent on sentiment has replaced the chaste purity of Polyclitus' *Wounded Amazon* and grave stele.

An exquisite marble head of a goddess, from Chios, in the Boston Museum also reflects the style of Praxiteles, while the influence of the master is further detected in a head of an athlete in the Metropolitan Museum and in a torso of Dionysus in the museum at Providence. In summing up the qualities of Praxiteles and his school, whose influence on later Greek sculpture was far-reaching, we note the striving for a more individual expression, the radiant faces suffused by a dreamy, mystic smile, the languorous pose of the body, the deliberate celebration of youthful beauty. These were the elements which subsequent schools were to develop into exquisite self-conscious charm.

Contemporary with Praxiteles were the sculptors Scopas and Lysippus. Here again, in the work of Scopas, the accent on unrestrained emotion is laid with sensational effect; a half-open mouth, eyes distended with pain, a head thrown back in anguish, appear for the first time. Little is known of Scopas' life or his original works, but it is significant that his most important commissions were executed in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, where the classic style of Greece was later to be transformed by a patent emotionalism and romantic individualism. A number of statues embodying the characteristics of Scopas have been attributed to the master, including a statue of Meleager, the tragic youth doomed to death in the hunt for the Calydonian boar. The finest Meleager copy is owned by the Fogg Museum; several sculptures in Boston and the Metropolitan Museum also recall the style of Scopas by their emotional intensity.

The sculptor Lysippus has always been closely associated with the name of Alexander the Great, the youthful conqueror who subdued the proud Greek cities at the end of the fourth century. Several portrait studies of Alexander, believed to have been done by Lysippus or his assistants, have come down to us; but the most important work ascribed to this master is the figure of an athlete scraping the oil from his body, the so-called *Apoxyomenus,* in the Vatican Museum, while a Seilenus holding the infant Bacchus (Louvre) is also in his manner. Both figures are distinguished by their slender muscular grace.

The reign of Alexander the Great ushers in a new period in Greek art. The irresistible warrior extended the bounds of Greece almost to the farthest reaches of the known world: the kingdoms of Asia Minor, the Achaemenid Empire, and the north of India as well as the Nile region in Egypt succumbed to his armies. Politically, the conquests of Alexander proved rather futile, for the vast world empire which he had striven to create fell apart at his death; but the cultural penetration of Greece into Asia and Egypt was to prove of great significance in the history of civilization. The centuries that followed saw the swift rise to power of the hellenized Asiatic cities—Seleucia on the Tigris, Antioch on the Orontes, Ephesus, Pergamon, Miletus, Rhodes —and it was there, and in the flourishing city of Alexandria which the young monarch had founded to commemorate his conquests, that Greek art took root and grew sturdy enough to last for almost a thousand years.

The art of this period is called Hellenistic, to distinguish it from the earlier Greek art which is usually referred to as Hellenic. At first the arts of the hellenized centers are hardly different from that of the Greek islands; but gradually the tendency toward realism, already manifest in the work of Praxiteles, Scopas and Lysippus, gains vigor, and Hellenistic sculptors turn to genre and to a deliberate exploitation of emotional subject matter, altogether unknown among older works. The grace and charm which characterized the Praxitelean figures are now accented more strongly; physical perfection becomes over-refined, and the female figure is shown in its most sensuous aspects.

While Hellenistic art lacks the grandeur and lofty idealism of earlier Greek art, the four statues that have aroused the widest popular admiration were all made during the Hellenistic period: the victory of Samothrace and the Aphrodite of Melos (the Venus de Milo) in the Louvre, the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön group in the Vatican have symbolized the best of Greek art to generations who had no knowledge of the more ancient masterpieces.

Architectural sculpture is rare in Hellenistic art; such great ensembles as the Pergamon figures, commemorating the victory of the Hellenistic city over invading Gauls, are the exception rather than the rule. Accumulated wealth is devoted to works intended for private rather than public enjoyment. Portrait heads become popular, and realistic genre groups, such as the well-known *Boy with a Goose,* in the Capitoline Museum at Rome, capture the popular fancy. In short, the subject matter has become dramatic and narrative rather than heroic; art no longer expresses an ideal: it prefers to tell a story. Every aspect of life is now explored for its novelty and sensationalism; ugliness and deformity are paraded for their emotional impact. Two figures at the Metropolitan Museum, the *Old Market Woman* and the *Old Fisherman,* are typical illustrations of this dramatic realism, while a head of the philosopher Epicurus at the Metropolitan Museum, and an idealized portrait head of Homer in the Boston Museum instance the growing individualism of Hellenistic art.

Most American museums own good examples of Hellenistic sculpture. A bronze statue of the goddess Aphrodite, in the Metropolitan Museum, suggests the influence of Praxiteles whose Cnidian Aphrodite inspired so many figures of the goddess of love, including the Aphrodite of Melos. Among the genre pieces, the *Two Boxers* at the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery (Plate 41) are vigorous studies in realism, while the *Dancing Woman* at the Walters Art Gallery (Plate 43) typifies the charming terra cotta figurines produced during this period.

When the Greeks came to trade with the inhabitants of the Italian peninsula and, during the age of colonization, to establish settlements there, they found the country populated by a mixture of tribes of various racial origins. Among these were the Etruscans, who are believed to have come to the peninsula from the Asiatic mainland; intrepid and resourceful, they established their supremacy over neighboring tribes, and the sixth century B.C. found them the most advanced people, culturally as well as politically, among the Mediterranean and Indo-European racial groups who inhabited the peninsula.

Commercial relations with Greece brought to the Etruscans the rich culture of the archaic Greek period, and although early Etruscan art is strongly Oriental in feeling, by the sixth century Greek influence had become paramount. Greek pottery, imported in great quantities, was imitated by the Etruscans who produced a hand-

some, black-figured ware; while archaic Greek sculpture also served as a prototype for early Etruscan bronzes. Fundamentally, however, the plastic arts of Greece and Etruria show vast differences. The Greek sculptor was interested primarily in discovering plastic relationships, while to the Etruscan sculptor a statue presented infinite possibilities for surface decoration; thus Etruscan figures are often painted, incised or molded into ornamental patterns, a practice which emphasizes the affinities of Etruscan and Oriental art. Moreover, the Etruscan preferred to represent subjects in violent motion, grotesque figures and scenes of brutality which contrast sharply with the restraint and repose of Greek art. Such figures as the little bronze statue of a warrior in the British Museum, the bronze Mars (a deity to whom the warlike Etruscans devoted a special cult), in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery (Plate 47) and the terra cotta *Warrior* in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 49) illustrate both the points of resemblance and the fundamental differences between Etruscan and Greek art: the former are vigorously realistic, their stylized surface ornament never ceases to play an important part in their compositional scheme.

The Etruscans had early learned to utilize the rich metal deposits of Tuscany; having become expert bronze casters, they produced a wealth of beautiful objects in cast and beaten bronze—exquisitely incised mirrors with scenes from daily life or mythology, like the splendid example in the museum at Providence (Plate 46); engraved cists or toilet boxes (Plate 48) of which the Walters Art Gallery owns an unusually rich collection, as well as furniture and other accessories for the enjoyment of a luxury-loving aristocracy.

After the fifth century B.C. the political power of the Etruscans diminished steadily, although culturally they continued to play an important part for another three hundred years. To the Romans, whose supremacy increased with the waning power of Etruria, the Etruscans transmitted many important elements, religious as well as artistic, which they had received from Greece; they also taught them the principle of arch construction (probably brought from the Orient) that was to play so conspicuous a rôle in later Roman architecture.

Colonized in the eighth century B.C. by a mixture of Indo-European and Mediterranean tribes, the city of Rome during the next few hundred years extended her rule over the entire peninsula and ultimately over the whole Mediterranean world. The Romans had first learned to admire Greek art when it had filtered in through Etruscan and Greek settlements on the peninsula; but with the capture of Corinth (146 B.C.) and other important centers of Hellenic culture, Greek works of art, carried off by the conquerors as part of their spoils, began to flow into Rome in a vast stream. As Roman wealth increased, the demand for Greek art grew steadily; the patricians of Rome commissioned famous copies of Greek statues for their gardens and villas and created a market for Greek "antiques"; Roman as well as Greek masters

were kept busy reproducing bronze and marble figures to adorn the temples and forum of Rome.

Militarists and imperialists of the first order, the Romans were far more interested in extending their empire than in creating works of art. Their practical genius for planning and organization was responsible for the building of splendid bridges, spacious domed temples and vast amphitheaters, public baths, and triumphal arches commemorating their military exploits. But their art forms were borrowed from Greece, or rather from the Hellenistic schools which flourished in Asia Minor and Alexandria.

The Romans nevertheless contributed certain stylistic and iconographic innovations; they developed the use of naturalistic ornament, employing a profusion of decorative floral motifs which were afterward taken over in a body by the European Renaissance; they elaborated the "illusionist" technique involving complex spatial relations in painting and relief sculpture; and they used with extraordinary skill the method of continuous narration in their low-reliefs. The celebrated *Ara Pacis,* or Altar of Peace, erected in Rome a few years before the birth of Christ, exemplifies these new Roman elements. "The actual altar," writes Professor Chase, "was surrounded by a paved square and enclosed by a marble wall some twenty feet high. The wall was elaborately decorated with reliefs both inside and out. Among the subjects were scenes of sacrifice, an allegorical figure of *Tellus,* Mother Earth, between personifications of Air and Water, elaborate garlands of fruit and flowers suspended from ox-skulls, scrolls of foliage with buds and flowers attached, and two long processions of dignitaries, presumably representing the ceremonies at the foundation of the altar." It is this taste for naturalism in decoration which distinguishes Roman art so sharply from the classic art of Greece. The gift for plastic narration is best illustrated in such monuments as the Arch of Titus with its deeply undercut reliefs of processional figures.

The so-called Graeco-Roman period (second century B.C. to first century A.D.) saw a mingling of Greek and Roman styles—Greek forms and subject matter interpreted in the naturalistic, somewhat florid Roman manner (Plate 40). The Roman love of realism found even more concrete expression in the portrait statues and busts of the great national figures of the day. To the Augustan age (27 B.C.-14 A.D.) belongs the imposing statue of the Emperor Augustus in the Vatican and the fine basalt head of Octavia, sister of the emperor, in the Louvre. Somewhat later in date are a splendid portrait bust of a member of the Julio-Claudian family in the Metropolitan Museum, and the well-known terra cotta bust of a Roman in the Boston Museum (Plate 51). The collection of Roman portraits of men and women, belonging to the Metropolitan Museum, is particularly fine, while individual examples of high quality are to be found in many of our museums.

The realistic elements which are so marked a characteristic of Roman sculpture are to be found in the graphic arts of Rome as well. Mosaics (Plate 45) and paintings, such as the famous frescoes discovered in Pompeii, make use of devices such as chiaroscuro, perspective and foreshortening to achieve an air of reality. This was the "illusionist" painting which early Christianity was to inherit from Rome, and which was to be handed down, through manuscript illumination, to the Gothic age.

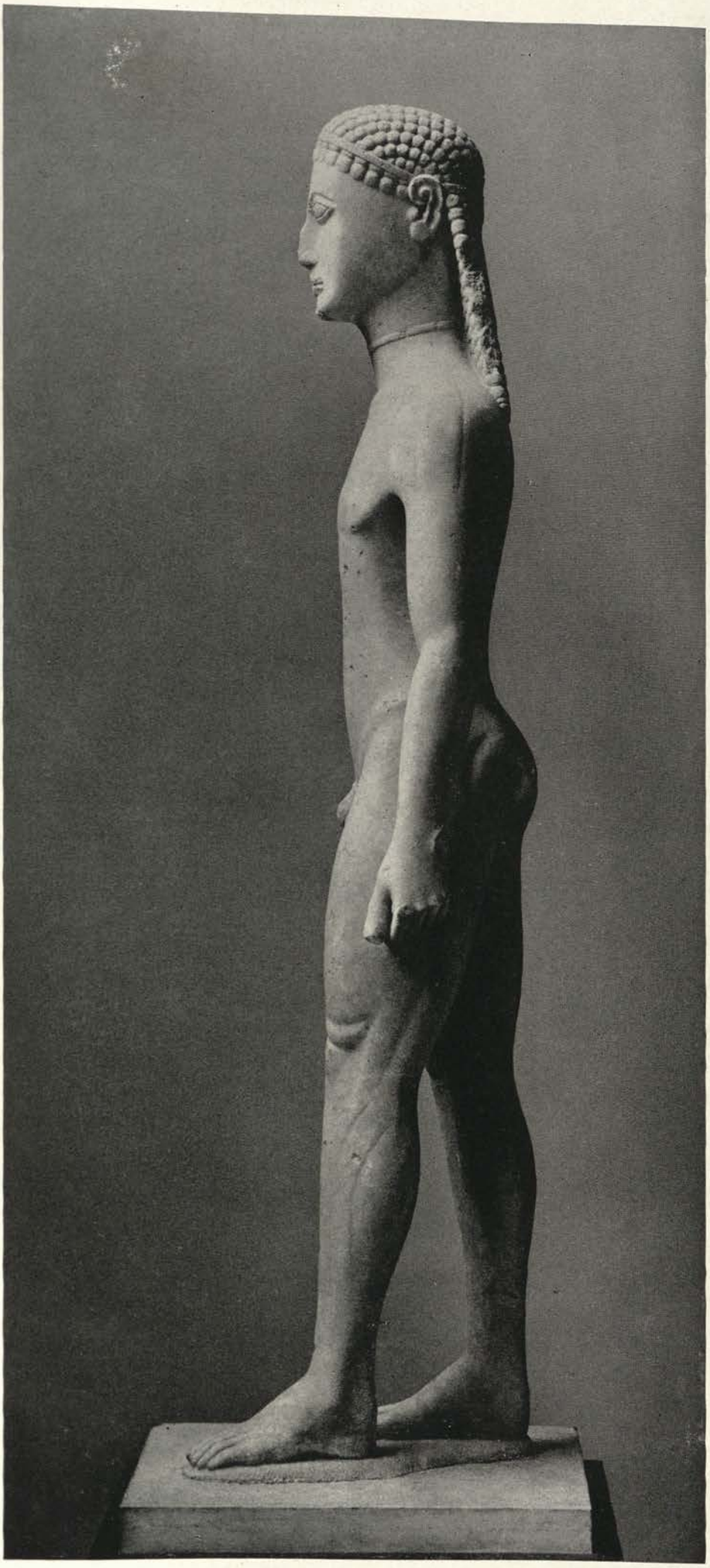
Cretan, 1600 B.C.

Statuette of the Snake Goddess.
Ivory and Gold

Plate 19

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

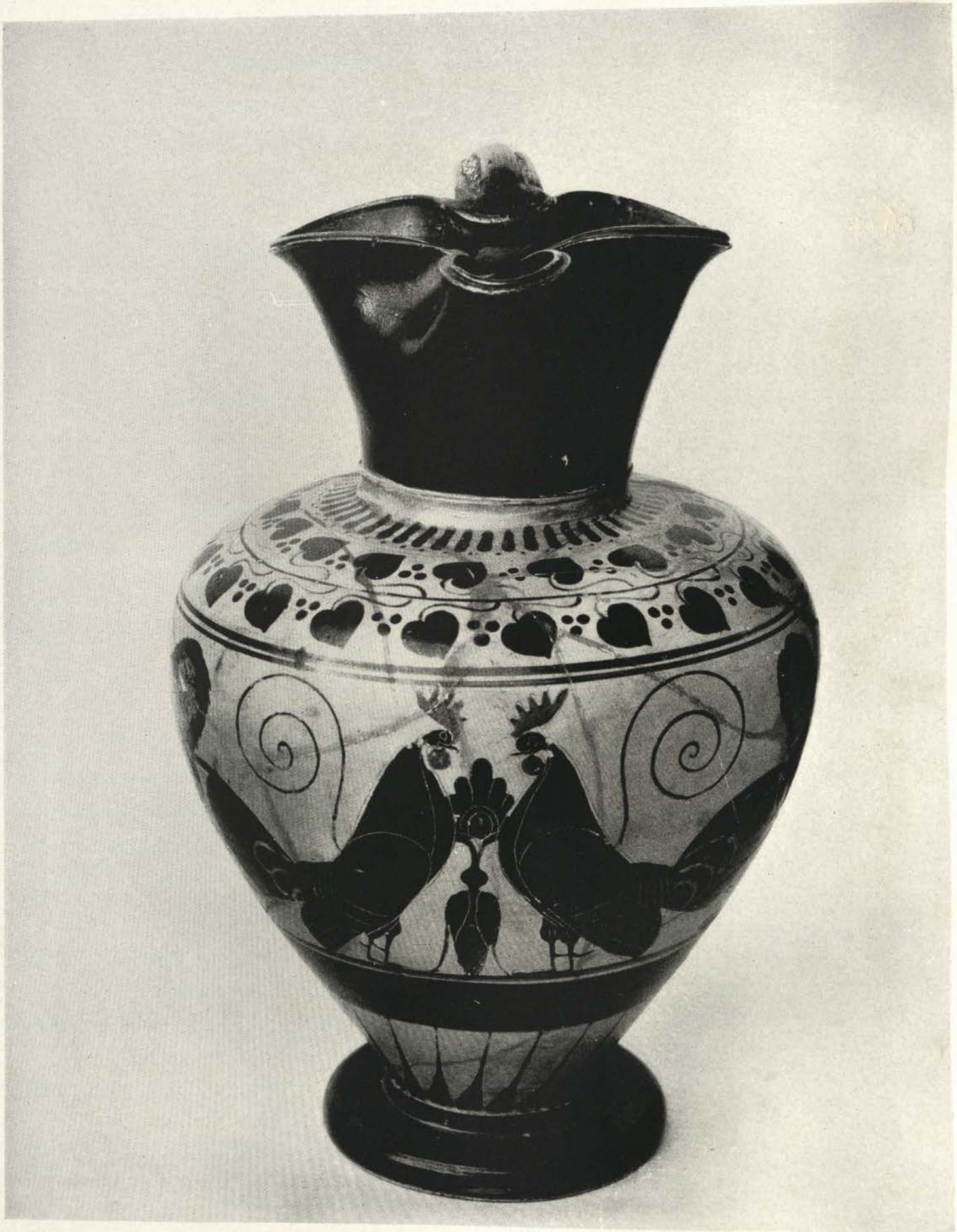


Greek, 7th Century B.C. *Statue of a Youth*

Plate 20

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



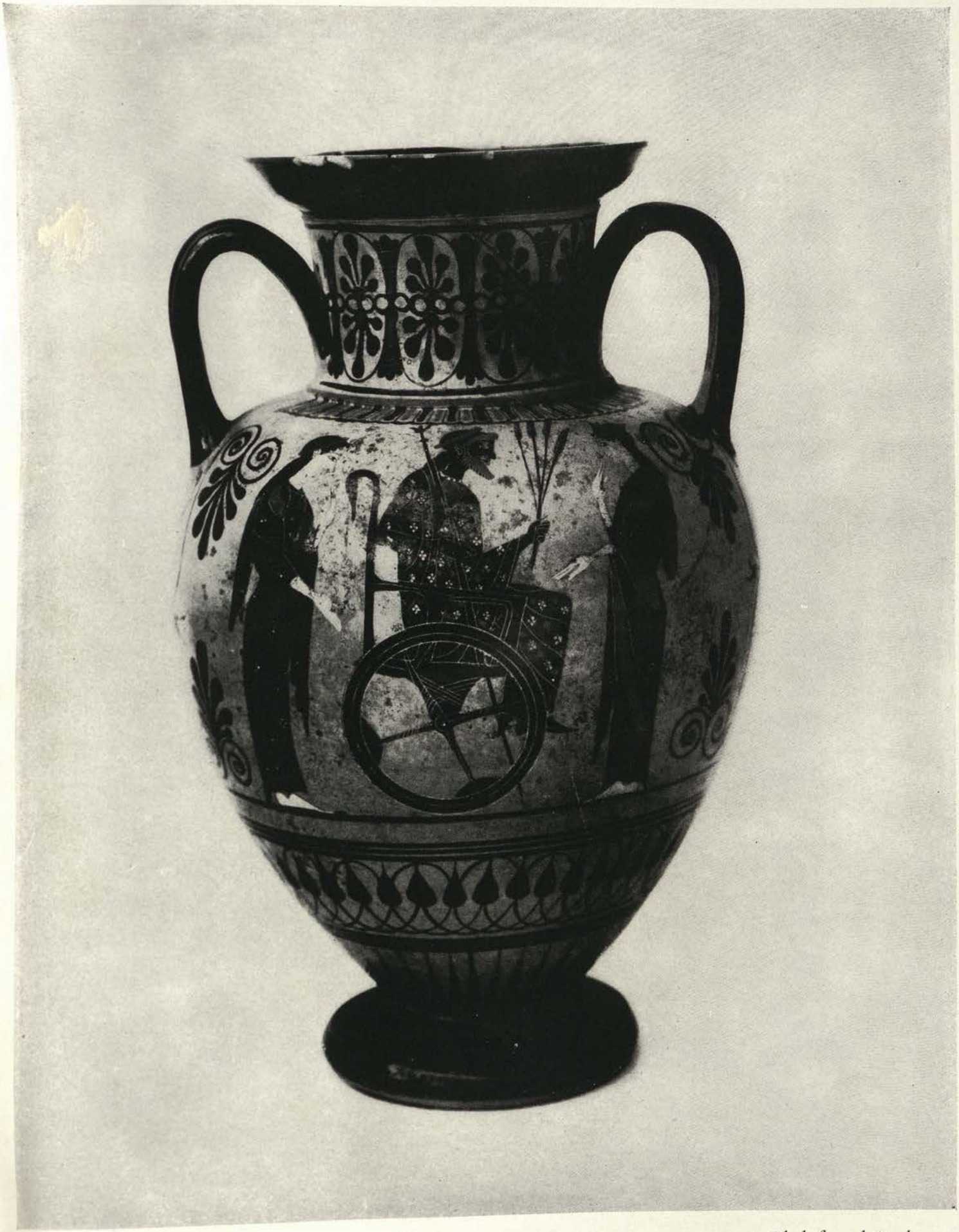
Greek, 7th Century B.C.

Oenochoë (Wine Jug)

Plate 21

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island



Greek, Attic,
6th Century B.C.

Black-figured Amphora.
Triptolemus with Persephone and Demeter

Plate 22

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Greek, Athenian.
The Pan Painter, 500–475 B.C.

Red-figured Lecythus (Oil Jug).
Hunter with Dog

Plate 23

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Greek, Attic, 6th Century B.C.

Black-figured Lecythus (Oil Jug). Europa on the Bull, and Hermes

Plate 24

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Greek, Athenian.
The Brygos Painter,
500–475 B.C.

Drawing from a Red-figured Amphora. Youth Singing to the Accompaniment of a Lyre

Plate 25

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Greek, Attic, 5th Century B.C.

Red-figured Amphora. Seilenus Led Captive by a Hunter

Plate 26

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Baltimore, Maryland

Greek, ca. 420–400 B.C.

Gravestone Relief Showing Combat of Two Warriors. Marble

Plate 27

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Greek, late 5th Century B.C. [Roman Copy]

Maenad. Marble Relief

Plate 28

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

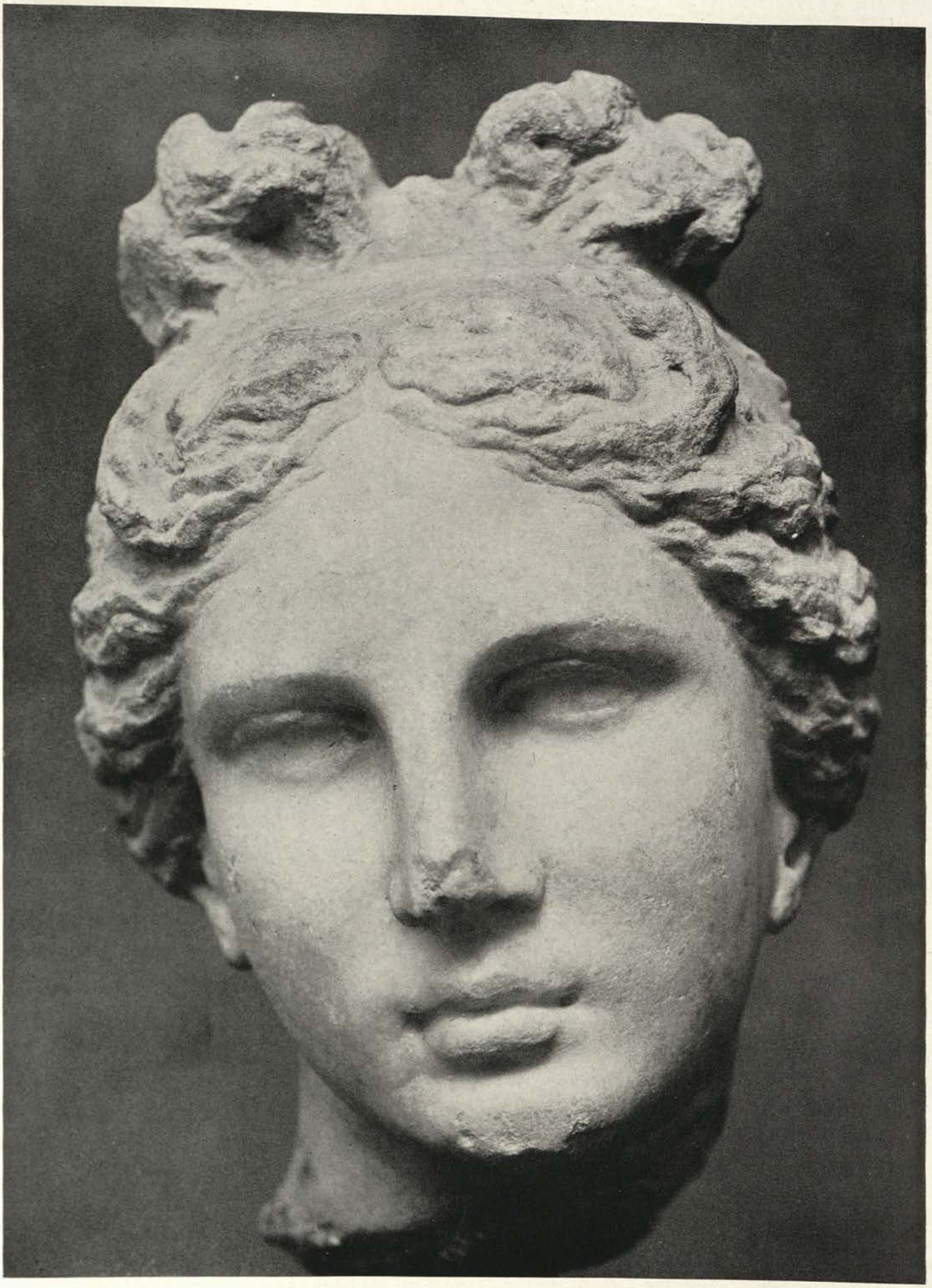
Greek, 4th Century B.C.

Head of a Young Girl. Marble

Plate 29

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio



Greek, 4th Century B.C. *Head of Aphrodite. Parian Marble*

Plate 30

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Greek, ca. 420 B.C. [Roman Copy]

The "Diadumenus" [Fillet Binder]. A Victorious Athlete. Marble

Plate 31

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Greek, ca. 420 B.C. [Roman Copy] *Wounded Amazon. Marble*

Plate 32

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Greek, Syracusan, 480 B.C. — *Silver Coin, Called Demareteion*

Plate 33

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

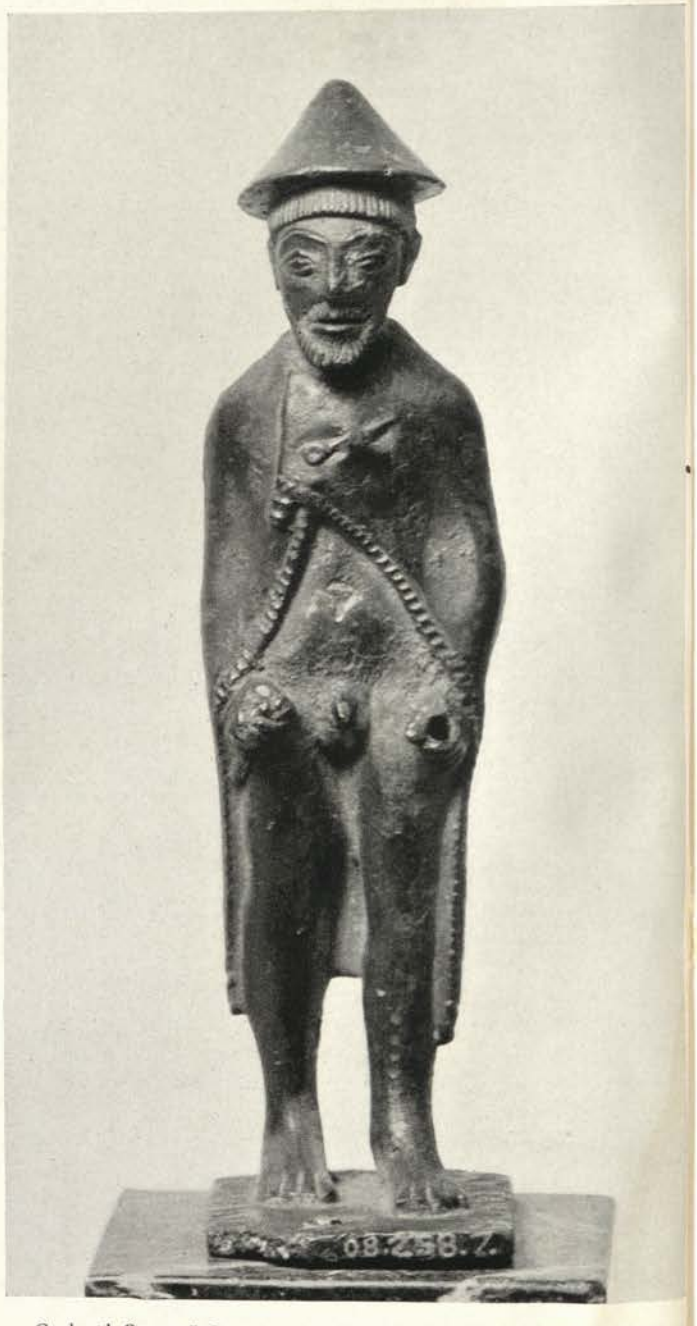
Greek, Epiktetus — *Kylix (Drinking Cup). Seilenus Drinking*

Plate 34

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Baltimore, Maryland

Greek, Late 6th Century B.C. — *Herakles Wielding His Club. Bronze*



Greek, 6th Century B.C. — *Arcadian Peasant. Bronze*

Plates 35 and 36. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*

Greek, ca. 450 B.C. *Three-sided Relief. Marble*

Plate 37. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

Greek, 6th Century B.C. *Black-figured Pyxis (Cosmetic or Ointment Jar)*

Plate 38. RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM, *Providence, Rhode Island*

Greek, 4th Century B.C. *Bronze Statuette*

Plate 39

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

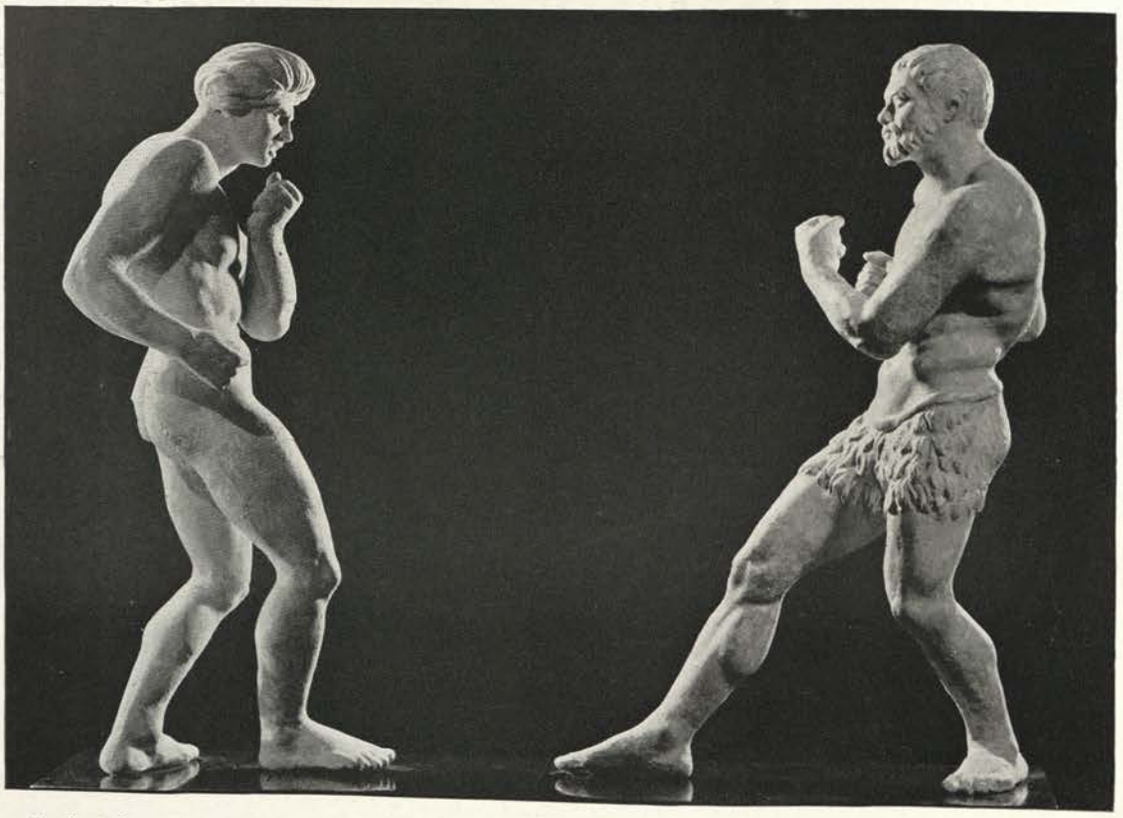
New York City

Gracco-Roman, 1st Century A.D. *Smiling Faun. Marble*

Plate 40

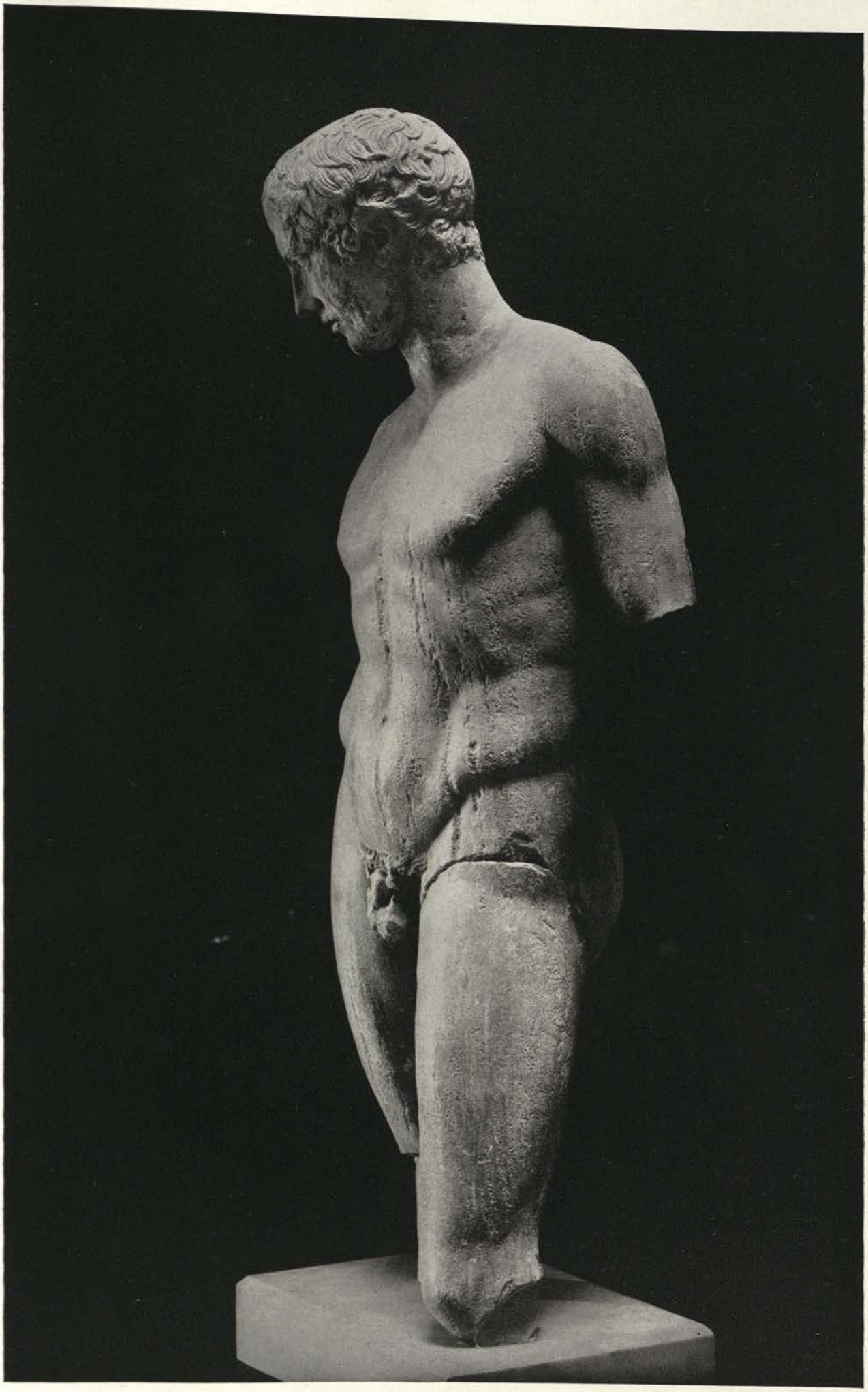
SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Northampton, Massachusetts



Greek, 2nd Century B.C. *Two Boxers. Terra Cotta*

Plate 41. WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART, *Kansas City, Missouri*



Greek, 5th Century B.C.

Figure of a Youth. Style of Polycleitus.
Marble

Plate 42

FARNSWORTH MUSEUM OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE

Wellesley, Massachusetts

Greek, 4th–3rd Century B.C. *Dancing Woman. Terra Cotta Figurine*

Plate 43

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Greek. ca. 370 B.C. [Roman Copy]

Head of a Satyr. After the Original Bronze by Praxitiles

Plate 44

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Roman, 3rd Century A.D. *Head of Bacchus. Mosaic*

Plate 45

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Etruscan, 5th–4th Century B.C.

Bronze Mirror. Engraved Design Showing Achilles and Two Female Divinities

Plate 46

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Etruscan, ca. 500 B.C. *Mars. Bronze*

Plate 47. WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Etruscan, 3rd Century B.C. *Engraved Cist. Bronze*

Plate 48. WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Etruscan, ca. 500 B.C. *Warrior. Terra Cotta*

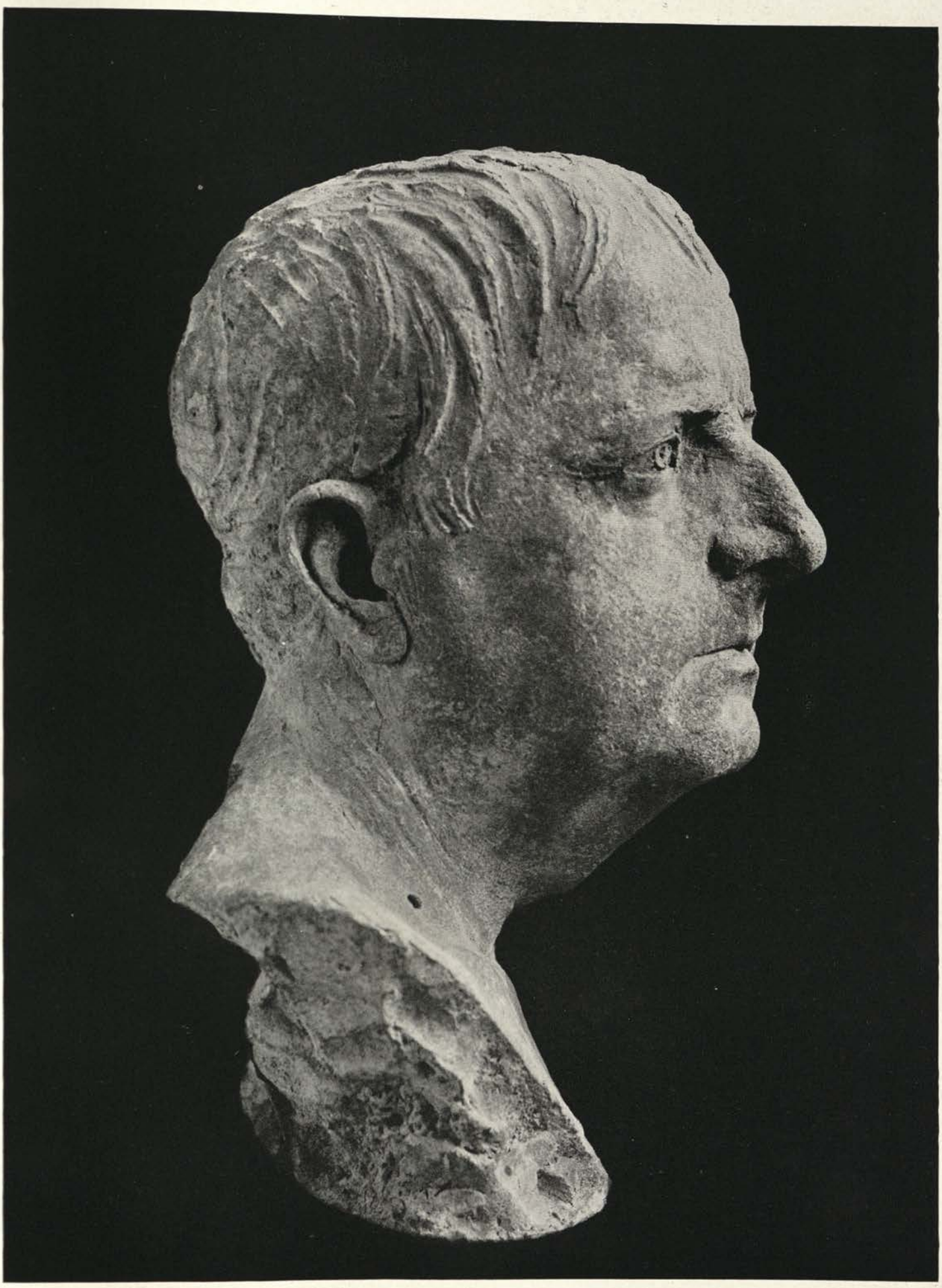
Plate 49. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Etruscan, 5th Century B.C. *Panther. Bronze*

Plate 50. RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island



Roman, 1st Century B.C.

Portrait Bust of a Roman. Terra Cotta

Plate 51

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

IV
Art of the Near East: Persia

IN A VAST region the central part of which is today known as Iran (Persia), the arts have flourished from time immemorial. In that part of the Near East lying between the Indian Ocean and the Caspian Sea, northeast of the ancient Tigris and Euphrates valley, a series of civilizations were born and died, each in turn bringing its own conceptions of form and ornament and leaving behind for its successors a legacy of distinct artistic achievement. It is this continuity of art forms and, more important, the transmission of ideas through an art vocabulary which gives Persian art a clear unity throughout its long and complex history.

At Susa, north of the Persian Gulf, where ultimately rose the proud palaces of the Persian kings, archeologists have discovered quantities of pottery made by a prehistoric people. Thin as egg-shell, handsomely decorated with friezes of running dogs, ibex, and wild mountain goats, these beautifully proportioned jars, bowls and tumblers shaped some five thousand years ago, reveal to us a people with a strongly advanced artistic culture, possessing a masterly sense of design and an unerring flair for abstract ornament. This painted pottery appears in a succession of styles in widely scattered centers of prehistoric culture throughout Iran—at Persepolis, Saveh, Damghan, Nihavand and somewhat later, at Siyalk. The Nivahand pottery with its bands of sprightly water-birds, and the Siyalk pottery with its long, graceful spouts and robust animal designs, are far less sophisticated than the delicate Susa pottery, but perhaps even more engaging, more eloquent of the potter's touch (Plate 52).

In Luristan, a province in Northwestern Persia, another prehistoric culture flourished somewhat later, during the second and first millennia B.C. The region was inhabited by a horse-breeding people who very early developed a remarkable metal-working industry. The last decade has produced a great number of bronze objects found in Luristan: these are noteworthy not only because they are the forerunners of later, true Iranian forms, but also because of their intrinsic beauty and the astonishing technical skill revealed in their workmanship. Little is known of the people who made these ancient bronzes, but their art speaks of an unfailing sense of design, vigorous and challenging. Many of these bronzes are horse trappings, and the horse is a favorite ornamental motif; others are cast in the form of horned animals —goats, deer, sheep—the horns being symbolic of the moon, widely worshiped in ancient times as a source of fertility (Plates 53, 54). Some of these bronze ornaments or ritual objects also introduce images of men with beard and hair carefully dressed,

fearsome divinities attended by their symbolic animals, and legendary heroes grappling with ferocious beasts. Such a figure with arms upraised, flanked by two lions, is the mythological deity who upholds the vault of heaven with his arms—a forebear of the Greek Atlas.

Between 1500 and 1000 B.C., wave after wave of Indo-European tribes descended upon the plains and highlands of Western Persia. Modern historians incline to the view that these newcomers were distinguished from the neolithic peoples whom they invaded, not so much by racial characteristics as by their knowledge of metallurgy which they had somehow acquired. The use of metal had so profoundly affected their lives that they emerged as a new people, ostensibly a superior race that had little difficulty in conquering the backward cultures.

Both the Medes and the Persians belonged to this Indo-European family; the former settled in the northwest of Persia (ca. 700 B.C.) where they built their capital of Ecbatana (modern Hamadan) and established contact with the Assyrians, adopting many of their cultural elements such as the cuneiform system of writing, and various art forms. The Persians came later, settled in the south and at first paid tribute to the Medes. About 550 B.C., one of the Persian rulers known to history as Cyrus the Great, attacked their kingdom, subdued them and united them with his own people, laying the foundation for an empire that was to be the greatest his world had known. The Achaemenid dynasty (so called from their clan name Hakhamanish—Greek: Achaemenes) conquered the powerful kingdom of Babylon, as well as Lydia and Egypt, but unlike other conquerors, they did not destroy the civilizations that fell under their sway. The subjugated people were not forbidden to worship their own gods, their temples were not desecrated nor were their temple treasures carried away as booty. The wisdom of Cyrus who set this precedent was celebrated by the Jews when he released them from their Babylonian captivity and restored to them their freedom of worship as well as their temple treasures.

The first great culture of Persia already shows signs of being penetrated by various influences; its architecture contains many features found in Egypt, Mesopotamia and archaic Greece. At Pasargadae, Susa and Persepolis the Achaemenid kings Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes erected a series of palaces which would fittingly house the rulers of the most powerful empire in the world. Tall, slender fluted columns bearing capitals of massive addorsed bulls, rose on a vast platform to support the wooden roof of the throne room. Imposing stairways with walls carved in relief led to the columned hall or *apadana.* In these reliefs, thousands of figures of men and animals tell the story of the great Achaemenid kings, their triumphs over other nations, the lavish tribute brought to them by their subject peoples.

The reliefs which decorate the royal palace at Persepolis, recently excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, are by far the most impressive and beautiful. The palace itself is but a magnificent ruin today, and one can gain

no more than the barest notion of its former glory; but parts of the sculptured friezes that adorn its imposing stairway have found their way to some of our museums—the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, the Boston Museum, the William Rockhill Gallery, etc. (Plates 55, 56). The Median guards in their high, fluted tiaras, and the tribute bearers, wearing their long, flowing robes and carrying their offerings of food and drink are figures of noble and generous proportions. The modeling of these reliefs is unusually rich; the suavity and firmness of line, especially in the treatment of draperies, is considered by many scholars to be a Persian contribution to Greek sculpture.

The ancient nomadic habits which the Persians brought with them from their ancestral homeland are reflected in various elements of their political and social structure; to what extent they colored their artistic expression we can only guess, but the jewels and animal figurines in gold and bronze which have survived from the Achaemenid period (the famous Oxus Treasure in the British Museum, for instance) display those qualities of vital energy, of irrepressible inner life which we have come to associate with the art of nomadic peoples.

The empire which Cyrus founded lasted for two centuries. In the history of civilization this whole cultural cycle represents a period of brilliant intellectual activity; it was the age of Zoroaster, Buddha and Mahavira, of Confucius and Laotzu, of Pythagoras, Heraclitus and other great Greek philosophers. This constellation of brilliant minds shed its light over the entire civilized world of its day, and it was Persia, situated midway between the East and West, which reflected and transmitted much of that effulgence. Early in the fourth century, however, Alexander the Great, on his triumphant march through the Near East, sacked the proud Persian cities, destroyed the royal palaces at Susa and Persepolis and brought to an end the rule of the Achaemenid kings.

After the death of Alexander, his generals assumed the rule of his vast empire; it was not long, however, before the unwieldy realm split along several lines of cleavage, the eastern provinces of Persia being among the first to revolt against the foreign domination. An obscure semi-nomadic people of Iranian stock, the Parthians, led this revolt and succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom in the province of Parthia which lasted from about 200 B.C. to about 200 A.D.

The classical writers treated these "barbarians" with a mixture of curiosity and contempt; the Parthian kings, on the other hand, considered Greek culture the final desideratum, and their coins frequently bore, in addition to the name of the ruler, the epithet "Philhellene," friend of Greece. It was easy for the Parthian kings to indulge their taste for Hellenic art and architecture; in the neighboring kingdom of Bactria, hellenized in Achaemenid times, were great numbers of artisans of Greek origin whom Cyrus and Darius had transferred from Asia Minor, and in the chain of Greek cities which had sprung up after the death of Alexander, from Medea to Afghanistan,

the Hellenistic tradition had been kept alive by skilled craftsmen who were heir to it. Thus it was that the Parthian kings, in building a palace like that at Hatra, an ancient fortress city of Mesopotamia, were able to draw upon both the traditions of the Orient and those of the Hellenistic West. Stylistically the palace at Hatra (built between 200-300 A.D.), one of the few architectural remains of this period, was a mixture of Oriental and Hellenistic elements, employing barrel vaulting, arched doorways and panels carved in low-relief with such Hellenistic motifs as birds, vines, putti, etc. (An alabaster relief from Hatra may be seen at the Metropolitan Museum.)

While both the documentation and artistic remains from the Parthian period are very scant, they indicate the dual character of this culture which was outwardly Hellenistic, but inwardly true Iranian, moreover, retaining much of the native feeling for abstraction, and displaying vigorous elements that were probably a contribution of the Parthian nomads. How the material culture of Parthia was affected by the currents flowing in from China in the East and from India by way of Bactria in the south, is still uncertain, but there is every indication that Parthia was at this period transmitting her knowledge of pottery glazes to Han China, with whom she had extensive trade relations. It was the Parthians who laid the foundation of the great international silk trade between China and the West, a trade monopoly that was to become the mainstay of Persia for almost a thousand years.

The rule of the Parthian kings was overthrown in 224 A.D. by a native dynasty, that of the Sasanians, whose first king, Ardashir, claimed descent from the royal Achaemenid family. The Sasanian dynasty rode to the crest of its power on a wave of nationalistic fervor. This political power, accompanied by an enormous expansion in trade, established Persia as a formidable rival of Rome and Byzantium with whom she engaged in long and disastrous wars aimed at the control of the profitable silk trade.

The power and prestige of the Sasanian kings are clearly reflected in their material culture. The ruins of the colossal palaces which they built at Firuzabad, Sarvistan, and especially at Ctesiphon, a Sasanian capital, attest to the mastery which their builders had attained in dome and vault construction—architectural achievements that were to have important repercussions in Europe through many centuries. It was the Sasanian builders, too, who solved the difficult problem of roofing a rectangular building with a dome, not by means of pendentives, as the Byzantine architects did, but by the squinch (an arch spanning an interior angle). This and the brilliant Sasanian development of the transverse vault, which also played an important rôle in European architecture, determined much of the character of later Islamic architecture.

From the ruins of the Sasanian palaces have come rich stucco decorations showing the favorite Sasanian motifs of wild boars, gazelles, deer and elephants (hunting was the favored pastime of the Sasanian kings), and friezes of stylized floral and geometric motifs which were used as revetments to embellish both the exteriors and

interiors of buildings. A great many of these stuccoes are to be found in the Metropolitan Museum, the Philadelphia Museum (which excavated the Sasanian site at Damghan), and the Art Institute of Chicago. Utilizing Hellenistic, Byzantine, Roman and native elements, these stucco decorations in repeat patterns provided the lively touch necessary to lighten the massive grandeur of the Sasanian palaces. Not only in architecture but in sculpture, metalwork and textiles does the Sasanian period achieve a monumental dignity of design, a regal authority unmatched by any subsequent period. To commemorate the exploits of their kings over the Roman legions and other formidable adversaries, the Sasanian sculptors carved a series of reliefs into the living rock at various sites throughout the country. "Almost every ruler of the first three centuries of this dynasty," writes Dr. Sarre, "had at least one relief carved. Most of them are in sacred spots in the vicinity of Persepolis, on the cliffs of Naqsh-i-Rustam, where the graves of the great Achaemenid kings, likewise decorated with reliefs, had been constructed, for the Sasanians always regarded themselves as legitimate successors of the Achaemenids." Two favorite themes of these rock-carvings are the investiture of the Sasanian kings, and the royal hunts. In the former, the king, seated on his royal mount, stretches forth his hand to receive from the god the crown, symbol of his divine authority. In the latter, the king, accompanied by his courtiers, musicians and dancers, is hunting in one of the royal forests or parks. In spirit and decorative treatment these reliefs differ greatly from the realistically rendered Assyrian reliefs; the sober repose of Achaemenid sculpture is also abandoned in favor of a new energy and vitality which makes itself felt in the rhythmic movement of the figures and the stylized yet highly nervous treatment of the fluttering draperies.

The metalwork of the Sasanian period is probably the greatest achievement in this medium throughout the ancient East. It consists for the most part of massive plates and ewers in solid silver, often partially gilded, or in bronze. The designs on these vessels, engraved or in repoussé, are carried out with extraordinary vivacity and an unfailing sense of fitness in composing a pattern to fill a circular space. Here are hunting scenes showing the Sasanian kings pursuing the lion, the ibex or the wild boar among the reedy marshes; animals, rendered with vivid realism or heraldic stylization; or a combined floral and animal motif, as in the splendid plate at the Bibliothèque Nationale, showing a fantastic animal among lotus plants. Several of our museums own examples of this superb metalwork (Plates 57, 58), but the finest collection is to be found in the Hermitage at Leningrad.

The same conception of massive form, the same feeling for grandeur in design is to be observed in the textiles of the Sasanian period.

It is extremely difficult to determine just what textile patterns can be claimed for Sasanian Persia, since both styles and techniques radiated from a number of important weaving centers that flourished in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Byzan-

tium and there was a frequent interchange of weavers among these various centers. It has been possible, however, to isolate a number of pieces from the group of textiles belonging to this period and to class them, on the basis of certain characteristics, as Persian in origin. The bold, heraldic style of Sasanian metalwork is translated into repeat patterns of imposing scale, fantastic animals enclosed within pearled roundels, lozenges or other geometric units, separated by stylized floral motifs. The repertory here is similar to that found in Sasanian metal and stucco work: the Senmurv (a winged dragon), the griffin, the ibex, the wild boar, or more frequently a duck, goose or other bird wearing the pearled necklace and fluttering ribbons so characteristic of the rather showy Sasanian temperament (Plates 81, 82). Our knowledge of Sasanian textiles is greatly furthered by the detailed representation of fabrics on the extensive rock reliefs of Taq-i-Bustan. All these textiles achieve an authority of design, a haughty splendor unmatched by later, more elaborate weaves. Some of the products of the Sasanian looms found their way to Europe where they were jealously guarded in royal and church treasuries; often their heraldic patterns, embodying the same elements that later entered into Romanesque ornament, were copied in stone, metal and ivory by European craftsmen.

The special contribution of Sasanian art to the art forms not only of later Persia, but also of Western Europe, has been aptly pointed out by Roger Fry: "Sasanian art covers one of the most crucial periods in the art history of the world. Between the third century of our era and the sixth, a great change took place in the art of Europe and the Near East. The change that took place in these crucial centuries implied the abandonment of complete naturalistic representation in favor of a much more summary account of appearances, but one in which the rhythms acquired a new and vital energy. This more summary treatment admitted also of far richer decorative effects, and we find a change from the worn-out plastic basis of Graeco-Roman art to a flatter use of the surface in which color tended to replace plasticity. And with this went an outburst of free and sometimes fantastic invention which disregarded the strict and uniform conventions of Graeco-Roman art."

When it first rose to power, the Sasanian dynasty revived Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Persia. By the seventh century of our era, the Zoroastrian priesthood has become a formidable hierarchy, participating in the seething rivalry of the feudal nobles. The Sasanian dynasty had given the country a succession of able rulers: Ardashir who wrested the power from the last Parthian king; Shapur I who defeated the Roman Emperor Valerian; Bahram Gur, the redoubtable hunter, nicknamed "the Wild Ass"; Khusrau I, surnamed the Just. But these ambitious monarchs had launched the empire on a series of military campaigns, chiefly against Rome and Byzantium, which finally left the country weak, torn by internal factions and powerless to resist the onslaught of the Arabs who swept into Persia and defeated the last of the Sasanian kings (ca. 640).

Impelled by the driving force of Islam, the religion preached by their prophet Muhammad, the Arabs succeeded, in an incredibly short time, in conquering not only Persia but the entire Near East. The rapid and thorough acceptance of the Islamic religion is a phenomenon still unexplained, but such movements as the attempted social revolution of the Mazdakites and the rise of the Manichaean religion under the Sasanians would indicate that Persia had grown weary of a social system which had become oppressive in its political as well as religious functions, and was ready for the democratic faith of Islam which preached equality before God and man.

The contribution of the Arabs to the Persian language and literature cannot be overestimated; their poems, subtle, passionate and lyrical, fired the Persian imagination, to splendid literary achievements. In Persia, as elsewhere throughout the Islamic world, the Koran exerted its influence and became a model for patterns of thought and for literary expression. Since they had no highly developed art forms of their own, the Arabs adopted the artistic traditions of the countries they conquered, barely modifying them. Thus, while the coming of Islam shook to its very foundation the social and economic structure of Persia, it did not divert from its course the powerful stream of creative art indigenous to the country. Moreover, Sasanian art had been vested with so much meaning and authority that it continued to nourish the art of Muhammadan Persia for several centuries. Yet while there is no sharp break in the artistic expression of these two periods, the spirit of Islam became, as it were, a catalytic agent, provoking new reactions, releasing new energies, vitally stimulating indigenous developments in art. Because their religion frowned upon the representation of human or animal figures (the Prophet's injunction against idolatry), the Moslems favored the use of geometric motifs, foiling the stateliness and vigor of Sasanian ornament with the subtle logic and agile grace of their interlacing arabesques.

The earliest followers of the Prophet had established the political center of Islam at Damascus (661-779). These Umayyad Califs accepted in the main the cultural influence of Syria which was still strongly Hellenistic. Toward the end of the eighth century, however, a dissenting faction ousted the Umayyad house and established the Abbasid Califate at Baghdad in Mesopotamia, which had long been under Persian influence. This change was of vital significance to Persian art, for it drew upon the resources of Persian craftsmen, stimulating them to new inventions and fresh enterprise and providing them with an outlet for their accumulated skill and knowledge. "It is well within the fact to say," writes Arthur Upham Pope, "that on the whole the new art of Islam owes more to Persia than to any other single source. As the Islamic empire waxed mighty and complex, it could be held together only by the transference of the seat of power eastward from Damascus to Baghdad, and the Califate, made famous by Haroun ar Rashid and the *Thousand and One Nights*, was in idea, technique and personnel almost wholly Persian. It was here, in the eighth

and ninth centuries, that the characteristic forms of Muhammadan art were shaped, primarily under the tutelage of Persian masters."

Hardly anything remains of the religious or secular architecture erected during the early centuries of Islam, but the vigorous, forthright character of this era manifests itself with striking intensity in its ceramic art. Vessels in silver, gold and bronze still continued to be made in the post-Sasanian period, but the Prophet's command to stress spiritual rather than material values led the faithful to abandon the use of precious metals and develop instead the humble pottery medium. Contact with China undoubtedly stimulated this ceramic production; the T'ang splash ware (vessels covered with running glazes in warm tones of green, amber and brown) were closely imitated in Persia, as were certain other Chinese decorative patterns. But Persia's own ornamental vocabulary could not long remain forgotten; the ninth and especially the tenth century saw the development of several types of handsomely decorated pottery, some of which hark back in design to the heraldic Sasanian animal style. Of the various types locally developed during this period, mention might be made of a slip-covered ware with incised decoration in swift, calligraphic strokes; of the so-called Gabri type (a ware coming from the village of Yasukand in the northwestern Garous district), decorated in a bold heraldic style with animal, bird, or occasionally stylized floral motifs cut through the slip, the design standing out in low-relief; of the simple but effective cobalt-painted white ware; and finally of the sumptuous gold lustred pottery, the devout Muhammadan's substitute for real gold and silver vessels. The lustre effect was obtained by painting the slip-covered, fired vessel with a preparation of metallic salts; the vessel was refired in a muffled kiln at low temperature, the smoke and heat producing the metallic effect. Out of these "primitive" types of pottery developed the almost infinite variations which constituted the glory of Persian ceramic art. All these types are represented by splendid examples in our museums, particularly at the Metropolitan Museum, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Art Institute of Chicago.

There is nothing in the graphic or plastic art of Islam to parallel the great religious arts of Buddhism and Christianity; but the words which the Prophet had uttered, reverberated deeply in the minds of his followers and found a spiritual echo in almost every manifestation of the creative genius of Persia. To set down the sacred words was in itself an act of faith, and the writing and embellishing of the Koran became the preoccupation of the Islamic scribes, and the most important factor in developing the art of calligraphy. While the written word had always been held in great esteem throughout Asia, it was only in the culture of Islam that the rendering of the holy scriptures in written characters achieved a monumental greatness. Compared with a contemporary manuscript of the Christian gospel (the ninth century Carolingian Gospel in the Morgan Library, for instance), a written passage from the Koran, like the page in the Toledo Museum (Plate 92), has a far more powerful

impact, almost physical in its intensity. The majestic simplicity of Kufic writing was a happy medium for recording the early Muhammadan religion with its single-mindedness of purpose and its utter freedom from theological complexities. Whether rendered spaciously in stucco or lavishly in polychrome faïence, gracefully ornamenting the rim of a bowl, marching in austere rhythm across a Koran page, or woven into a textile pattern, these Kufic inscriptions represent the art of calligraphy at its highest esthetic level. Later on the cursive script or *Nashki* was used much more extensively; combined with the *Talik*, a free-flowing script written diagonally across the page, it formed the highly elaborate cursive writing known as *Nastalik* in which so many of the later manuscripts were written, while Kufic was reserved for certain decorative titles.

At the end of the ninth century a native Persian dynasty, that of the Samanids, established itself in the northeastern province of Khurasan. To the Samanid cities of Bokhara, Samarkand, Herat, Merv and Nishapur, flocked the poets and scholars of Persia, and it was there that modern Persian literature was born. The fire and passion of Arabic poetry entered into it, but so did the old ancestral legends of Persia which had been revived with nationalistic fervor. The result was a poetry in which consciousness of a heroic past blended with a new national self-consciousness, admirably expressed in the subtly graceful Persian language, a development of the ancient Persian Pahlevi speech which had been enriched by many Arabic loan words.

For several centuries the Near East had seen a steady infiltration of people of Turkish stock from Central Asia; vigorous, intelligent and highly capable, as administrators, many of them rose to positions of high rank under the Islamic rulers. One of these Turkish officials, Sabuktegin, governor of the Southeastern province which separated Persia from India (modern Afghanistan) grew so powerful that he was able to overthrow the Samanid rulers and establish his own dynasty at Ghazna. His son Mahmud, who was to carry the rule of Islam into northern India, gathered about him the foremost Persian poets, scholars and artists. History remembers him chiefly as the patron of Firdausi, Persia's great poet who composed the celebrated *Shah-Name* or Book of Kings, an epic of sixty thousand verses. This work, in which legendary tales mingle with historical accounts, was to prove an unending source of inspiration for Persian miniature painters of later centuries who delighted in illustrating its heroic and romantic episodes.

The short-lived reign of the Ghaznavids ended in 1037 when a Turkish tribe, under the leadership of their chieftain Toghrul Beg, driven westward by the gathering Mongol tempest, invaded Persia, and having conquered the country from Bokhara to Baghdad, set up their capital at Rayy (Rhages) near the modern city of Teheran. Under this Seljuk dynasty, as it was called, Persia was to witness some of her greatest artistic achievements. Even the briefest survey of the scanty but

magnificent remains of this period focuses attention on one of the most striking aspects of Iranian civilization throughout its long and varied history: the important cultural contributions made by invading nomads to the various dynastic cycles. To this tempestuous stream which flowed from the vast reservoirs of Central Asia (and during the Islamic invasion, from Arabia) into the central region of Persia, may be ascribed the recurring phenomenon of new life and fresh meaning constantly invigorating art forms which were about to grow empty and lifeless; of a court art which had become sterile, grandiose and perfunctory, suddenly being charged with astounding vitality which generated new, dynamic rhythms. The Seljuk Turks had but little culture of their own. They were energetic warriors, dazzled and enchanted by the pageant of Persian civilization. "They came upon literature and the arts," says Arthur Upham Pope, "as a thrilling discovery, and their enthusiasm was deep and unaffected. Every phase of intellectual and spiritual life was heightened by their eager and wise patronage. . . . They accepted Islam not only with zeal but with understanding and devotion to its finer principles. They established peace and security over wide troubled areas, they administered their empire with firmness and sagacity. Wealth increased, travel opened new and inspiriting associations, science, literature and all the arts flourished." The reign of this dynasty lasted for about a century (1037-1157) though minor Seljuk branches continued to rule over various parts of the country until the final Mongol domination (1256). This brief period saw an incredibly rich output in ceramics, textiles and metalwork, most of which perished during the Mongol invasion. Of the few Seljuk monuments to survive the Mongol disasters, the stately Masjid-i-Jami (congregational Mosque) in Isfahan with its majestic domes "incomparable in their simplicity, inevitability and forceful logic," its stately piers and taut arches, and the beautiful tomb-towers, provide an important clue to the esthetic ideal of this period.

The ceramic art which had seen such auspicious development during the tenth century, reached an unrivaled magnificence under the Seljuks. Almost every town in Persia had its famous kilns, and while it has been impossible to assign with absolute certainty all of the wares that have come down to us to specific centers of production, some of the finest examples are known to have come from the famous ceramic centers of Kashan and Rayy (Rhages). It is hardly possible to describe Seljuk pottery in summary fashion, for the output was so rich, the techniques and styles so varied that they defy either classification or enumeration. Vessels of extraordinary beauty and sensitiveness include both monochrome and polychrome wares, with decoration ranging from the simplest calligraphic motif to the most lavish lustre painting or intricate, gold-encrusted pattern. The crystalline quality of the Chinese porcelaneous wares is lacking here for there was little kaolin, or porcelain clay to be found in Persia; but the craft of the Persian potter seems all the more genuine for his acceptance of these material limitations, and the exposure of the unglazed earthen-

ware on the foot of the vessel enhances, by its startling contrast, the beauty of the glaze and decoration. Throughout this period there was substituted for the earlier, coarser reddish-brown clay, a finer cream-colored earthenware which was often covered with an opaque white enamel that resulted in a delicate and pleasing texture.

In shape the ceramics of the Seljuk period range from huge, massive jars to bowls and beakers of the greatest delicacy and refinement. The design was either incised or molded or cut through the slip to stand out in relief or applied in polychrome (and often gold) over ivory enamel, or painted in lustre. The glazes varied from a luminous turquoise to a rich cobalt blue, and soft purple, with a wide range of intermediate hues. The painted decoration was carried out in cobalt blue and black, with pale greenish turquoise, pale violet tones and touches of gold heightening the beauty of the design. "In the finest Rayy potteries," writes Arthur Upham Pope, "the patterns have a certain careless rapture, a spontaneous, light and casual charm. The gay rhythms, the crisp and dainty accents, the swift uncalculated strokes, the deep or evanescent tones which are all but dissolved in the liquid atmosphere of the glaze, furnish an ensemble of form, surface, color and pattern of unsurpassed perfection."

The skill of the miniature painter and calligrapher were enlisted in the decoration of these vessels, and so accomplished are these pottery designs in color and line that they have been used as a basis for reconstructing the pictorial art of this period which perished with the coming of the Mongols. Spirited animal designs are frequent motifs, but the chief delight of the Seljuk pottery painters were the scenes of gay court life: a prince or princess enthroned amid luxurious surroundings; a banquet with musicians and dancers in attendance, a group of dashing cavaliers playing polo, a lady seated in a garden surrounded by peacocks and flowers; or else they would depict some romantic episode from the *Shah-Name,* such as Bahram Gur, the Sasanian king, setting out for the hunt, accompanied by his favorite, Azadah, the lute player. The themes were those of a court art, gay, brilliant and sophisticated (Plates 72, 73) but the vigor, the spontaneity and the bold fantasy which were part of the nomadic background of the Seljuks burst the bounds of decorous charm in such superbly animated designs as the winged horse on the lustre-painted bowl at the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 67).

Surface decoration had always been an important feature of Persian architecture; under the Seljuks, stucco continued to be made into ornaments of great plastic beauty, such as the relief of a hawk attacking a duck, at the Boston Museum (Plate 59); but the field of ceramics was extended to include architectural ornament as well, and lustre tiles in star and cross shapes were used as a dazzling raiment for both the interior and exterior of buildings.

A Seljuk tomb-tower at Rayy has yielded some splendid textiles which offer evidence of the high level this craft reached under the Seljuks. The grandiose repeat

patterns of the Sasanian period are reduced to appropriate scale; the design remains firm and vigorous, but gains in flexibility and delicacy. Several of our museums own Seljuk textiles; one of the most attractive of these (fragments of which are in the Textile Museum at Washington, in the Museum of Art at Providence, etc.) shows a pair of confronted birds in a roundel, formed, not as in Sasanian times by pearl spots, but by a graceful Kufic inscription. There are also gossamer sheer silk fabrics in which the pattern is achieved through a skillful variation of the weave. It would be difficult to find another textile art in which there is such perfect adaptation of design to technique.

In addition to its ceramics and textiles the Seljuk period is notable for its metalwork—handsome ewers and basins, massive kettles and dishes and above all beautiful candlesticks on circular drums and tall slender torch-holders. The metals used were silver, bronze and brass, at first engraved in exquisite floral, geometric and figural designs, and by the middle of the twelfth century, inlaid with gold and red copper. One of the most impressive examples of this metalwork is the silver salver made for the Seljuk Sultan Alp Arslan and now owned by the Boston Museum (Plate 61). With its majestic Kufic inscription forming the central decorative motif, offset by two lunettes, one containing two affronted geese, the other two ibexes against a background intricately engraved in arabesque scrolls, this superb vessel is indeed a masterpiece of the silversmith's craft. A bronze basin richly inlaid with silver, and a brass ewer, also with silver inlay from neighboring Mesopotamia (Plate 62), both at the Metropolitan Museum; a tall torch-holder in bronze with pierced decoration, at the Detroit Institute of Arts; a bronze kettle with engraved and inlaid geometric and figural motifs, in the Walters Art Gallery; and a bronze ewer decorated with flowing arabesques and graceful medallions, in the University Museum, Philadelphia (Plate 64); are only a few, if outstanding, examples of Seljuk metalwork to be found in our museums.

The "Great Seljuks," as they were called, had ushered in one of the most glorious periods of Persian culture. Science and literature flourished no less than the arts, with poets like Omar Kayyam, Nizami and Sadi writing exquisite verse and Nizam-ul-Mulk, the brilliant Seljuk vizier writing treatises on government and statesmanship. But the feudal organization of the state, its administration by governors who sought to advance their personal prestige and power, and the disruptive effect of dissident religious sects, finally brought about the breakdown of the far-flung empire. When the Mongols entered the Near East on their devastating westward march, they found Iran divided into a number of petty states (ruled over by various Seljuk dynasties) and powerless to resist the onslaught of the dreaded foe. The coming of the Mongols marks the opening of a tragic chapter in the history of Persian civilization. They came in several waves, led at first by the fabulous Genghis Khan (1220), then by his grandson Hulagu Khan (1256) and a century later by

Tamerlane (1335). "This dreadful succession," to quote Arthur Upham Pope, "swept over the country like a bloody foam, leaving the fairest cities a wilderness of rubbish and rotting corpses. Their speed, their fury and their mastery of every branch of warfare made resistance not only futile but impossible. Their march was a series of massacres and devastations which not only destroyed every kind of public monument with their invaluable contents of works of art and books, but blotted out whole cities so that they became as if they had never been. The human destruction was equally appalling and, what was even worse, in many regions the accumulated knowledge and traditions of ages were heartlessly obliterated." In their long march from Central Asia to Iran, the Mongols scarcely spared a single urban center; they built a pyramid of skulls to mark the site of the prosperous city of Merv; they wrought such havoc in Nishapur that this beautiful city of Eastern Persia never recovered; Kashan and Herat, great metropolitan centers, met a similar fate; Rayy, described as "Market of the Universe" and "Spouse of the World," was reduced to a rubble heap; Baghdad, the proud capital of the Abbasids, was sacked in 1258, and its glorious buildings leveled with the ground. Devastation and ruin followed in the path of the invaders, wherever they went. And although several generations of Il-Khans, as the Mongol rulers were called, devoted their energies to furthering economic prosperity and encouraging the arts, their zeal could never quite repair the damage caused by the destruction of the Seljuk civilization, perhaps the noblest period in Persian history.

For about a century (1258-1336) after the sack of Baghdad, Hulagu Khan, grandson of Genghis, and his successors, ruled over the greater part of Persia. Although they had spared the lives of many artists and artisans in their destruction of the Persian cities, it was not until the beginning of the fourteenth century that urban life became stable enough to permit an extensive program of building and a sustained patronage of the arts. The short reign of Ghazan Khan (1295-1304) ushered in a period of almost unparalleled activity in construction. At his capital in Tabriz rose many beautiful buildings, including a university city built by the great Mongol prime-minister, Rashid-ad-Din. Mosques, mausoleums and secular buildings sprung up in other cities, for Ghazan Khan was intent on restoring some of Persia's lost architectural glory. He was succeeded by his brother, Uljaitu, who constructed, among many other beautiful buildings, a superb mausoleum on the beautiful site of Sultanieh. Although the city itself is now in ruins, the mausoleum still stands, one of the world's great monuments.

Among the artistic achievements of the Mongol period, miniature painting ranks high. Not only are the Il-Khans to be credited with a lavish patronage of this art but also with the introduction of new and vital creative elements from the Far East. For the Chinese craftsmen who accompanied the Mongol rulers on their west-

ward march into Persia brought with them the freely moving rhythms and the sketchy, impressionistic technique which, as we shall see, were characteristic of Chinese art during the Sung period. Compared with the history of sculpture, pottery and metalwork in Persia, that of the graphic arts was fairly recent. Certain frescoes discovered in Central Asia provide evidence for the belief that a school of mural paintings flourished in Sasanian Persia; this appears to have been a court art, showing royal figures in flat, silhouetted forms arranged in hieratic procession. Tradition has it that Mani, who attempted, in the third century A.D., to found a new religion based on the Zoroastrian, Buddhist and Christian faiths, was a renowned painter, and that the Manichaean religion made extensive use of manuscript illumination. The pictorial art of later Persia does, indeed, derive from both fresco and miniature painting.

We have already noted the fact that the graphic arts of Seljuk Persia have survived only in the ceramic decoration, which reflects the style of contemporary Mesopotamian manuscript painting. This school of painting, which flourished in the great Abbasid capital of Baghdad, leaned heavily upon the Hellenistic tradition, kept alive throughout the Near East by Christian artists. But although the bearded figures of the Baghdad paintings recall the saints of early Christian manuscripts, the former are far more expressive in gesture and attitude, their settings far more decorative and colorful.

The Baghdad artists illustrated mainly the scientific and historical works of Arab authors; yet the miniatures catch the spirit of contemporary life, and at times it would almost seem that the painter used the manuscript as a pretext for recording vivid impressions of a street scene, a group of dervishes, learned doctors expounding the law, a caliph receiving emissaries. Each miniature, as Eustache de Lorey points out, "is a sort of picture which remains indifferent to its insertion in the text, which tends toward a total independence and which proudly proclaims itself to the eye as a complete object of contemplation."

The most famous of these Baghdad manuscripts and the one which records, for the first time, the name of the artist who illustrated it, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The author of this book, known as the *Maqamat* or "Assemblies," is the Arab writer Hariri, and the painter and calligrapher is Wasiti, an artist of considerable talent and imagination. Executed in 1237, these miniatures throw an interesting light on contemporary life which was soon to succumb to the Mongol onslaught; stylistically they provide a link between the ceramic decoration of the Seljuk period and the miniature painting under the Mongols. Among the examples in America which illustrate the work of the Baghdad school, the most interesting is probably the miniature from a manuscript of the "Fables" of Bidpai, showing a camel being devoured by animals (Plate 94). This painting, in the Worcester Museum, strongly recalls the splendidly drawn group of camels in Hariri's *Maqamat*

in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Of somewhat earlier date are the illustrations from a manuscript of the *Materia Medica* by Dioscorides, and from a *Treatise on Automata,* in the Freer Gallery.

Although bold and lively, the Mesopotamian paintings are restricted to few colors and to certain schematic arrangements which make little attempt to relate figures to background, except to enclose them in a formal architectural frame. It is not until the advent of the Mongols that the Chinese influence adds to this vigorous but somewhat harsh pictorial art, fluidity of form, lyrical content and richness of design.

Of the manuscripts illustrated for the Mongol rulers, three have achieved world-wide fame: the *Manafi-al-Hayawan,* or Bestiary, of Ibn Bakhtishu, a highly imaginative Natural History executed in Northern Persia during the reign of Ghazan Khan (1295-1304); the *Shah-Name* of Firdausi (copied ca. 1320) and the *Jami-at-Tawarikh* or "Universal History" of Rashid ad-Din, the great Mongol vizier (1307). America is fortunate in possessing the superb *Manafi al-Hayawan* (Pierpont Morgan Library), while some of the finest miniatures from the so-called *Demotte Shah-Name,* named after its former owner, are in the Boston Museum, Worcester Museum, Detroit Institute of Arts, Fogg Museum, McGill University, Montreal, etc. The finest copies of Rashid ad-Din's "Universal History" are owned by the Royal Asiatic Society and the University of Edinburgh, but a striking illustration to the story of Jonah and the Whale, of somewhat later date, is in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 96).

The *Manafi al-Hayawan* contains a series of superb animal drawings, unrivaled in their vitality, admirably controlled rhythms and pleasing color harmonies. These at once recall the spirit of Chinese painting; but certain decorative elements, such as the calligraphic borders and the juxtaposition of plant and animal forms, are characteristically Persian (Plate 93).

The paintings in the *Demotte Shah-Name,* executed by various artists, are thought by many critics to represent the highest achievement in Persian pictorial art. Their rich color scheme consists of deep reds and blues, vibrant greens and yellows, brilliant purple offset by gleaming gold, all accentuated by dramatic touches of black. The figures are drawn on a larger scale than heretofore; they move freely in space, and the painters are able to arrange them in intricate and complex relation. For the first time the landscape background, lyric or dramatic as the theme requires, becomes an integral part of the design. In one of these miniatures, showing the Sasanian king Bahram Gur hunting the wild ass (Plate 95), the sketchy character of rocks and trees is admirably suited to the swift-moving action of the scene; in another, illustrating the episode of Bahram Gur and the peasant (Plate 97), the landscape background is gay and pastoral, while in the justly famous miniature (Rainey Rogers Collection), showing Bahram Gur killing a dragon, the action

takes place in a landscape full of vehemently dramatic elements—jagged rocks, huge trees with sprawling trunks and limbs, swirling Chinese clouds. This power to evoke mood and emotion through a synthesis of landscape background and figures gradually weakens in Persian painting, until nature is reduced to a harmonious décor; but throughout the Mongol period we find a sustained interest in the dramatic treatment of landscape.

Although the potter's art, under the Mongol rule, did not reach the same heights of creative expression attained by the finest Seljuk ceramics, works of great beauty and ingenuity continued to be produced throughout the fourteenth century. The Sultanabad district in particular became an important center of ceramic production. Sultanabad pottery is distinguished for its spirited animal motifs and its delicate gray-green glazes that recall the beautiful celadon of Sung China. One of the finest Sultanabad bowls in existence is in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection at Washington (Plate 66), while other outstanding examples are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Both the animal and plant motifs which decorate the ceramic wares of the Mongol period show an increasing tendency toward naturalism which stems from China, a naturalism, however, which is not content to convey merely the physical image, but seeks to communicate, by means of forceful rhythms, "the operation of the spirit in the forms of life."

Both the miniatures of the *Manafi al-Hayawan* (Plate 93) and the pottery and tile paintings of the Mongol period (Plates 66, 68, 69, 75) exemplify this tendency; they are, as Roger Fry has pointed out, unsurpassed in their "daring and instinctive generalizations of animal form." Although Chinese influence continued to be felt in Iran for several centuries, it was under the Il-Khans that the arts of the Near and Far East were most closely related in spirit.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, the pan-Asiatic empire, which Genghis Khan had almost succeeded in founding, had vanished like a mirage. Scattered descendants of the great conqueror still ruled over various parts of the Asiatic continent, but the Yüan emperors of China, the rulers of Central Asia, the princes of the "Golden Horde" in Southern Russia and the Il-Khans of Persia no longer considered themselves members of one family; the ties of brotherhood, the unfailing allegiance to the law of the steppe, which forbade internecine feuds and thus maintained the strength of the Mongol confederation, had been discarded for more than a generation. Those of Genghis Khan's descendants who ruled over Central Asia and the Near East toward the end of the fourteenth century, were engaged in endless feuds; jealous of each other's prestige, they spent their time raiding each other's territories, making treaties and breaking them by treachery and bloodshed. The disunited lands of the Near East were ready prey for a new conqueror. He appeared in the person of Timur-i-leng (Timur the Lame) or Tamerlane, as the

Europeans called him—son of a petty chieftain of an obscure Turkish tribe that had been maintaining a precarious nomadic existence in a little Central Asiatic valley.

Timur did not head a great confederation of disciplined, militant tribes, as Genghis Khan had done; he had a few companions, some mercenaries and some marauding bands who followed him in the hope of being able to plunder with greater success.

The systematic destruction of urban centers under the first Mongol invaders had been aimed at breaking the military power of the Islamic rulers and the economic power of the merchant class. Timur, however, seems to have terrorized and slaughtered civilian populations merely to satisfy his lust for blood. The Mongols, for all their savageness, had been extremely tolerant of all religions—except Islam, which they hated for its intolerant and hidebound hierarchy; (their own faith was Shahmanism, the primitive cosmic cult of their ancestral steppes, but many members of Genghis Khan's family had intermarried with Nestorian Christians, and rulers like Kublai Khan had accorded high honors to Buddhists, Taoists, Christians and Lamas alike). Timur, on the other hand, was a Moslem when he came to Persia; he had no thought of changing the religious, economic or political organization of the country. The prime motives for his conquests, achieved by stratagem and incredible ruthlessness which spared neither kinsman nor foe, appear to have been nothing more than insatiable personal ambition and greed for power.

Yet even this brutal conqueror succumbed to the world of enchantment which he found in Persia. In place of the mosques and palaces which his armies destroyed he erected new and still more splendid ones. He established his capital in the eastern city of Samarkand, which he turned into a place of incredible beauty. During his conquest of Persia he had sent vast numbers of artists and artisans to this eastern part of the country; he now utilized their skill in the production of splendid architectural monuments, exquisite illuminated manuscripts, sumptuous carpets and textiles. His court at Samarkand became famous for its fantastic luxury; the European Ambassador Clavijo who visited Timur's court tells of "doors covered with silver plates inlaid and enameled . . . pavillions richly decorated with embroideries . . . silk cushions embroidered with oak leaves and flowers" and numberless other luxurious appointments. Among the beautiful buildings that arose in the time of Timur and his successors were the mausoleum which Timur built for his wife, and another even more sumptuous one which he erected for himself, both in his capital at Samarkand; the mosque of Gohar Shad and the Masjid-i-Shah both at Mashad, and the famous Blue Mosque at Tabriz. This Timurid architecture is distinguished by a new type of dome, "a double dome with slightly swelling outline," which is almost invariably found in later Persian buildings, as well as in the Mogul architecture of India; the *liwans,* or recessed arches, now gain importance as structural elements, and surface decoration attains a dazzling virtuosity.

Since Timur was enamored of Chinese art and civilization, it was only natural that Chinese decorative elements should find their way in increasing number into the arts and crafts of fifteenth century Persia. Chief among these motifs which became an integral part of the Persian ornamental repertory were the Chinese floral scrolls, cloudbands, lotus, peony and other semi-naturalistic plant forms. No textiles of the Timurid period survive, but ample evidence of their beauty and richness is found in the miniature paintings of this period which show lavishly costumed courtiers in pavilions hung with gorgeously patterned rugs; but it was in the art of manuscript painting that the Timurid period made its most significant contribution. Timur, his son, Shah Rukh, and his great grandson, Sultan Husain Mirza, were among the foremost patrons of art and literature of all times. Masterpieces of prose and poetry were now copied in exquisite calligraphy and illustrated with miniatures of jewel-like beauty: the *Shah-Name* of Firdausi, the *Bustan* (Fruit Garden), and *Gulistan* (Rose Garden) of Sadi, the *Khamsa* of Nizami, the romantic tales of *Khusrau* and *Shirin,* and *Layla* and *Majnun,* the *Iskandar-Name* (the story of Alexander the Great); the *Jami al-Tawarikh* (Universal History) of Rashid ad-Din, the *Diwan* of Jami; the *Romance of Humay and Humayun* of Khwaju Kirmani. To these was added the *Zafar-Name* (Book of Victories) which told of the battles and conquests of Tamerlane. A lyric mood pervades these Timurid paintings. Nature is no longer sympathetic to the tragedy as well as the joy in human life; she is exquisite, aloof, always serene, everlastingly beautiful. The miniature painter dwells lovingly upon tufts of flowers, slender trees, smiling skies; graceful, willowy ladies in softly draped garments lean romantically against flowering trees; armed warriors charge each other in deadly combat among perfumed blossoms and singing birds. The colors are flat and jewel-like in their purity and brilliance; the design is formal, logical, subtly intricate; there is no attempt at perspective or spatial illusion.

When one recalls that Persia was still bleeding from the wounds inflicted by Tamerlane's hordes, this gay, lyrical art seems strangely incongruous; but it was a court art, and its creators lived in peaceful seclusion, intent only on pleasing their royal patron. Its themes, moreover, were tales of love and chivalry whose heroes and heroines were noble lords and ladies—Khusrau and the lovely Shirin; Prince Humay and the beautiful Chinese Princess Humayun; King Bahram Gur and his favorite, the lute-player Azada.

The style of the early Timurid period (ca. 1370) reaches its highest perfection in a manuscript of animal fables (owned by the Museum of Teheran) in which vivacious drawing is rivaled by sparkling color harmonies; and a manuscript of Khwaju Kirmani's poetic tale of *Humay and Humayun* (in the British Museum) illustrated by Junayd Naggash Sultani, the first Persian miniaturist to record his signature (1396). The succeeding generation of painters produced masterpieces of

book illumination in which the lyric note is sustained to an extraordinary degree. The famous garden scene of Prince Humay meeting Princess Humayun (Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris) painted at this time (ca. 1420) is unrivaled for its tender loveliness. Throughout the fifteenth century the Persian miniature style continued to develop, producing works of singular charm. Many of these may be seen in our museums, at the Freer Gallery (Plate 100), the Metropolitan Museum, the Fogg Art Museum, the Worcester Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Toward the end of the fifteenth century a new personality appeared in painting —Bihzad (ca. 1450-ca. 1536), an artist of great vigor and brilliant imagination. His early work was done in the eastern city of Herat, at the court of the Timurid rulers. Although he followed the traditional custom of illustrating the epics and romances of Persia—among his few surviving works are a *Zafar-Name* or History of Tamerlane in the Garrett Collection, Baltimore, a splendid *Bustan* in the Cairo Museum and a *Khamsa* in the British Museum—he was not content with traditional renderings of well-known themes. "Bihzad's great innovation," to quote Eric Schroeder, "was that he looked at all kinds of human movement—not only the majesty of kings and the grace of court ladies, but the stoop and hurry of ordinary men. So great was his power both of visual memory and of analysis, and so thoroughly was he trained in the linear graces of the flat decorative Iranian style, that he was able to translate all kinds of movement, attitude, and personality into silhouette-like shapes fit for use."

Bihzad's most important contribution to Persian painting was a trenchant realism whose intention must, however, not be confused with that of western European painting, which aims at verisimilitude. Bihzad makes no use of modeling, cast shadow, or aerial perspective; he does not attempt to imitate nature. Rather does he try tc convey the *spirit* of living forms, the dynamic rhythms of human bodies in action, the vitality of gesture, the fluidity of motion. Where earlier miniaturists had been satisfied with a schematic treatment of structural background, Bihzad shows us the actual construction of buildings—he had a passionate and unflagging interest in architecture—and instead of disposing the warriors in a battle scene in graceful, well-ordered groups, he juxtaposes them dramatically, articulating their relation with almost uncanny skill. That he was able to accomplish this and still adhere to the traditional Persian style of linear pattern and chromatic brilliancy is an indication of his genius. On the basis of such undisputed works by Bihzad as the signed miniatures in the British Museum, *Bustan,* written and illuminated for Tamerlane's great-grandson, Sultan Husain Mirza of Herat, and his *Zafar-Name,* much earlier in date, once owned by the Mogul emperors of India and now in the Garrett Collection in Baltimore, it has been possible to determine the characteristics of Bihzad's style, and to trace the course of his influence in the works of later, lesser masters.

Although a number of miniatures in American collections are attributed to Bihzad, they can only be tentatively ascribed; outstanding among those which closely

reflect the style of the master is the superbly rhythmic *Dancing Dervishes* in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 104). The high horizon against which slender cypresses and flowering trees are silhouetted, and the garden densely strewn with flowers like a mille-fleurs tapestry, are typical of later Timurid painting; but the ecstatic rhythm of the dancing dervishes, the realistic stance of the spectators and especially the drooping figures of the dancers who have succumbed to fatigue are characteristic of what Laurence Binyon refers to as Bihzad's "instinct of seizing the gesture of momentary action for communicating the strain and stress of movement—the effort of breath, the tensity of muscle." So far-reaching was the effect of Bihzad's revolutionary style that the work of painters for generations to come felt its vitalizing influence. In addition to radiant miniatures and splendid calligraphy, masterfully executed bindings in tooled leather helped to raise the art of the book to its high level of creative achievement during the Timurid period. All the resources of the graphic arts were lavished on these bindings; the subtle and complex geometry of the early patterns gradually came to embody semi-naturalistic elements, until, in the sixteenth century, book covers became replicas of miniature paintings, rich with gold and polychromy.

Throughout the reign of Timur and his followers, various sections of Persia had been ruled by Turkish and native dynasties who constantly conspired to overthrow the Timurid rule. This was finally accomplished in 1502 by Shah Ismail, the young scion of a native house, who gathered about him great numbers of loyal followers and succeeded in establishing a new native dynasty, that of the Safavids (1502-1736). Among the rulers who followed, Shah Tahmasp (1524-1576) and Shah Abbas (1587-1629) were outstanding for their administrative ability and their patronage of the arts. With the rise of the Safavid dynasty every branch of Persian art reached unprecedented heights of splendor and virtuosity. The Timurid rulers had exchanged frequent embassies with China, and the influx of Chinese influence produced its cumulative effect on various branches of Persian art throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Shah Ismail, having conquered the powerful Turkoman rulers in western Persia, extended his realm from the Oxus River to the Persian Gulf, and set up his capital in the northwestern city of Tabriz, which rose to prominence under the Safavid monarchs. Shah Ismail promoted building activity, especially at Isfahan, while under Shah Abbas, who laid out the city according to a systematic plan which included the spacious *Meidan* or city square, arose the great royal mosque of Masjid-i-Shah, with its graceful pointed arches, its vaulted *iwans,* lofty domes and walls decorated with rich faïence mosaic and painted tiles; the vaulted bazaars; the charming royal palaces of Ali Kapu and Chahil Sutun, the mosque of the Sheikh Lutf Allah with its incomparably beautiful interior, and innumerable other buildings. Elsewhere, at

Mashad, Ardabil and other urban centers similar buildings were erected. The enchanted glory of these Persian cities, as they took shape under the brilliant Safavid architects, continues to haunt the imagination of modern travelers.

"The long blank wall of the street may be broken by a lofty recessed portal or a mosque. Through this shadowed entrance one passes into comparative darkness only to emerge suddenly into a scene of bewildering glory that surpasses all anticipation and is difficult to recapture even in memory. Usually, one faces the sanctuary with its vast cavernous arch surmounted by a huge dome of glowing turquoise or glistening gold. All about are the serried ranks of arched recesses, with a great arch at the center of each side arch, invariably a blaze of cobalt and turquoise blue and green with varied other colors for freshness and accent. All this is reflected in the shining pool. It is a scene of unearthly splendor."

Ambassadors from the court of England and France who visited Persia under the Safavids, returned with glowing reports of these magnificent surroundings. Poets and scholars thronged the court of the Shahs; famous schools of miniaturists flourished; great weaving centers produced the fabulous carpets and textiles which have since carried Persian fame to the far corners of the earth. The art of pottery-making, which had fallen into disuse during the Timurid regime, was revived by Shah Abbas who, jealously eying the great shipments of Ming porcelain which passed through the Persian Gulf on their way to Europe, determined to secure for Persia some of this lucrative trade. Chinese potters were imported to work in Persian kilns; pebbles ground fine, mixed with a little kaolin, produced a pseudo-porcelain ware which, painted in cobalt blue, almost rivaled the fine, translucent "blue and white" Ming porcelain. Celadon, too, was imitated by the Persian potters who even put pseudo-Chinese marks on their wares, to enhance their desirability. Such deliberate commercial exploitation was bound to injure artistic standards, however, and by the end of the seventeenth century the ceramic arts in Persia had declined to a rather low level.

Miniature painting under the Safavids continued for a time the Timurid tradition, intensifying the use of flat, gem-like colors, and vivacious linear patterns. After the capture of Herat by Shah Ismail, Bihzad joined the Safavid court at Tabriz where he was made "head of the Royal Library, and Director of Book Production." Some of his pupils and followers established an active school of miniature painting in the northeastern city of Bokhara; others, whose work derived from his mature style, produced exquisite masterpieces at Tabriz. The lavishness of these sixteenth century miniatures can hardly be described: "Golden skies and silver water, black-green cypresses against white-blossoming trees, the autumn foliage of the spreading plane, dappled horses in tawny deserts, clustered figures in raiment of scarlet, crimson and azure, diaper tiles and dainty frescoes, bright gardens behind slender fences of cinnabar red: these together compose the gayest of all possible

symphonies. Every high key tone is employed, daring dissonances lend vibrancy, and the full values of black and white are used to relieve the all but surfeited eye and deepen all the contrasts."

Lest the constant repetition of pastoral themes appear uninventive and monotonous, it should be recalled that the Persian miniaturists of this period, like the contemporary poets, were steeped in Sufism, the mystic doctrine (first promulgated by an Arab saint of the eighth century) which, like Zen Buddhism, sought union with the Divine Spirit through contemplation of and identification with nature. Thus the Persian artists never tired of recording the lyric beauties of nature which to them signified not merely a smiling sky or a nightingale on a rose bush, but the mystic union of the soul with the universe, the bliss of love, the ardor of passion. Among the famous manuscripts produced at Tabriz during the reign of Shah Tahmasp is a richly illuminated manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Nizami in the Metropolitan Museum, while delightful examples of the Bokhara school are to be found in many of our public collections.

The miniature painters of the Safavid period did not restrict themselves to illustrating episodes in manuscripts; they introduced the custom of painting single figures on separate sheets, or album leaves. The Safavid princes and courtiers are here portrayed in all their precious elegance (Plate 105); an exquisitely costumed lady gazes at a dainty spray of flowers; a musician languorously strums his jeweled string-instrument. Among the masters who succeeded Bihzad, his pupil Mirak, Sultan Muhammad and Ustad Muhammadi were the most gifted. It is from their work, which combines vivacious realism with fastidious elegance, that the miniature painting of Mogul India is largely derived.

The period of Shah Abbas, the last great ruler of the Safavid dynasty, witnessed a number of innovations in painting. Possibly through contact with western Europe, or perhaps as a reaction to the extreme artifice of miniature illumination, or, as some would have it, because noble patrons no longer spent vast sums of money on the illustrations of a single book, artists turned to simple line drawing, relying on an incisive graphic technique, rather than on chromatic richness for effect. The three artists whose names are associated with this new style and who were the most important masters during the time of Shah Abbas were Aga Riza, Riza Abbasi and Sadiq. The center of artistic activity during this period had shifted to the capital of Shah Abbas at Isfahan. It was here that Riza Abbasi, whose work molded the artistic taste of the day, executed realistic genre scenes (line drawings, often lightly tinted) of contemporary figures—courtiers and poets, venerable old men, foppish youths and reeling drunkards.

As court painter to Shah Abbas, Riza Abbasi was also called upon to design textile patterns and rugs. A master of the genre scene, he executed a brilliant series of contemporary portraits for the royal looms, and the transformation of Persian

textile design during the Safavid period from all-over patterns to well-defined units of highly naturalistic personnage groups is undoubtedly due in a large measure to Riza Abbasi's activity. The artists of the later seventeenth and eighteenth century, following the example of Riza Abbasi, devoted themselves almost entirely to line drawings. Their preference, too, was for genre scenes rather than historical illustrations. Instead of celebrating the romantic loves of Khusrau and Shirin or Humay and Humayun, they lingered over the voluptuous charms of a nude courtesan or the languorous pose of a sophisticated princeling. Occasionally, as in the drawing of a youth holding a falcon, in the Pierpont Morgan Library, the artist's line is trenchant and telling; but on the whole the art of painting in Persia slipped into a period of decline from which it was never to recover.

During the reign of Shah Abbas the looms of Persia produced textiles of greatest beauty and highest technical skill. Almost every technique known to weaving was carried to perfection. Patterned velvets and silks, magnificent metal-ground brocade (instead of encrusting metal, the weavers of Shah Abbas used it as a background for their designs); lustrous satins and taffetas, tapestries with elaborate illustrative scenes attest the incomparable skill of the textile workers of this period. The great weaving centers at Yazd, Isfahan, Herat, Kashan, Tabriz and Resht produced enormous quantities of these luxurious fabrics. European visitors to Persia were dazzled by their beauty and opulence. Although only a minute fraction of all this output has survived, such examples as the figured velvet showing a hunting scene, in the Boston Museum, the silk with its repeat pattern of a youth in the garden of cypress and blooming trees, in the Cleveland Museum (Plate 83) and the figured silk textile, in the Rhode Island School of Design, with its spirited red-coated riders on yellow horses (Plate 85) as well as the hunting tapestry in the Moore Collection in New York, convey something of the dazzling luxury for which the Safavid courts were famous.

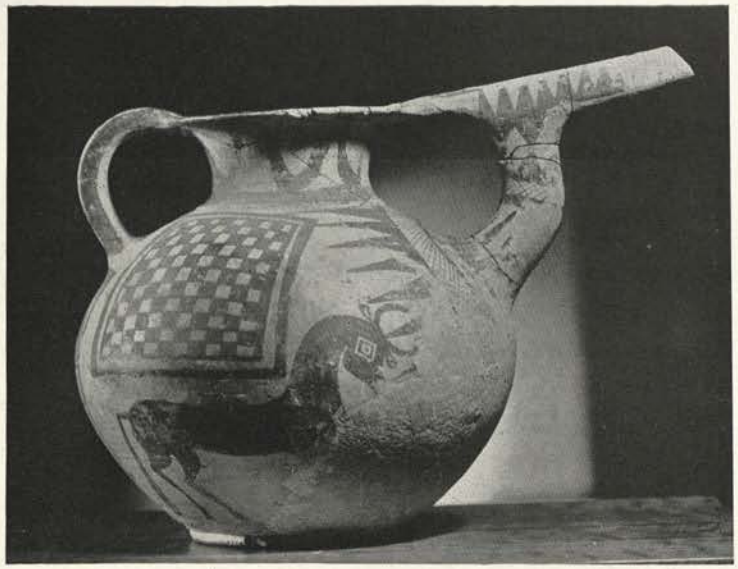
Although none of the handsome carpets recorded in the Timurid miniatures has survived to our day, the succeeding Safavid period has left us a splendid heritage of this great national art of Persia. The wealth of the Safavid monarchs was lavished on the production of veritable masterpieces of rug-knotting, such as the great Ardabil carpet in the Victoria and Albert Museum, famous hunting carpets in Vienna and Milan, and the animal rugs in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 86) and in the Widener Collection. The finest of these carpets were produced in the sixteenth century, and intended for use in the royal palaces or great mosques. Others, less ambitious in size, but no less gorgeous in coloring and design, were made for the nobles and wealthy merchants of Persia.

Bewildering in their wealth and variety, these rugs fall into classes corresponding to the regions, each with looms subsidized by the crown. The love of gardens, which plays so important a rôle in Persian culture, found expression in the garden

carpets, some of which show the formal plan of a garden, complete with tiled pool, rows of trees and flower-beds, while others resemble gay meadows in their all-over design of stylized and semi-naturalistic floral sprays and single blossoms. Foliate scrolls and arabesques unite these floral patterns into an ensemble of intricate beauty.

Another group, known as Vase carpets, often have as central motif a vase filled with flowers, or else simple luxurious flower patterns. Other types are the Medallion carpets, which generally have a central medallion surrounded by delicate floral scrolls and arabesques; the compartment rugs (Plate 88), which show a formal arrangement of geometric units, usually held together by a wide border filled with a profusion of arabesques; and finally the Polonaise rugs (so-called because they were once believed to have originated in Poland). This last class was knotted in silk rather than wool, and often lavishly enriched with gold and silver thread (Plate 90). In addition to pile rugs, tapestry-woven rugs known as *Khilim* were also made, some of the most elaborate using silk as well as metal thread (Plate 87). From the sixteenth century on, rug-weaving flourished throughout Persia—Herat, Tabriz, Isfahan, Kerman, Hamadan and Joshaghan being the most important centers of production. The handsome, virile rugs produced by the nomad peoples of the Caucasus are usually grouped with these Persian rugs, while the stimulating influence of Persia was responsible for the best work of the Indian and Turkish looms.

By the eighteenth century, rug-making, like all the other great arts of Persia, declined owing to lack of patronage. Sporadic attempts have been made in recent times to revive certain arts in Persia, particularly miniature painting, but it would seem that any creative expression must be sought in the simple but genuine folk arts of the country rather than in synthetic revivals of the ancient arts.



Persian, Neolithic, ca. 1100–1000 B.C.

Spouted Pot. Painted Pottery from Siyalk

Plate 52

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

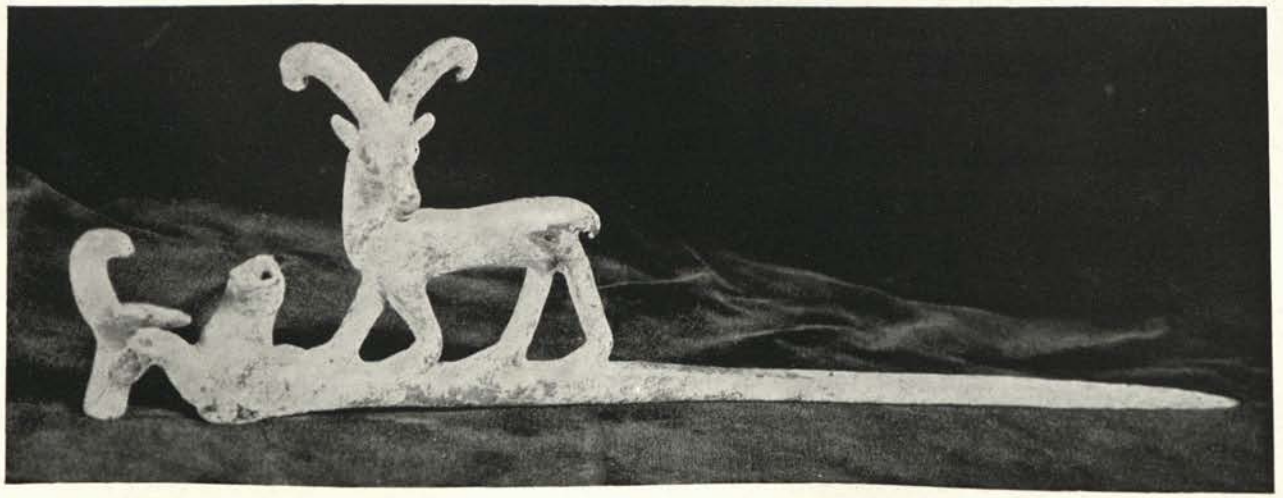
Persian, Luristan, 2000–1000 B.C.

Horse Bit. Bronze

Plate 53

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri



Persian, Luristan, ca. 1000 B.C.

Bronze Awl

Plate 54

ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada

64339

Persian, Achaemenid Period, 500–330 B.C.

Tribute Bearer from the Sculptured Stone Frieze of the Palace at Persepolis

Plate 55

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

49-2 Lx

Persian, Achaemenid Period, 500–330 B.C.

Figure in a Processional Frieze from the Palace at Persepolis

Plate 56

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Persian, Sasanian Period,
5th Century A.D.

Silver Wine Bowl Engraved with Figures of Bahram Gur and Sapinud, His Legendary Indian Queen.

Plate 57

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Persian, Sasanian Period,
5th Century A.D.

Silver Dish,
King Peroz Hunting

Plate 58

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, 12th Century

Hawk Attacking a Duck.
Stucco Relief

Plate 59

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Persian, Seljuq Period,
1037–1194 A.D.

Candlestick. Brass.
Engraved Decorations

Plate 60

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

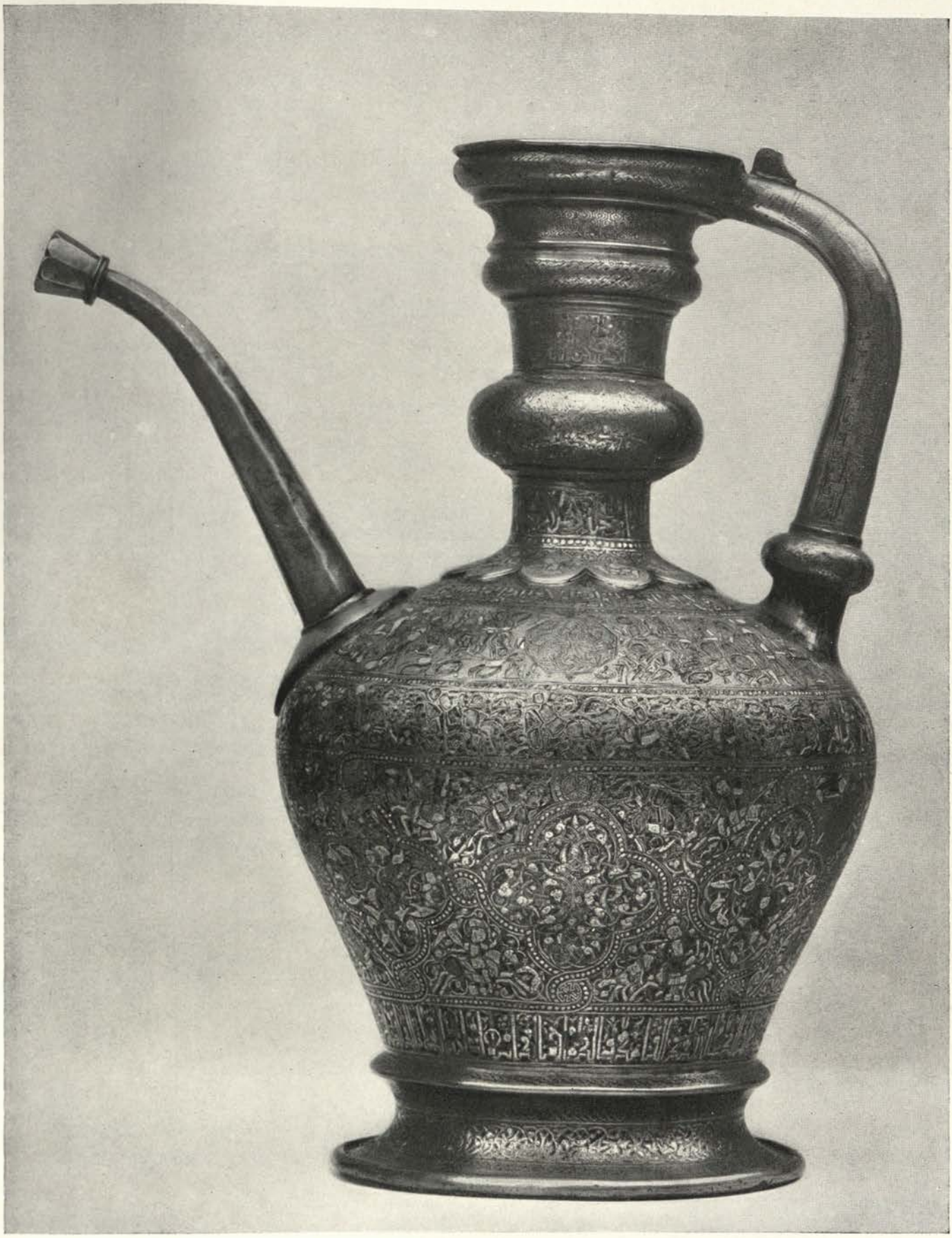
Persian, Seljuq Period, Dated 1066 A.D.

Silver Salver, Engraved. Made for the Sultan Alp Arslan

Plate 61

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Mosul, Dated 1226 A.D. *Ewer. Brass with Silver Inlay*

Plate 62

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, Seljuq Period,
12th Century A.D.

Ewer. Bronze with Engraved Decorations

Plate 63

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Persian, Mongol Period,
Early 14th Century

Ewer. Bronze, Inlaid with Gold. Decorated with Arabesques and Medallions

Plate 64

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

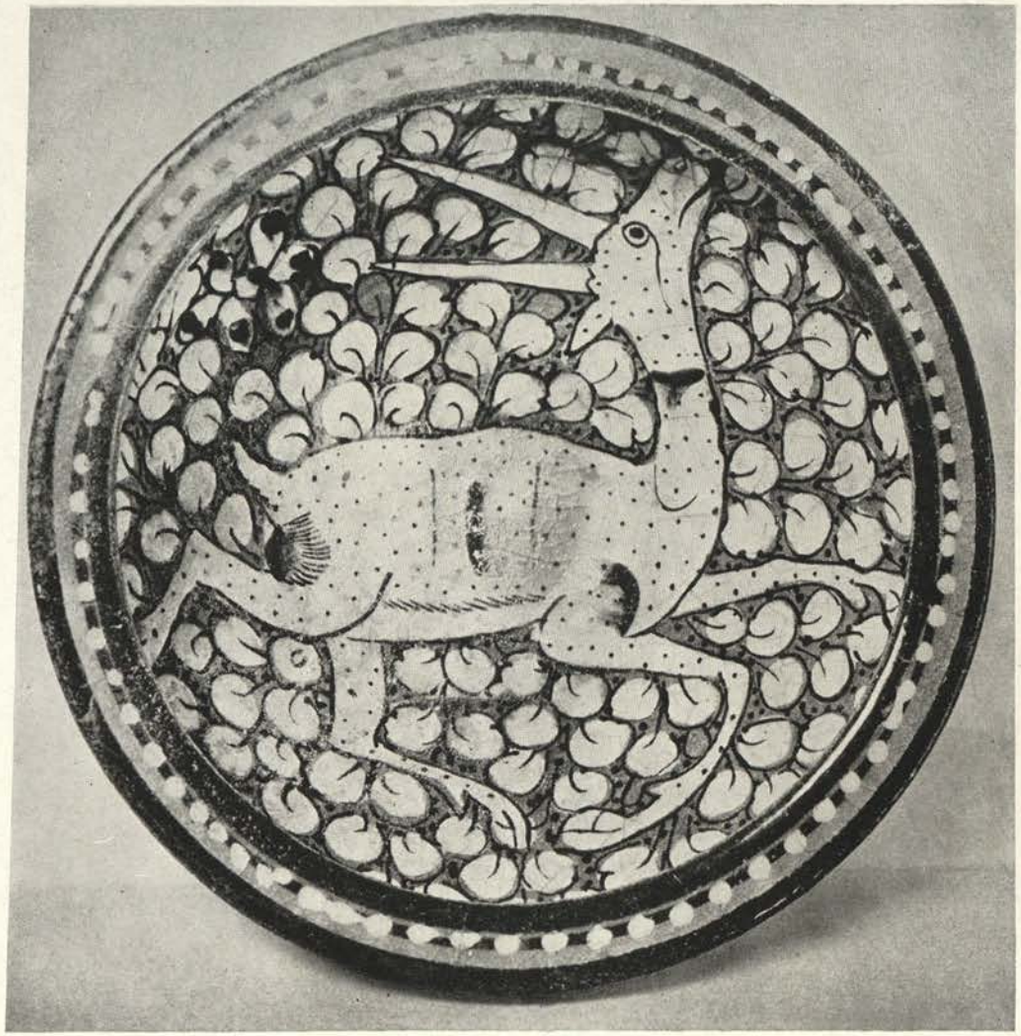
Persian, 13th–14th Century

Box, Engraved and Inlaid with Silver and Gold

Plate 65

CITY ART MUSEUM

St. Louis, Missouri



Persian, Mongol Period,
14th Century A.D.

Glazed Bowl from Sultanabad

Plate 66

DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

Washington, D.C.

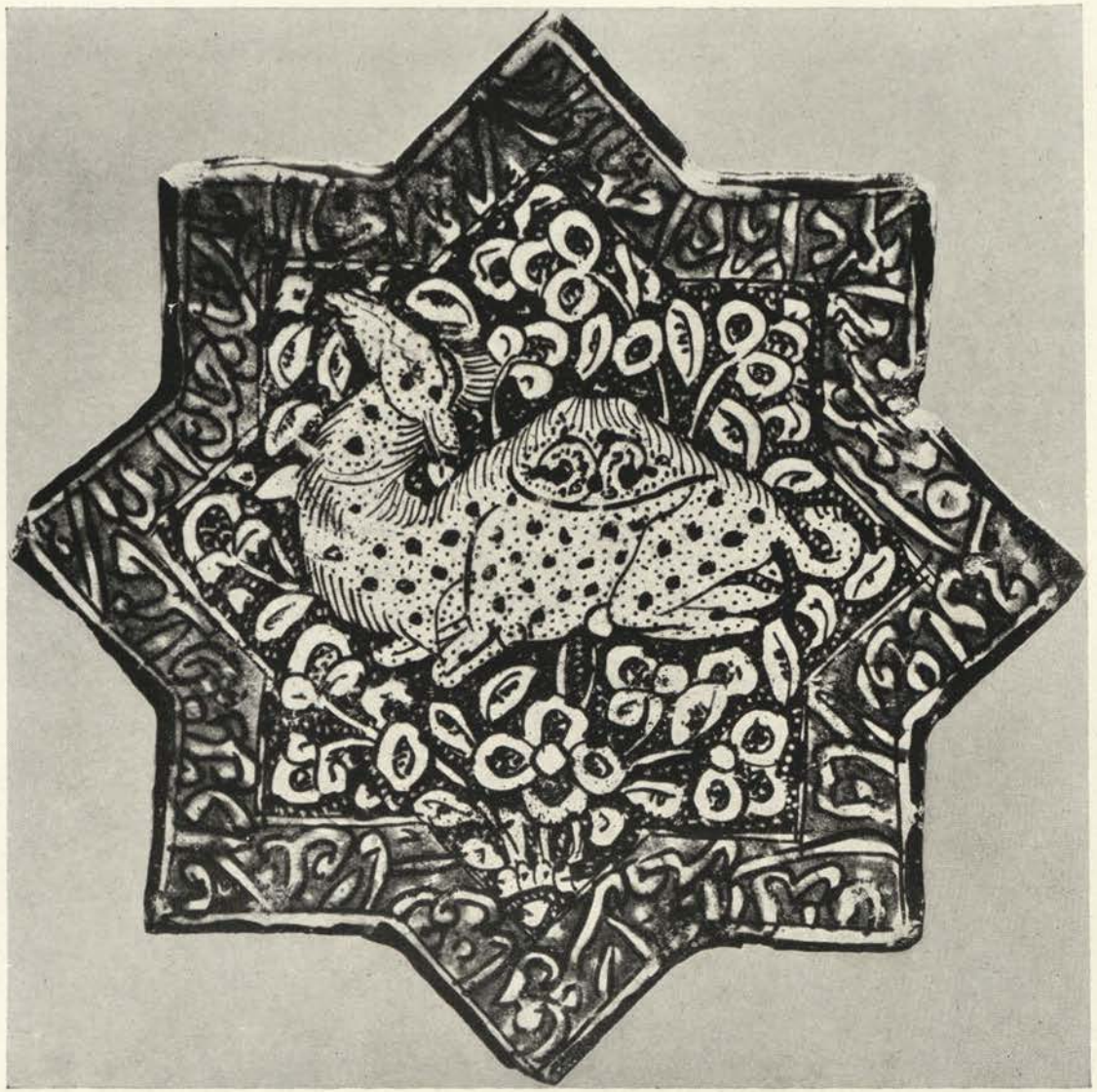
Persian, Early 12th Century

Lustre-Painted Bowl from Rayy

Plate 67

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

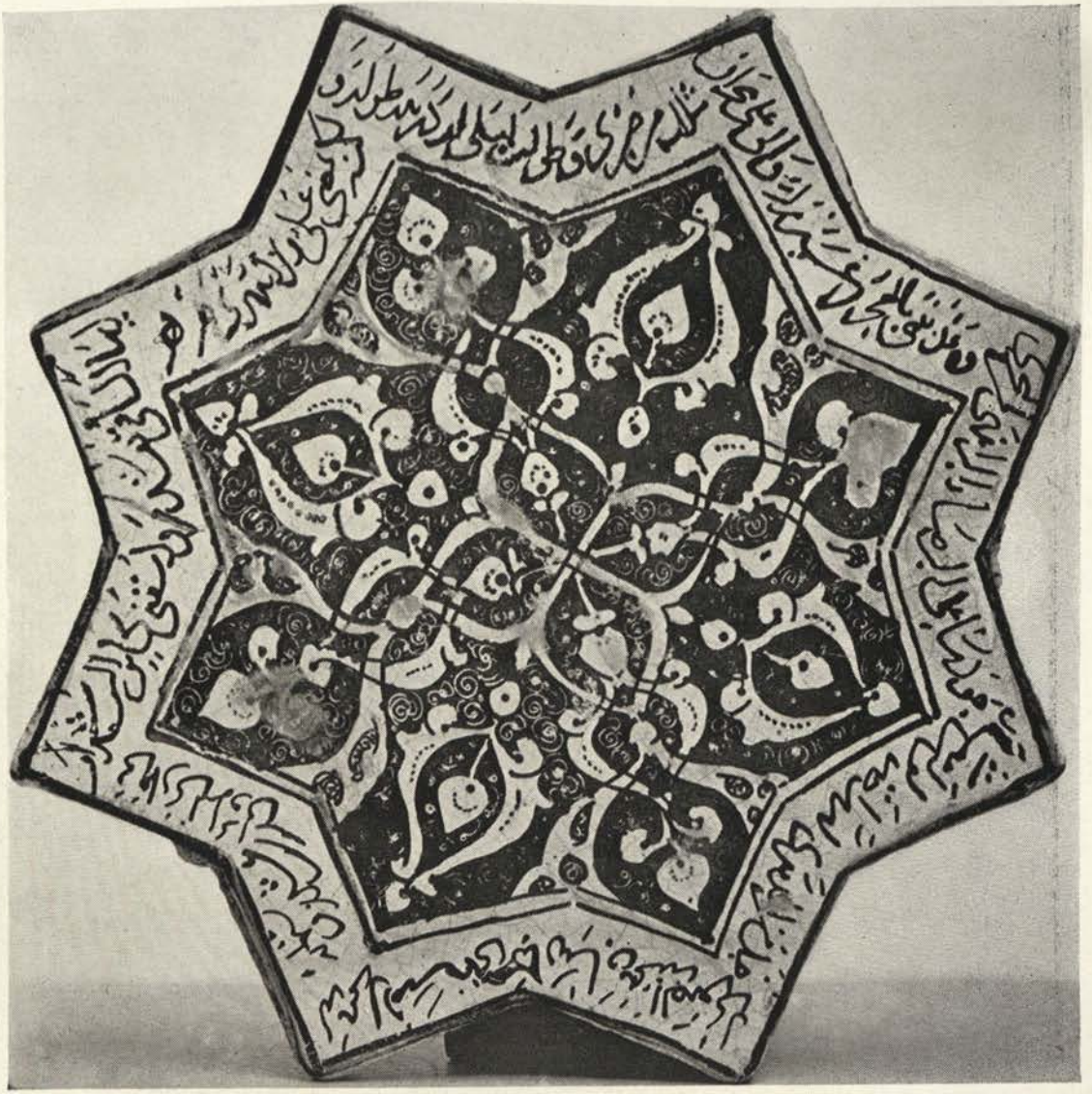


Persian, Mongol Period, Dated 1305 — *Star Tile with Lustre Painting*

Plate 68

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Persian, Dated 1229 — *Star Tile with Lustre Painting*

Plate 69

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Persian, 13th Century — *Glazed and Painted Pottery Jar from Rayy*

Plate 70

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Persian, 13th Century — *Glazed and Painted Dish from Rakka*

Plate 71

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Persian, Seljuq Period, Late 12th Century — *Bowl with Polychrome Decoration*

Plate 72

ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

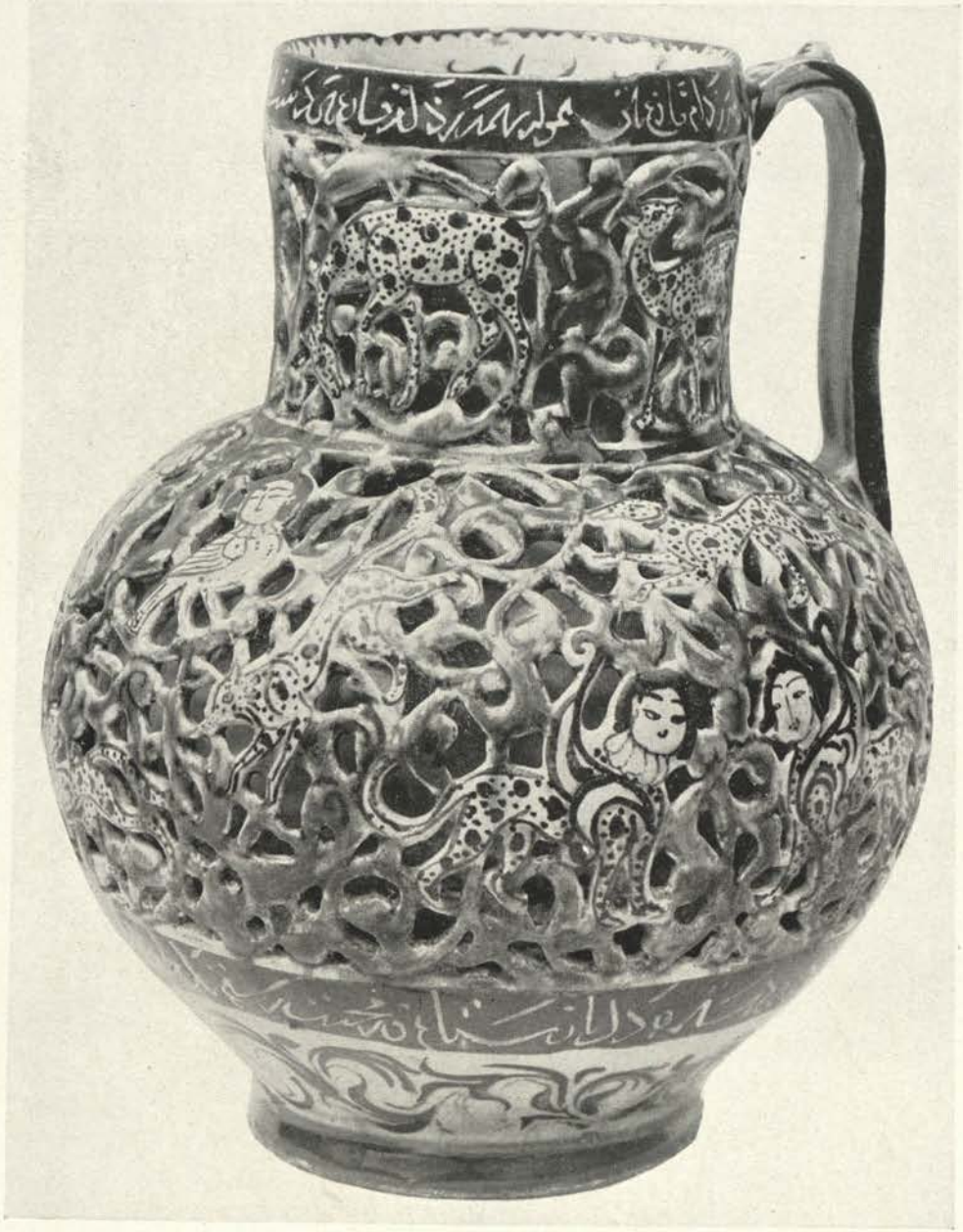
Montreal, Canada

Persian, Seljuq Period, 12th–13th Century — *Flower Vase with Polychrome and Lustre Painting over the White Glaze*

Plate 73

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland



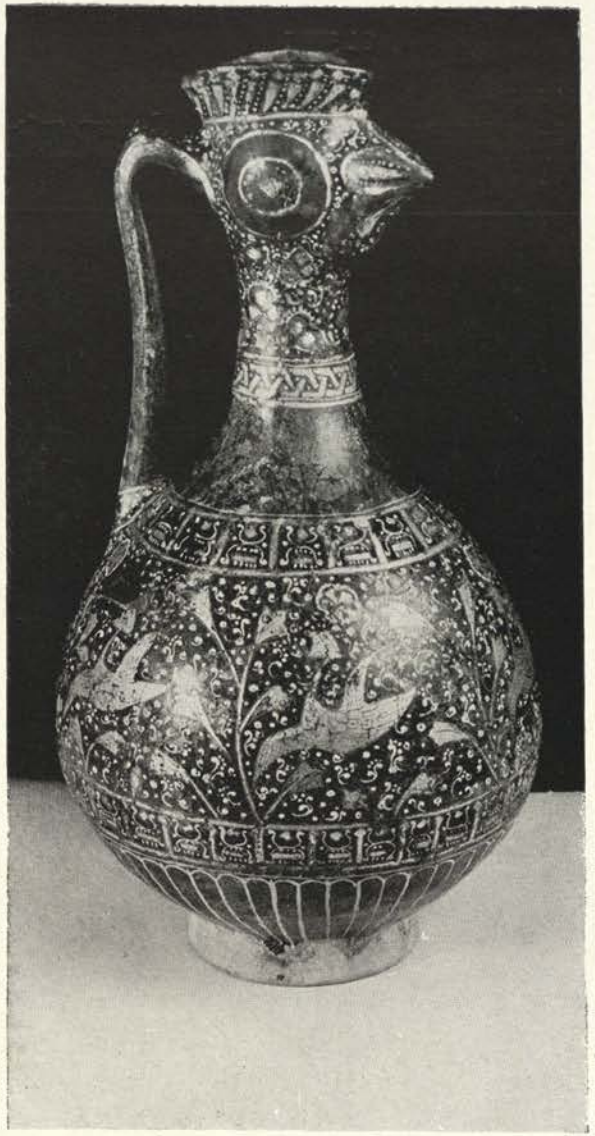
Persian, 1215 A.D.

Jug with Painted and Pierced Decoration from Rayy

Plate 74

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Persian, 14th Century

Cock's Head Ewer

Plate 75

ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada

Syrian, 14th Century — *Bottle. Enamelled Glass*

Plate 76

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Syrian, 14th Century — *Mosque Lamp. Enamelled Glass*

Plate 77

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Syrian, 14th Century — *Standing Cup. Enamelled Glass*

Plate 78

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, 13th Century — *Bowl with Polychrome Decoration*

Plate 79

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Syrian, Early 14th Century — *Bottle. Enamelled Glass*

Plate 80

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

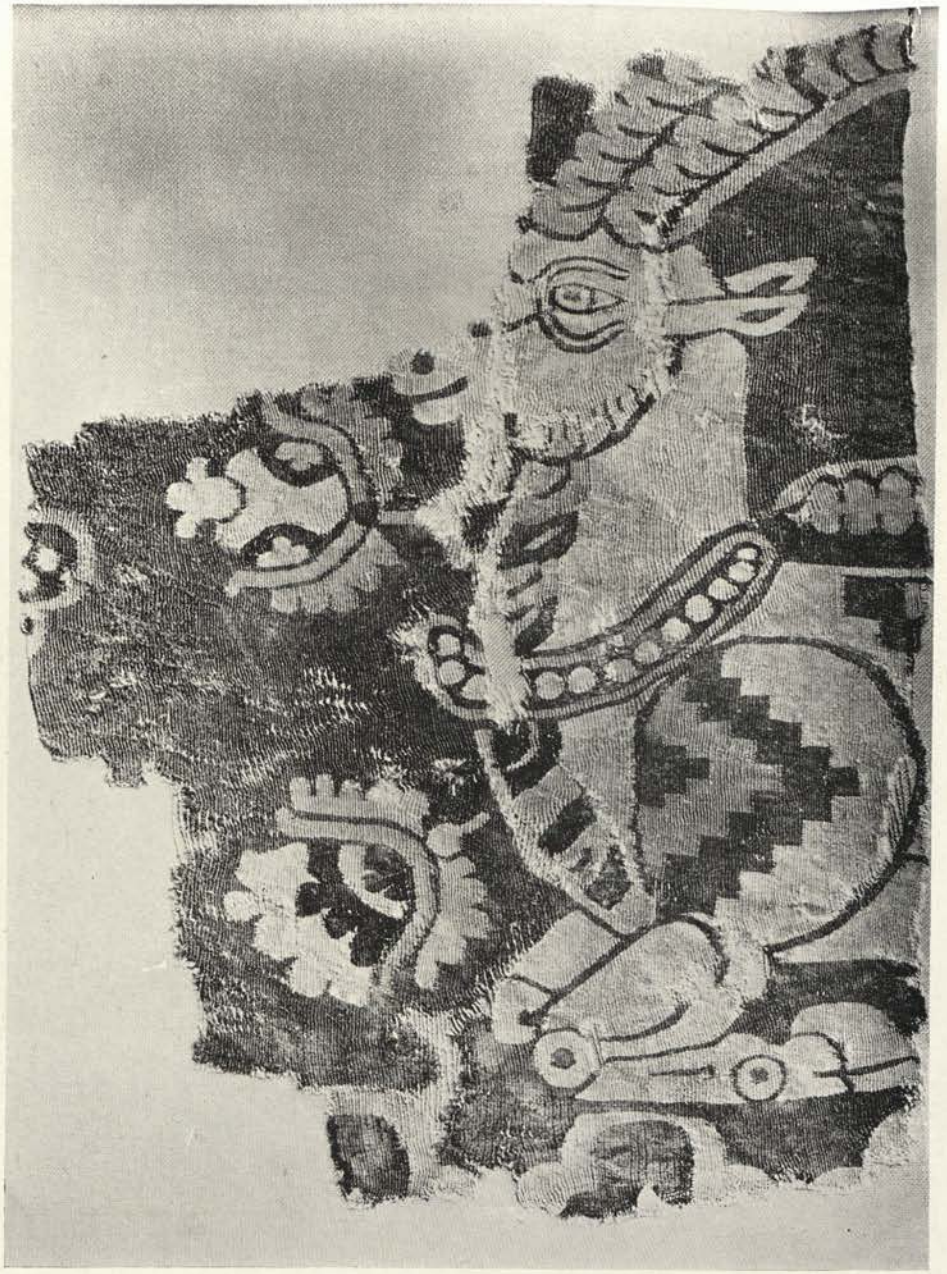
Byzantine in Persian Style,
10th Century

Silk Twill

Plate 81

COOPER UNION MUSEUM FOR THE ARTS OF DECORATION

New York City



Persian, Sasanian Period.
5th or 6th Century

Tapestry Fragment

Plate 82

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut

Persian, 16th Century

Silk with Repeat Pattern Showing a Youth in a Garden of Cypress and Blooming Trees

Plate 83

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

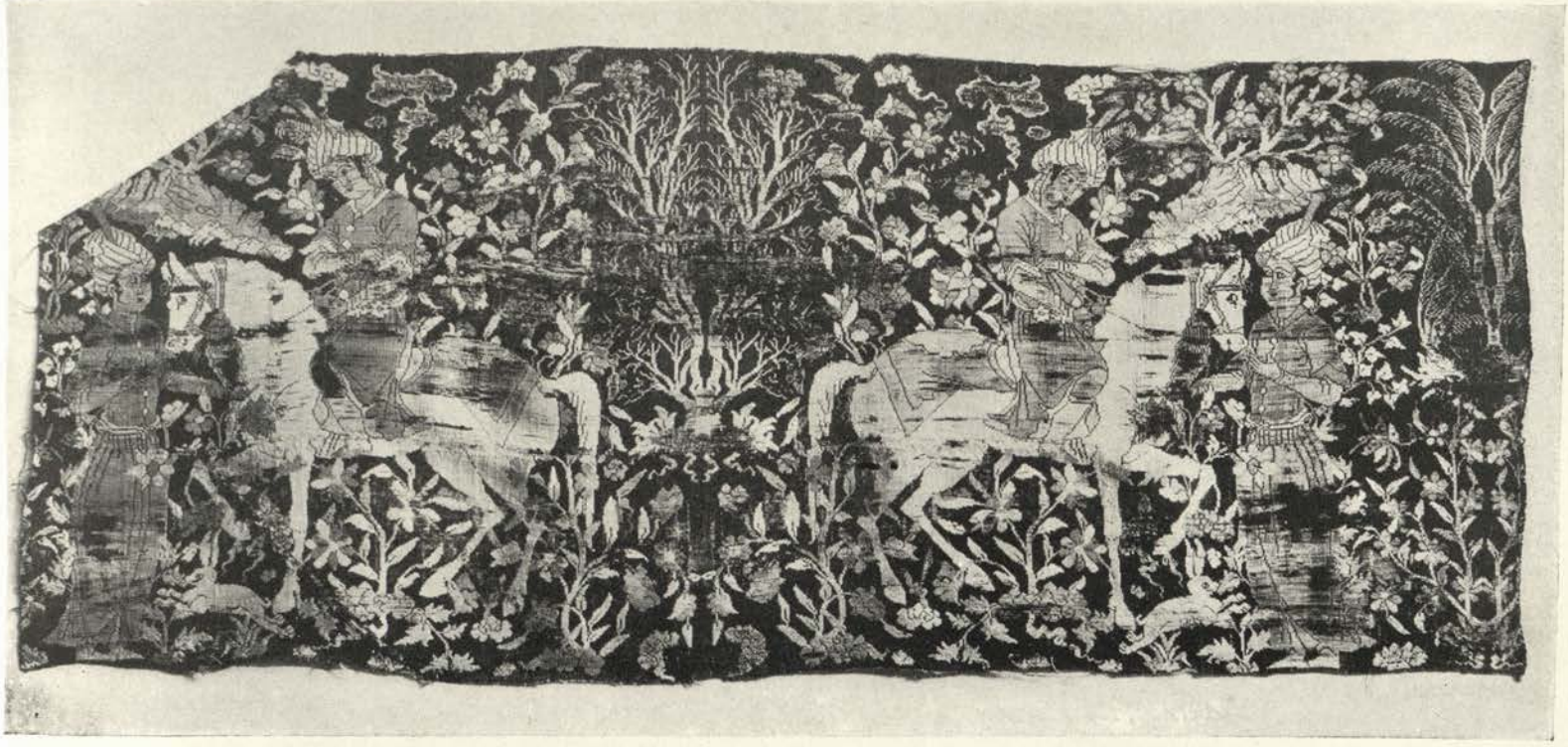
Persian, 16th Century

Satin, Black Ground Enriched with Metal Thread

Plate 84

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Persian, 16th Century

Silk Textile with Design of Red-Coated Riders on Yellow Horses against a Blue-Black Background

Plate 85

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Persian, 16th Century

Knotted Woollen Animal Rug. From the Tomb Mosque of Shaikh Safi at Ardebil

Plate 86

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

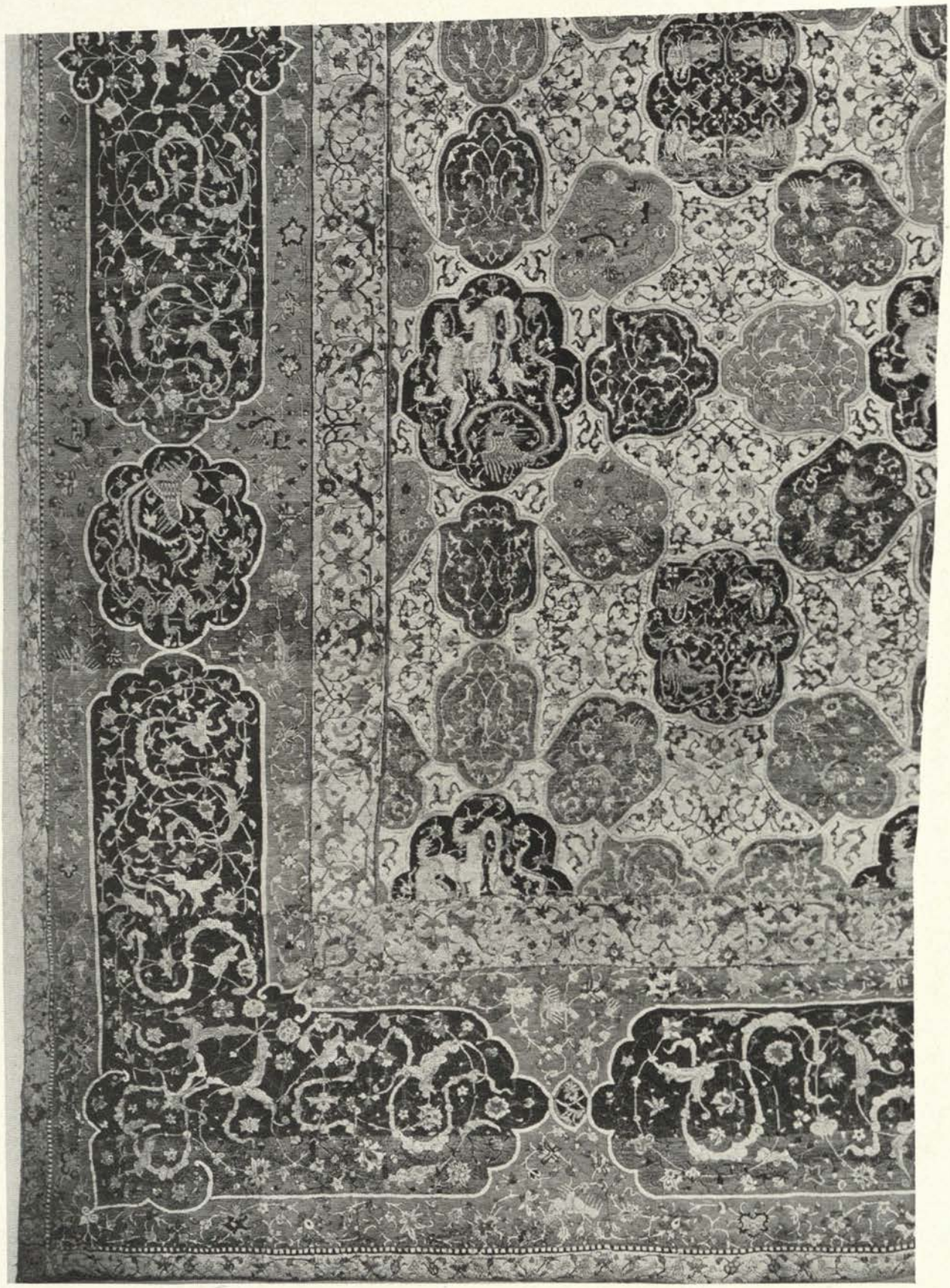
New York City

Persian, Late 16th or 17th Century — *Silk Tapestry Carpet from Kashan*

Plate 87

TEXTILE MUSEUM OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington, D.C.

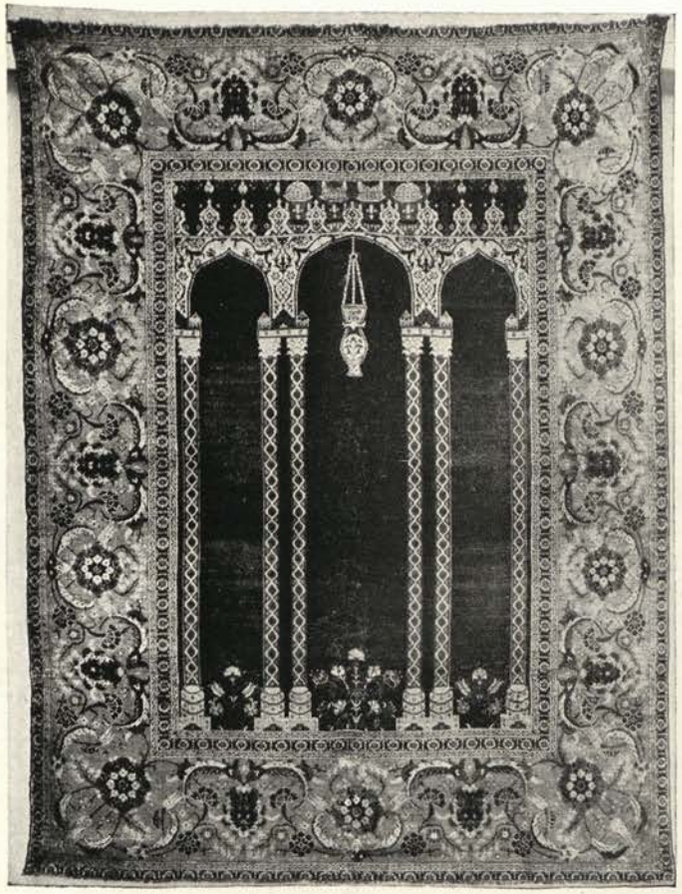


Persian, Early 16th Century — *Detail of a Compartment Rug*

Plate 88

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Turkish, ca. 1600 *Prayer Rug*

Plate 89

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, 17th Century *Polonaise Carpet. Silk Tapestry Enriched with Metal Thread*

Plate 90

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

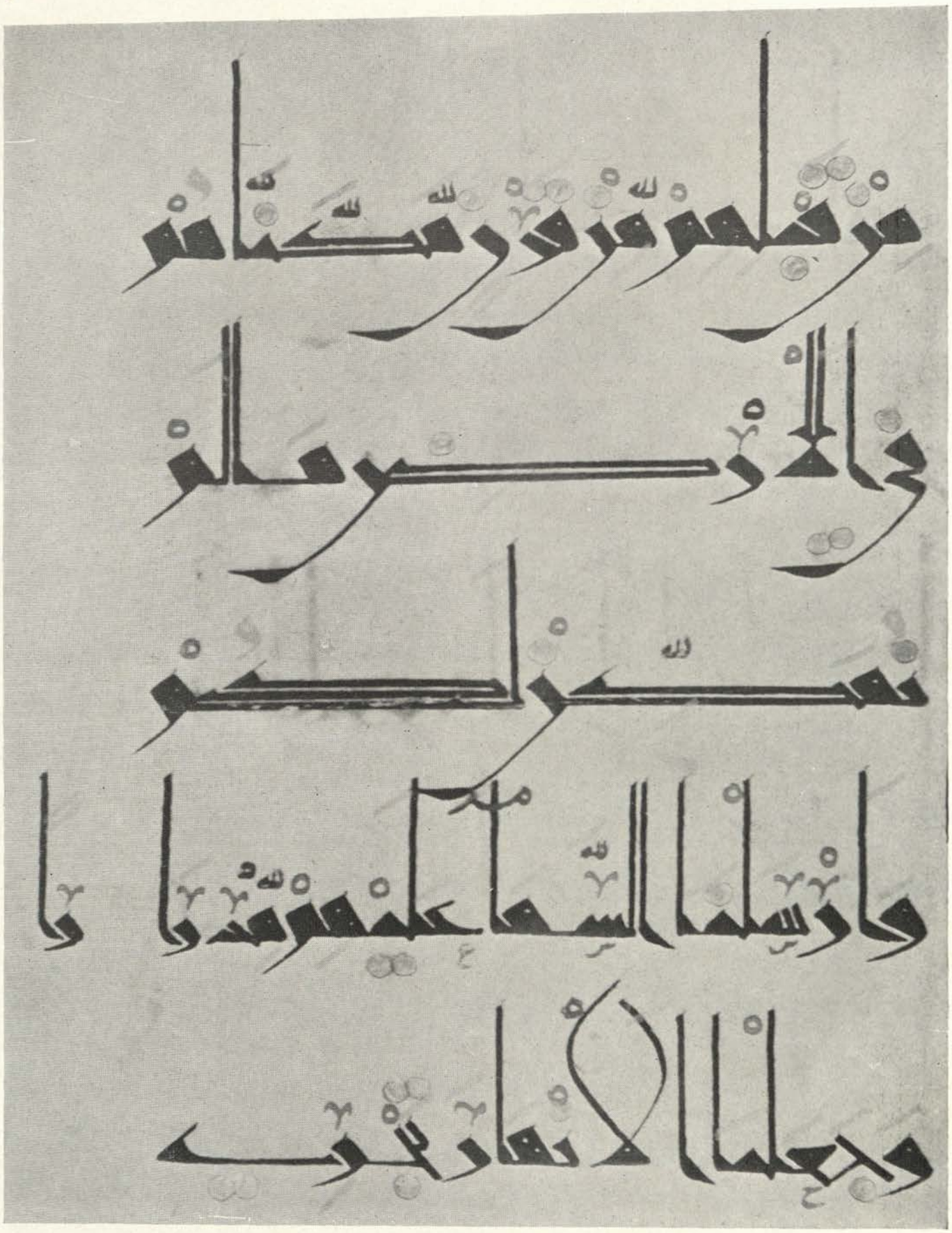
Cleveland, Ohio

Persian, 16th Century *Prayer Rug*

Plate 91

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Persian, 11th Century

Page from the Koran.
Kufic Calligraphy

Plate 92

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Persian, 13th Century

Elephants. Miniature Painting from a Manuscript of the Manafi Al Hayawan (Bestiary)

Plate 93

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

Persian, ca. 1300

Camels Devoured by Animals. Miniature Painting from a Ms. of the "Fables" of Bidpai

Plate 94. WORCESTER ART MUSEUM, *Worcester, Massachusetts*

Persian, ca. 1310

Bahram Gur Hunting Wild Asses. Miniature from a Shah-Name (Book of Kings). School of Tabriz

Plate 95. WORCESTER ART MUSEUM, *Worcester, Massachusetts*

Persian, 14th Century

Jonah and the Whale. Miniature Painting from a Manuscript by Rashid-ad-Din

Plate 96

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, ca. 1340

Bahram Gur and the Peasant's Cow. Page from a Shah-Name (Book of Kings). School of Tabriz

Plate 97

McGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Montreal, Canada

Persian, 16th Century

Portrait of a Painter. Said to be a Copy by Bihzad after Gentile Bellini

Plate 98

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Persian, 16th Century *Drawing of a Dwarf*

Plate 99

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Persian, Mongol, 14th–15th Century

Khusrau Before the Castle of Shirin.
Miniature Painting

Plate 100

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Persian, 16th Century

Bahram Gur in the Yellow Palace.
Miniature Painting

Plate 101

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, 16th Century *Yusuf Arriving in Egypt. Miniature Painting*

Plate 102

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Persian, Dated 1525 A.D.

The Khaquan Receiving Alexander.
Miniature Painting

Plate 103

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

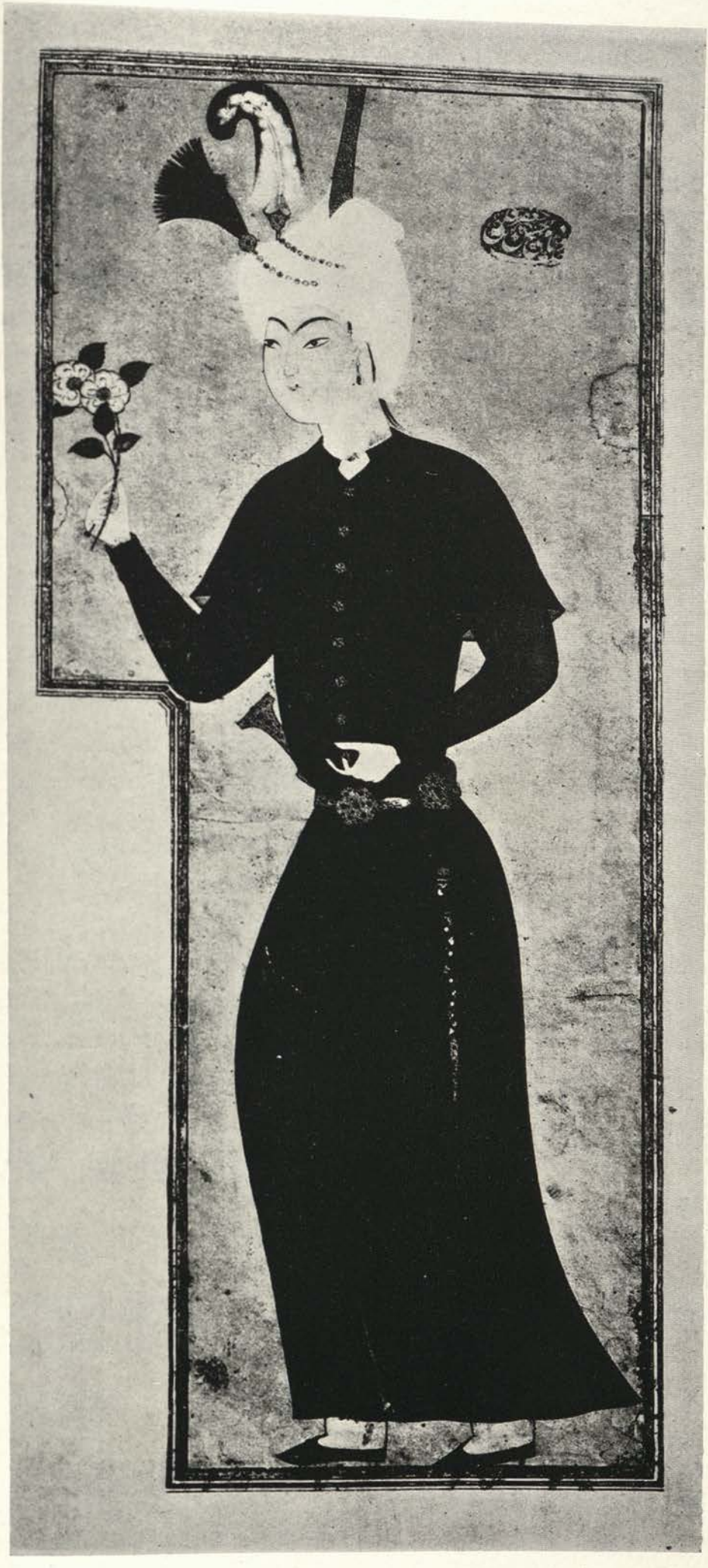
Persian, Early 16th Century

The Dancing Dervishes.
Miniature Painting

Plate 104

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Persian, Signed: Shah Muhammad.
Tabriz School, 16th Century

Portrait of a
Safavid Prince

Plate 105

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

V

Art of the Near East: India and Indonesia

THE art of India has its roots in the dim past of prehistory. During the fourth millennium B.C., an unknown people, living in the Indus valley in well-organized settlements, carried on agricultural pursuits and produced handsome painted pottery, bronze and terra cotta statuettes and seals. Carved in stone or ivory, or fashioned of a blue and white faïence, these Indus valley seals, inscribed with a hieroglyphic writing not yet deciphered, display animal forms of a startling vigor, anticipating in a sense the naturalistic treatment of animals that was to play such an important part in later Indian art. All these remains, particularly the seals, suggest a close affinity with the civilizations of Mesopotamia, especially that of Sumer; but they also indicate that the Indus valley civilization was indigenous to India and must hence be regarded as the earliest native art of that country.

We recall that between 2500 and 1000 B.C., several waves of nomads, who had learned the use of iron, swept down from some as yet undetermined place of origin, possibly Central Asia, upon the highlands of what is now Iran, the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates and the Indus valley. Some of these newcomers who are called Indo-Aryans settled in the Near East and formed the Iranian Empire; another tribe invaded or migrated into the continent of India, then inhabited by a people known as the Dravidians. The Dravidians manifested a love for naturalistic representation; their icons were realistic renderings of the forces of nature (*yakshis* or tree spirits, *nagas* or water divinities, and so forth). The Aryan newcomers, on the other hand, brought with them not only the ancient gods of nature feared and revered by a pastoral people—gods of the sun, of the bright sky, of rain, storm and lightning, of earth and fire—but also a gift for theological speculation which prompted them to relate these natural forces to a universal order. Artistically, the tendency of the Indo-Europeans was toward abstract, formal design, as opposed to the Dravidian naturalism. And just as the beliefs of the Dravidians merged with those of the Aryans to form the early cosmic religion of India, so Indian art evolved as a fusion of the naturalistic Dravidian and the abstract Aryan elements.

By the sixth century B.C., when the Achaemenid Empire had attained its supremacy in the Eastern world, the Aryans had firmly established their hold on India. Their elaborate mythology and ritual was interpreted to them by a class of priests (Brahmans) who in time came to dominate this rigidly divided caste society. The cosmic divinities continued to govern the beliefs of the people for many centuries.

As time went on, however, these simple gods of nature gave way to a divine power whose origin and attributes were much more complex, and no longer anthropomorphic. For just as the Greeks of about this period were not deterred by their belief in the Olympian pantheon from probing into the nature and cause of Being, and originating various systems of philosophy, so the Indians who worshiped Surya, the Sun-God, and Indra, the God of Lightning, were able to conceive the doctrine of a divine Universal Substance which they called Brahma. According to their dogma, the soul of every individual was part of this Universal Substance. In time this divine power became Brahma, god of the gods; he was given corporeal shape and portrayed by the Indian sculptors as a Brahman priest. Centuries later the concept of Brahma came to embody that of two other Indian deities as well: Vishnu, the preserver of the world, and Siva, the destroyer. The dogma of transmigration of souls, or continuous reincarnation of human beings in various living forms, set forth in the Upanishads or sacred meditations, permitted this constant absorption of one deity into the identity of another, and incidentally enabled the Brahmanic religion to retain its hold on an ever-widening circle of adherents. Henceforth Brahma was depicted by the Indian sculptors as a deity with four heads and four arms, symbolizing the four quarters of the earth and having the various attributes of the gods he represented (Plate 121). His consort was Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence and music, whose sacred bird was the peacock.

Vishnu, the second god of the trinity *(trimurti),* united in this Brahmanic concept, is presented with the sun disk *(chakra),* the club, the lotus and the shell; these symbolic attributes, as well as the fabled *garuda* or sun bird on which he rides, recall Vishnu's origin as an ancient solar divinity. His consort is Lakshmi, goddess of beauty, who is recognized by the lotus and the jewel. In his various avatars or incarnations, Vishnu visits the earth in the form of some animal or human being, performing acts of benevolence for mankind. One of the avatar legends, often depicted by Indian artists, relates how Vishnu assumed the form of a fish and was caught by a sage to whom he foretold the coming of a great flood. Through the intercession of the pious sage, Vishnu, who had transformed himself into a giant fish, saved the world from destruction.

In one of his human avatars, Vishnu was Krishna, the divine cowherd who "combines the qualities of the Greek Hercules and Eros." Legend relates how, as a child, he was about to be put to death by his uncle, when he took refuge with the shepherd Nanda. Gay and mischievous, he was forever playing pranks on the milkmaids and cowherds; on one occasion he stole the cowherds' butter and joyously danced away. In this episode he is known as Bala-Krishna (Plate 116). Thus he grew to manhood, a beautiful youth with whom the milkmaids *(gopis)* fell deeply in love. One of India's classic poems relates the story of Krishna and Radha, his favorite among the milkmaids (Plate 128); the symbolism, ever-present in Hindu

mythology, makes of Krishna the personification of the divine, while the milkmaids are souls of human beings, seeking mystic union with the eternal. Another human avatar of Vishnu, that of Rama, originated in the Ramayana, the epic tale of the hero Rama and his quest for Sita, his beloved wife who had been abducted. Full of chivalry, romance and legendary-historical episodes, this epic, believed to have been composed about 500 B.C., is the Indian equivalent of the Iliad and Odyssey.

The third great member of the Brahman trinity was Siva, the destroyer, a pantheist deity who symbolizes "the powers of destruction which are at the basis of cosmic evolution, death being the very law of existence, the generation of life." When portrayed alone, Siva is usually shown as an emaciated ascetic (for he lives in absolute silence among the lofty peaks of the Himalayas, having communion only with the beasts of the wilderness). His most popular representation is that of *Nataraja,* Lord of the Dance (Plate 113).

"It is the task of the artist," writes John Pope in an article on Indian thought, "to make an icon that will evoke in the mind of the worshiper a clear notion of some aspect of the cosmic operation, and he does this by the use of symbols—visible signs for invisible things." The conception of Siva as *Nataraja* dancing the Dance of Life and Death is such a dramatization of the invisible forces of nature, ever-active, ruthless and destructive but also life-giving and beautiful. Since the dawn of civilization mankind has struggled to express its thoughts about the cosmic cycle of creation —birth, life and death; seldom have they been embodied in a formula so dynamic and powerful as the Dance of Siva. "The ideals underlying the image of the dancing Siva," to quote John Pope, "are manifold, for many different dances are known to his devotees; but whether it be the dance performed at twilight on the heights of the sacred Mount Kailasa before the World Mother on her jeweled throne, the macabre *Tandava* performed at night among the corpses in the cemetery, or the *Nadanta* in the golden hall of Chidambaram or Tillai at the center of the Universe, all share a certain basic meaning. The dance, *per se,* is an expression of the activity of God; and in it may be felt the constant ebb and flow of cosmic life" (Plate 113). The consort of Siva is Parvati, also known as Uma, the Earth Mother, Durga, "who is both wisdom and pleasure, both darkness and light," and Kali, goddess of death (Plate 108).

The other great religion which dominated Indian life and art for more than a thousand years was Buddhism. Its founder, Siddhartha, a prince of the little tribe of Sakya, was born some five centuries before our era in a little town at the foot of the Himalayas. History records little about him; yet he brought to Asia one of the great revealed religions of the world. About the third century B.C., some three hundred years after his death, Buddhism became widely accepted in India. By that time many legends had grown up about him, furnishing rich material for the artists who were to interpret his teachings, but obscuring completely the known facts of his life.

ART OF THE NEAR EAST: INDIA AND INDONESIA

The sculpture and painting created by the Indian artists in the service of Buddhism possess inherent qualities of plastic and pictorial beauty; but some understanding of their iconography, of the themes these artists sought to interpret, of the ideology which they sought to convey, is bound to enrich our esthetic appreciation of these works.

The subject matter of Buddhist art falls, broadly speaking, into two main categories: the life of the Prince Siddhartha who became the Buddha Sakyamuni, and the stories of his former lives and reincarnations, called *jatakas*. The former tells how, when the infant was about to be born to Queen Maya and King Suddhodama, all of nature rejoiced: "Hundreds of birds settled on the roofs of the palace and sang, trees burst into bloom, water pools were covered with lotus flowers." The young prince grew to manhood amidst surroundings of splendor and luxury, guarded from the sight of anything ugly or evil. One day, however, he chanced to encounter the four things that his father, the king, had always wished to keep from him: a man grown old, one who was stricken with illness, a corpse, and finally a monk begging for alms. So deeply did the sight of old age, illness, death and poverty affect the young prince that he determined to forswear the world and henceforth to lead the life of an ascetic. He secretly fled from the royal palace at night and entered a hermitage as the Monk Gautama or, as he was now called, Sakyamuni—the ascetic of the house of Sakya.

After six years of fasting and prayer, Sakyamuni decided to abandon asceticism as a way of life. Seated under the sacred fig tree (the Bodhi Tree or Tree of Enlightenment, pictured so often by the Indian sculptors), he received the inward Illumination, the holy revelation by virtue of which he became a Buddha or Enlightened Being, worthy of entering *nirvana,* or the state of final deliverance. The essence of this revelation, which he taught to his disciples, was that desire being the origin of all suffering, only the renunciation of desire could bring about happiness. This renunciation, however, was not to be a passive withdrawal of one's self from life and its joys and sorrows, but rather an act of volition which deliberately cast aside the longing for earthly pleasures and chose instead a life dedicated to the good of mankind. "Behold," taught the Buddha, "alms, knowledge and virtue—these are the possessions which do not fade away."

Although Buddhism, like every new religion, retained many of the elements of the more ancient religions, in certain respects it was far more attractive to the great mass of people than either the intellectual Brahmanic religion, or the maze of primitive cults and superstitions which had crystallized into Hinduism. For the Buddha taught not only the doctrine of renunciation and annihilation of desire, but also that of universal charity, of love and compassion for all mankind, for all living creatures. It was the doctrine which Christ was to teach, and St. Francis of Assisi; it found a warm and eager response among the multitudes of India where life had

always been teeming and fertile, and accounted little. But the Buddha taught, "Just as the great sea, O disciples, is filled with one savor alone, that of salt, so this doctrine is filled with but one savor, that of deliverance." And again, "There is a sacrifice that is easier than milk, than oil, than honey; it is alms-giving. Instead of slaughtering animals, let them go free. May they find grass, water, cool breezes."

The *jatakas,* or stories of the Buddha's previous reincarnations when he came into the world as a bird, an antelope or a poor beggar, are for the most part ancient folk-tales, retold to illustrate the Buddha's teachings. They were among the favorite themes of Buddhist art, for while the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas or saints had to be portrayed in a traditional manner which allowed little freedom of interpretation, the *jatakas* afforded the Buddhist artist endless opportunities for depicting the palpitating beauty of the human body, the grace and strength of animals, the luxurious fauna and flora of India.

Such was the religion which was to furnish the themes of Indian art for almost a thousand years, and to hand on those themes to the artists of Central Asia, China, Korea and Japan who transformed and reinterpreted them in terms of their own esthetic ideals.

About 250 years after the Buddha's death, Asoka, a king of the great Maurya dynasty which held most of India under its sway, became converted to Buddhism. Asoka, who was a social reformer and one of the great rulers of all times, did much to further the spread of the new creed. By his royal command, monuments were erected to commemorate the sites which marked important events in the Buddha's life. These pillars—the first works of art consecrated to the Buddhist religion—are very close in conception and execution to Achaemenid and Assyrian art, which undoubtedly exerted considerable influence on the art of Maurya India. This is especially true of the ornate pillar capitals, mounted by realistically rendered lions, sculptured in the round. The Buddha himself was never represented in these early monuments except by symbols such as the wheel, symbolic of the Buddhist law; and due to religious awe, some centuries were to elapse before any actual representation of the Buddha in human form was attempted. The most celebrated monument dating from this period is the great stupa of Sanchi, in central India. The massive gates which stand on either side of the dome-shaped structure are covered with an incredible profusion of figures—stately elephants supporting pillars; graceful peacocks strutting amid exotic foliage; tree spirits or Yakshini, infinitely seductive in form, swaying among the branches of trees (Plate 106). A noble procession of friezes tells the *jataka* stories in a purely native idiom; there is still no actual iconographic representation of the Buddha, but the legends of his reincarnation are told in terms of contemporary Indian life, and one sees here the kings and their courtiers, clad in the sumptuous garments and jewelry of their day, and riding on richly caparisoned elephants.

ART OF THE NEAR EAST: INDIA AND INDONESIA

Following the conquests of Alexander the Great who invaded India in 327 B.C., a wave of Hellenistic influence swept over the country, particularly over the northwestern regions which remained in the hands of Alexander's successors and became the kingdom of Gandhara. To the Gandhara artists, trained in the Hellenistic tradition, the Buddha was not a mystic being, too sacred to be portrayed in human form. He was a divinity like the gods of their own Olympian pantheon, and they could visualize him only as another Apollo or Mercury—handsome of face and figure, with grace and nobility in his bearing, a perfectly formed Greek athlete, clothed in the softly draped garments of a Greek philosopher.

Thus the Gandhara artists created the idealized figure of the founder of this religion in terms of their own esthetic canons. They did, however, make certain concessions to the Indian temper and to Buddhist tradition by emphasizing the attributes of Sakyamuni: the top knot of hair covering the *ushnisha* or protuberance of the head which was believed to be the seat of the soul; the *urna,* a mole in the center of the forehead which indicated the power of divine vision or enlightenment; the ear-lobes, elongated by the weight of the jeweled earrings which the Buddha had worn when he was Prince Siddhartha. More striking than the physical characteristics, however, is the expression of gentle humility and sorrowful compassion, quite foreign to Hellenistic sculpture, but the very essence of Buddhist images (Plate 111). Wherever the Buddha's religion was transplanted, his image retained this expression of infinite pity and gentleness. In that branch of Buddhism known as *Mahayana* (the Greater Vehicle), a host of Bodhisattvas grew up about the central figure of the Buddha, and in time they almost completely usurped his place in the minds of the people. The Gandhara artists represented these Bodhisattvas as handsome native princes, lavishly adorned with jewels and wearing their native costume (Plate 110).

Almost contemporary with the school of Gandhara was that of Mathura, capital of the Scythian kings who established the Kushan dynasty in northwestern India, after vanquishing the Greek rulers of that region in the first century of the Christian era. The Kushans, though great admirers of Hellenistic culture, professed the Buddhist religion; during their reign a great number of Buddhist images were produced at Mathura by sculptors who utilized the handsome red sandstone which abounded in that region. Archeological evidence seems to indicate that it was in Mathura that the first images of the Buddha in human form took shape. Because of the philhellenic tastes of the Kushan kings, the Hellenistic tradition continued to hover about the art of Mathura (though less insistently than in the case of Gandhara art); but the Mathura sculptors succeeded in freeing themselves from the decadent classical canons with the result that their own native idiom became clearly articulated. The full-breasted female figures of Yakshis (Plate 106) and the Buddhas clad in transparent, clinging garments which reveal the modeling of the body beneath, are

very close indeed to the Indian esthetic ideal as formulated at Bharut and Sanchi.

The Gandhara school rendered Buddhism a lasting service by clarifying and elaborating its iconography; but it cannot be considered a true expression of the Indian mind and temper, for while the spirit of Hellenistic art infuses many of its best sculptures, it remains, on the whole, an eclectic expression full of unassimilated, antipathetic elements. It was only in the central and southern parts of India—in the Deccan—where the mighty dynasty of the Andhras ruled from 200 B.C. to 220 A.D., to be followed in the Eastern Deccan by another native house, that of the Pallava (300-800 A.D.) and in the Western Deccan by the Chalukya (550-750 A.D.) and the Rashtrakuta dynasty (750-970), that the indigenous art of India as typified by Bharut and Sanchi, continued to grow, hardly touched by outside influence.

The great monument of the Andhra period is the stupa of Amaravati, in southern India. The British Museum and the Government Museum at Madras house the most important fragments of this magnificent structure which was destroyed in the nineteenth century; but several fine examples are to be found in our museums, notably in the Metropolitan Museum, the Boston Museum and the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery. Of all the architectural forms evolved in India, the stupa was considered the most sacred; originally a mound erected to commemorate an important event in the life of the Buddha—his birth, his inward Illumination or his death—it became in time a domed building built of brick or stone and surrounded by a high railing, the essential features of which were the ornamental gates faced with richly carved marble reliefs. In one of these sculptured reliefs from the stupa at Amaravati (Plate 107) at the Metropolitan Museum, the theme is the flight of the Prince Siddhartha from the palace of his father, as he sets out to become an anchorite in the forest. Mounted on his favorite horse and accompanied by his faithful groom, he reaches the edge of the forest where the tree spirits surround him and help him to escape. The central figure of the Buddha is nobly expressed, while the groups of figures in the foreground and background fill the composition with movement and vitality.

The sculpture of Amaravati, as indeed all Indian plastic art executed for religious purposes, is a communal art: the work of a great many sculptors all of whom have remained anonymous, all of whom followed certain prescribed traditional themes. The individual artist never emerges here; yet whoever he was, he possessed to an extraordinary degree the ability to render the human figure plastically and to arrange the most complex groups of figures within a given space so as to achieve depth and unity of design. The relief from the Metropolitan Museum, for instance, suggests the depth and distance of the forest in a most convincing way. A far more striking example of this felicity in handling group action and suggesting spatial relations is the famous roundel relief in the British Museum portraying the legend of the maddened elephant, also an architectural ornament from the Amaravati stupa.

Dating from the Pallava period, the relief of the Goddess Durga in the Boston Museum (Plate 108) displays those elements of supple vigor and sensual grace which have become the hallmarks of Indian art. Indeed, in this art of southern India there has been no sharp break in the native tradition which stemmed from Sanchi, and hardly any intrusion of foreign elements.

The two streams of Mathura art in the north and Andhra art in the south mingled in the art of the Gupta period (300-600 A.D.), often known as the Golden Age of Indian art. In northeastern India, in the region of the Ganges, the traditional land of the Buddha Sakyamuni, the third and fourth centuries of our era saw the expulsion of the Hellenistic rulers and the establishment of the native dynasty of the Guptas. This upsurge of nationalism brought about a renaissance of Indian art.

Among the most impressive achievements of the Gupta period are the murals painted on the walls, pillars and ceilings of the Buddhist cave temples and monasteries which were hewn out of the living rock of a great, crescent-shaped cliff rising above the river bed at Ajanta, in central India. These murals, as well as those at the rock-cut temples at Bagh, in Gwalior state, which date from about the seventh century of our era (the Chalukya dynasty) are by far the most important examples of the early pictorial art of Asia which has survived to our day. The scattered remains of wall paintings which can be ascribed to this period (discovered recently in Persia, Central Asia and China) indicate clearly that the Indian cave paintings, while highly localized in form and content, belong to the main current of Asiatic pictorial art.

Though religious in theme, the mural art of Ajanta is an actual record of the society of its day. Elegant princes and alluring dancers and musicians assume the rôles of Bodhisattvas and their attendants; richly clad in the varied costume of the period—colorful, softly draped garments, gorgeous headdresses, sumptuous jewels, heavy necklaces and multiple bracelets, they are seen against a background of luxurious foliage or in the palatial splendor of some royal residence. Despite this secular presentation, the Ajanta paintings, as well as those at Bagh, are deeply religious in feeling. The rhythmic movement of supple limbs, of slender, graceful bodies and subtly expressive hands—characteristic not only of Gupta art, but of all later periods of Indian art as well—convey a rapture profoundly experienced by the senses, yet translated into spiritual ecstasy.

It has been said that this Gupta art represents a perfect fusion of the sensual and spiritual. Because so many of these cave paintings illustrate scenes from the *jatakas,* every phase of Indian life, secular as well as religious, is here touched upon. For, "religion here is not something apart, something to which humanity pays homage as to an essence outside itself; it is a confirmation of the mind, it is something inhaled with the breath."

Unlike the sculpture reliefs of Amaravati, the frescoes at Ajanta and Bagh lack

almost all sense of organized design; scenes melt and flow into each other, held together neither by a narrative thread nor by any organic structure, but by a sense of ceaseless, throbbing activity which knows no repose. The focus of attention constantly shifts from group to group; the eye, now lost in mysterious shadows, now dazzled by chromatic brilliance, is able to isolate individual themes of great beauty. Such is the *Bodhisattva Padmapani* (Lord of the Blue Lotus Flower), the central figure of one of the compositions in Cave I at Ajanta, one of the noblest conceptions of a spiritual being in art. The Boston Museum possesses a fragment of one of these Ajanta frescoes which conveys the general aspect of this art; but one gains a far better understanding of the strange beauty of form, the exotic color and mystic feeling of these cave paintings from the mural copies owned by several of our museums.

Although most of the surviving frescoes in the cave temples at Ajanta and Bagh are Buddhist, Buddhism as an independent religion had almost ceased to exist in India by the time these paintings were done. Constant opposition from the Brahmans, the vast multiplication of deities in the Buddhist pantheon and the tendency of all Indian religions toward syncretism resulted in the almost total extinction of Buddhism and the renewed rise to power of Brahmanism by the end of the eighth century.

It is with the cults of Siva and Vishnu that the art of central and southern India will be concerned for the next eight hundred years, and it is to them that the great temples in those regions are dedicated. The Chalukya kings erected the temples at Aihole and Badami, while the Rashtrakutas ordered the fabulous Temple of Kailasa at Ellora to be carved out of solid rock (ca. 757-783). Some of the noblest figures in Indian art are those which the sculptors of Ellora carved in relief on the façades and walls of the Kailasa Temple; best known among these is perhaps "The Kiss," showing the embrace of two lovers, a masterpiece of sensitive, sensual rhythm. Only in the work of Rodin has Western art been able to suggest with such potency the spiritual aspect of physical ecstasy, and it is interesting to recall that Rodin was one of the earliest and most ardent admirers of Indian sculpture. "In this relief," says Roger Fry, "Indian art rises to the highest point of plastic beauty."

The Temple of Siva at Elephanta, constructed somewhat later (850-900), is the finest example of Indian religious architecture. Hewn out of solid rock, it contains a profusion of sculpture of which the gigantic statue of the Siva Trinity, a superb realization of the deity's triple aspect, is by far the most majestic and beautiful. Another famous monument is the Pallava Temple at Mamallapuram (eighth century), with its excellent rock-cut reliefs; one of these, the *Descent of the Ganges,* with its teeming profusion of animals, graceful nymphs, water sprites and ascetic hermits, has been called "a fresco in stone."

In the southernmost section of India ruled the Chola dynasty (ca. 900-ca. 1300

A.D.) whose great king Raja-Raja I is traditionally credited with having instituted the practice of casting small, votive bronze images to be placed in temples and carried in procession. From about the tenth to the fourteenth century, southern India produced a wealth of these bronzes, images of various Hindu divinities. A great many of these south Indian bronzes are to be found in our museums, the Boston Museum having perhaps the richest collection. Individual choice pieces, selected at random, are the svelte figure of the Goddess Devi in the Freer Gallery (Plate 112) and a similar figure in the Cleveland Museum; the Balakrishna in the Albright Art Gallery (Plate 116); the Goddess Kali holding a pair of cymbals, in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery; the figure of Rama in the Fogg Museum and the numerous images of Siva as Nataraja of which those in Boston, Cleveland and the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto are the most outstanding. The Chola period also produced some exceedingly beautiful stone sculpture; the Boston Museum has a relief of Siva which is full of languid grace, while the three-headed Brahma in the Metropolitan Museum and the somewhat later, similar figure in Boston combine luxurious elegance with aloofness and virility.

The Dravidian temples built in southern India are distinguished by certain characteristic features such as the inner sanctuary *(vimana)*, the pillared hall *(mandapa)* and the outer gate, surmounted by towers *(gopura)*. At the Philadelphia Museum may be seen such a pillared hall with its elaborately sculptured columns (Plate 131), dating from the sixteenth century.

While the cults of the Hindu religion prevailed in the south, Buddhism maintained its hold on northern India well on into the twelfth century under the dynasties of the Pala (750-1060) and the Sena (1060-1202). Bihar and Bengal in the northeast, where Buddhism had originated, produced quantities of good Buddhist stone sculpture, while in the neighboring region of Nepal were cast some exquisite Buddhist statuettes in gilded copper, bronze or brass (Plates 115, 117).

The complex cultural pattern of India was repeated more or less faithfully on the neighboring islands of Ceylon, Java, Sumatra and later on in the Indonesian countries of Siam, Cambodia and Champa (southern Annam), for all these regions were open to colonization from the subcontinent since very early times. The colonists brought with them Buddhism and the Hindu cults, in whose service some of the most impressive achievements in painting, sculpture and architecture were created in these far-off lands. In Ceylon, the Buddhist frescoes at Sigiriya and Polonnaruva, the former exotic like Gauguin's Tahitian women, the latter graceful and lithe like Botticelli's *Primavera* figures, stem from the classic art of Ajanta. The architectural glory of Java is the Great Stupa of Borobudur, built on a square base and crowned by the traditional dome ending in a shaft. This beautifully proportioned structure is covered on all four sides—for one cannot speak here of a single façade—with bas-reliefs representing almost two thousand scenes from Buddhist mythology. The

material at the disposal of the sculptors—a native porous rock of volcanic origin, lends itself peculiarly well to the gentle, flowing curves of these figures. Although derived from Gupta art, Javanese sculpture is handled more firmly; melting softness gives way to energy and solidity, and some of these bas-reliefs are triumphs of plastic design.

Remote and mysterious in origin are the people who inhabited the Indonesian regions of Cambodia, Champa and Siam. They emerge into history during the first centuries of our era, and while they were apparently distinctly different as a race from the Dravidian and Aryan inhabitants of India, they accepted Indian civilization at a very early date.

The Khmers who ruled Cambodia, and the Chams who occupied the adjacent eastern region (modern French Indo-China), dominated Indonesian civilization for about a thousand years (from about the fourth to the fourteenth century A.D.); their ultimate fate appears to be as mysterious as their origin, for they simply vanished as a civilization and it was less than a century ago that their proudest cities were discovered in a series of magnificent ruins, in the depth of the living jungle which had hidden them for almost five hundred years.

Endowed with an extraordinary gift for plastic expression, the Khmers created some of the greatest masterpieces of sculpture the world has known. From the sixth to the eighth century they seem to have professed the Brahmanic religion, while their art was modeled closely on that of India. In the ninth century began the great rise to power of their kings who by the thirteenth century dominated the entire Indonesian region including Siam. It was during this period of political expansion and cultural emancipation that the fabled temple cities of Cambodia arose. In Angkor, capital of the empire, one of the great rulers erected the fabulous temple of Angkor Vat (ca. 1100-1150). "Surrounded by a wide moat, it rises in a series of terraced galleries to its apex of clustered towers. All over its gray stone surface, both within and without, is spread an exquisite lace of carving: great processional friezes illustrating ancient Hindu epics, low-reliefs of heavenly dancers, warriors, hunters or divine beings holding lotus blooms. The long corridors are peopled with statues of gods, Brahmanic and Buddhist, for though Siva and Vishnu had prior claim, the Buddha was admitted to the temple precincts in complete religious tolerance." Somewhat farther north arose Angkor Thom with its Bayon or "Tower of Many Faces" (ca. 1200) which has been called "the culminating masterpiece of the Khmer genius." From these two sites have come a number of remarkable pieces, both sculpture in the round, and carved reliefs, which represent the art of Cambodia in our museums. The finest of these is generally acknowledged to be the head of a Buddha (ninth century) in the Fogg Museum. The "elusive Khmer smile" plays about features that are strangely gentle for all their nobility and pride; the spiritual

quality, at once austere and compassionate, is something Leonardo might have striven for.

"Buddhism in Cambodia," says Alan Priest, "produced a pageant which was both stately and gentle, both proud and meek. The single figures have repose and nobility, the gorgeous processions and rows of dancing apsarases are lavish without being overdone or meretricious. It is a peculiar and isolated phase of expression, easy and accomplished, luxurious and simple, and of itself complete." These qualities in Cambodian sculpture may be remarked in the monumental bust of the god Hevajra from Angkor Thom, with his seven (originally eight) heads, in majestic, pyramidal construction (Metropolitan Museum); the charming bust of a Princess, wearing a high, jeweled, flower-bedecked headdress, from the same site (Plate 118); a fragment of a pillar from the Bayon showing two exquisite dancing apsarases (Metropolitan Museum); a sculptured frieze, also with dancing apsarases, which once formed part of a lintel from the Bayon (Plate 122), and various Buddhist and Brahmanic heads in the museums at Boston, Providence, Chicago, Kansas City, Philadelphia, Toronto, etc. (Plate 120).

Variations of the Indian esthetic ideal are to be found in the art of Champa and Siam, the rival kingdoms with whom Cambodia fought such disastrous wars. Cham art, according to some scholars, is closely related to the Polynesian cultures; it is harsher than either Indian or Khmer art, curiously reminiscent in certain aspects of ancient Maya art. There is undeniable vigor and authority in the sculptures that have come from the Cham sites, chiefly the monasteries at Donduong and Indrapura (Plate 119). On the other hand, Cham art was capable of rendering plastically, with even greater warmth and beauty than Khmer art, sensuousness and vitality in movement, as evinced by certain figures of dancing girls and statues of the goddess Parvati.

Siam, after carrying on a prolonged struggle with Cambodia succeeded, according to some historians, in overthrowing the Khmers and completely assimilating the older culture. Artistic evidence certainly points to a deep penetration of Siamese elements into Cambodia during the thirteenth century, for the last phase of Cambodian art abandons the representation of the Khmer racial type almost completely and depicts instead the delicate, long, thin-lipped Malay countenance which became the stylistic formula in Siam. It was not until the fourteenth century that Siamese art came into its own with the classic school of Ayuthya, the country's capital. Lacking both the warm sensuousness of Gupta art and the virile tenderness of the classic Khmer period, Siamese art is also devoid of any profound spiritual content; its Buddhas with their slender faces and attenuated forms are almost self-consciously refined and elegant (Plate 123).

We have left India proper under the rule of the Sena dynasty in the northeast, while further west, the native house of Rajput held sway. From about the tenth

century, however, Mahmud of Ghazna began his devastating inroads into India from his domain in Afghanistan, and the next two hundred years saw the systematic conquest of northern India by the Moslems who established a sultanate at Delhi and turned their new subjects into followers of Islam. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, native traditions in architecture combined with those brought in from Mohammedan Persia to erect a series of mosques dedicated to the new faith. Far more ornate than the Persian mosques, especially in their lavish use of exquisite stone carving, these Indian mosques are marvels of architectural virtuosity. This imported style, however, never took root in India whose native tradition quickly reasserted itself, and Islamic architecture remained an isolated phenomenon there. In the sixteenth century, however, another invasion from the north, that of the Mongols, affected Indian culture much more profoundly and lastingly.

Prince Babur, a descendant of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, having been ousted from his domain, invaded the north of India and established the Mughal Empire which lasted until the eighteenth century and eventually controlled the greater part of the subcontinent. With Babur there came to the throne the first of a succession of splendor-loving Indian emperors, who were ardent patrons of art and literature and enthusiastic admirers of both Persian and European culture. Their names have become synonyms for the wealth and dazzling splendor of India during those two centuries: Humayun (1530-56) who figures as the hero of a great romance often depicted in Indian and Persian miniatures; Akbar (1556-1605), the "philos-opher-prince," who attempted a fusion of all the religious systems in India in order to bring about tolerance and political unity; Jahangir (1605-27), esthete, dilettante, voluptuary and discriminating art patron; Shah Jahan (1627-58), who built the world-famous Taj Mahal as a mausoleum for his favorite wife. The last of the Mughal emperors, Aurungzeb, was a cruel despot who had none of the redeeming qualities of his predecessors; under his rule both the culture and political unity of India disintegrated rapidly, culminating in a native revolt in the eighteenth century.

The Mughals erected magnificent buildings such as the Great Mosque and the Emperor's Palace in Delhi, and the Taj Mahal in Agra—veritable rhapsodies in marble and precious stone; but it was in painting that they made their most significant contribution to Indian art. The Emperor Humayun was the first to bring famous Persian artists to India; his successor, Akbar, summoned to the Mughal court some of the most accomplished painters of Persia—pupils of the great Bihzad, to whom a group of native Indian painters were apprenticed. This marked the beginning of the Indo-Persian school of painting which at first followed the style and content of Persian miniature painting slavishly, but gradually assimilated a number of native Indian and European elements, until it emerged as the suave, brilliant and delicately realistic school of Mughal painting.

It was a court art, concerned exclusively with the festive doings at the emperor's

court, celebrating the royal pastimes of hunting, sport and war, the idyllic charm of pastoral scenes, the pageant of banquets and court receptions, the intimate delights of imperial and aristocratic harems. There were portraits, too, of the Mughal rulers, their courtiers, statesmen, and poets, many of them penetrating psychological studies.

The native tradition of painting in India which had produced the superb frescoes of Ajanta and Bagh had not entirely died out (though there are gaps of centuries which have as yet yielded no material), but had given birth to several schools of miniature painting, the most important of which are the Jain and Rajput schools.

The ascetic dogma of the Jain sect contrasts sharply with the excessively decorative elements in their art and architecture (the intricately carved wooden interior of a Jain temple in the Metropolitan Museum is a striking example). Their painting, confined to illustrations of their religious manuscripts, is two-dimensional, confused in design, harsh in color and esoteric in content.

The school of painting which flourished in Rajputana, on the other hand (and which in some instances grew out of the last phase of Jain painting), exhibits in its mature style a purity of line, breadth and lucidity of design and exquisite chromatic harmony. Done on paper, as album leaves rather than manuscript illustrations, these Rajput paintings betray their fresco ancestry, for each composition could be enlarged to heroic scale without suffering any loss of proportion or organic design.

The themes of Rajput painting were those which the Indian poets celebrated: the poignancy and ecstasy of passion, the delight of the lover in his beloved, the rapture of meeting, the pain of departure. Never has the vocabulary of love been employed with more lyric fervor. Even the animals which invariably find their way into these compositions, the gazelles, peacocks, monkeys and gentle kine are full of appealing tenderness (Plates 127, 130). The legends of Krishna and Radha furnished endless themes for the Rajput painters, as did the numerous tales of chivalry and romance (Plates 124, 126, 128, 130). The Rajput school of painting (both in the Kangra and the Pahari or mountain region which exhibited certain local differences) flourished from about the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. At times it was considerably influenced by the stylistic qualities of Mughal painting, but on the whole, it managed to retain its charm and individuality throughout. The impact of Western civilization had a sterilizing effect on this as on other forms of Indian art, but something of the unspoilt freshness of Rajput painting seems to be preserved in the present-day folk-arts of India.

A great many museums in America own good examples of both Mughal and Rajput painting, but the Boston Museum is fortunate in possessing the finest collection of Indian paintings in the world.

Indian, Mathura School, 1st–2nd Century A.D. *Yakshi or Tree Spirit. Red Sandstone*

Plate 106

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Indian, Amaravati, End of 2nd Century A.D. *The Flight of the Buddha from His Home. Relief from a Stupa*

Plate 107

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Indian, Pallava,
7th Century A.D.

The Goddess Durga

Indian, Sanchi, 50–25 B.C.

Torso of a Yakshi

Plates 108 and 109. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

Indian, Graeco-Buddhist, Gandhara, 1st–3rd Century A.D.

Head of a Bodhisattva. Stone

Plate 110

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Indian, Graeco-Buddhist, Gandhara, 1st–3rd Century A.D.

Head of a Buddha

Plate 111

CITY ART MUSEUM

St. Louis, Missouri

South Indian,
10th–13th Century

The Goddess Devi.
Bronze

Plate 112

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

South Indian, 14th Century — *Siva as Nataraja, Lord of the Dance. Bronze*

Plate 113

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Indian, Nepal, 9th Century — *Avalokitesvara. Bronze*

Plate 115. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

Indian, 12th Century — *Votive Stele of Surya Deva*

Plate 114. PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

South Indian, ca. 16th Century — *Balakrishna. Bronze*

Plate 116

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

Buffalo, New York

Indian, Nepal, 9th Century — *Seated Figure of a Bodhisattva. Bronze Statuette*

Plate 117

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Brooklyn, New York

Cambodian, 12th Century *Bust of a Princess*

Plate 118

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Indonesian, Cham, 9th Century

Siva. Brown Sandstone from the Donguong Monastery at Indrapura

Plate 119

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Cambodian, 13th–14th Century — *Head of Buddha. Stone*

Plate 120

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

South Indian, 10th–11th Century — *Brahma. Stone*

Plate 121

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

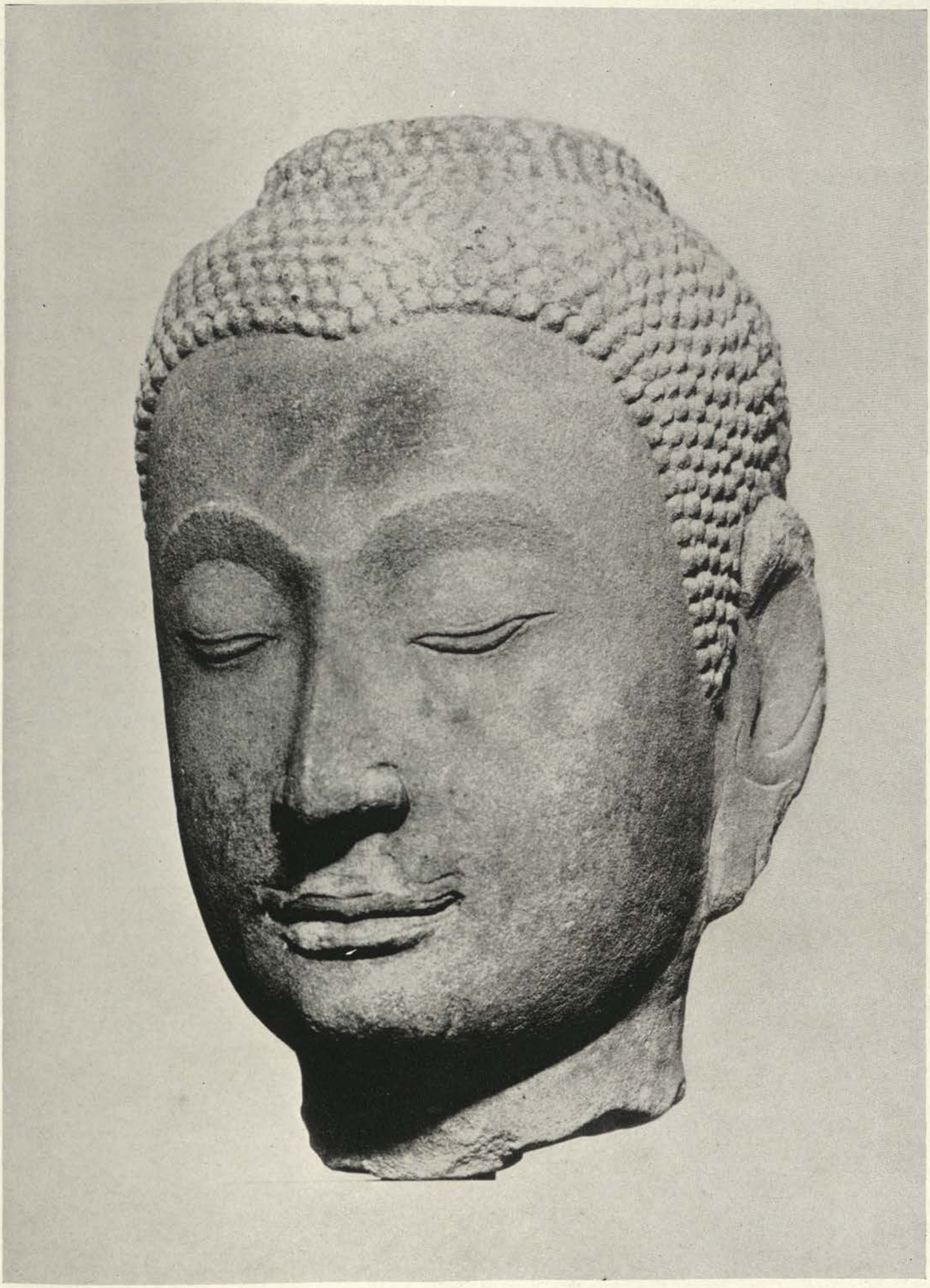
New York City

Cambodian, 12th Century — *Dancing Apsarases. Grey Sandstone Frieze*

Plate 122

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio



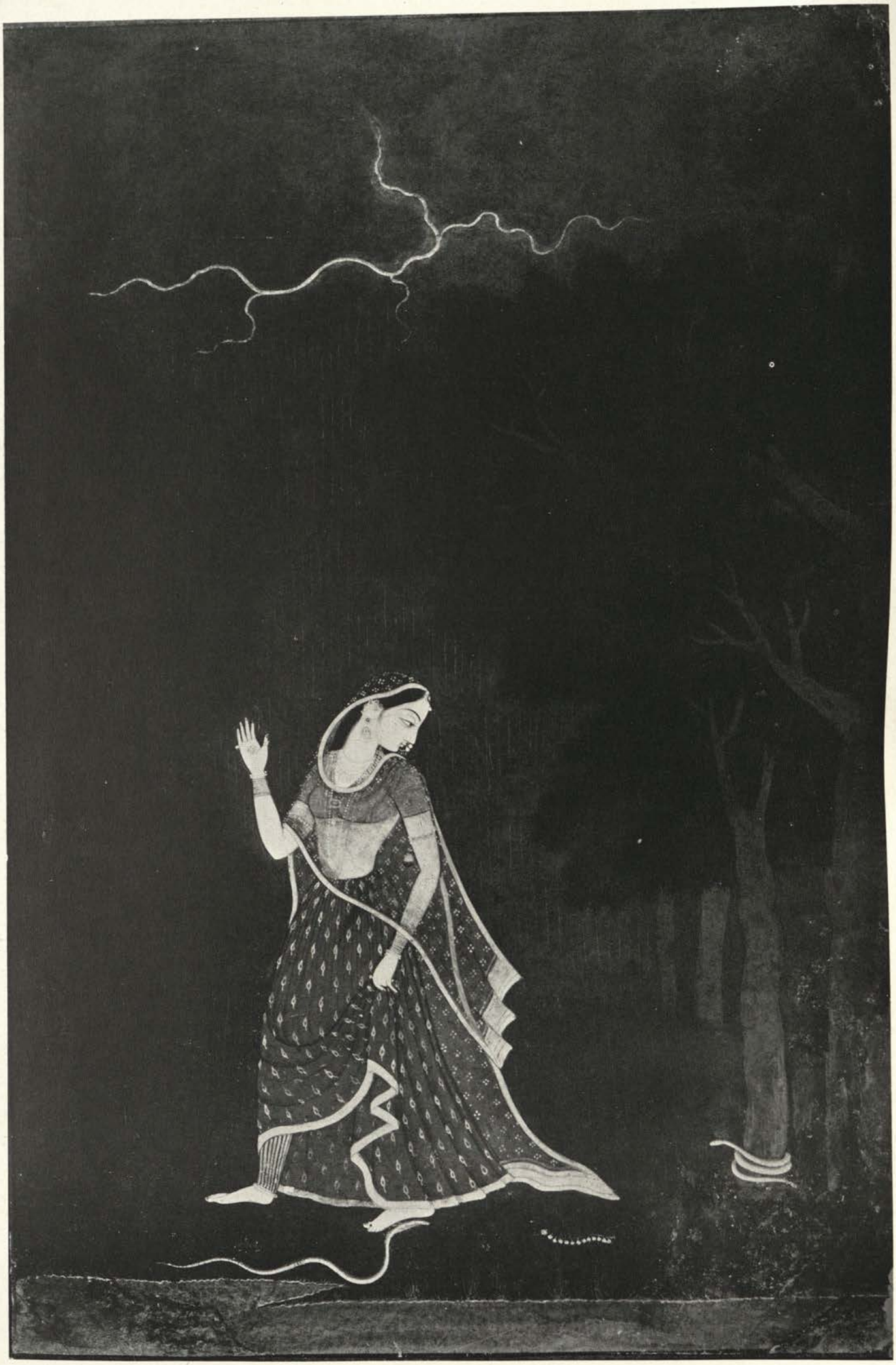
Siamese, Late 14th Century

Head of Buddha. Sandstone

Plate 123

ART ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL

Montreal, Canada



Indian, Rajput, 18th Century

The Heroine Fleeing through a Night of Storm and Danger to Her Lover. Miniature Painting

Plate 124

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Indian, Mughal, 17th Century — *Poet Seated in a Garden. Miniature Painting*

Plate 125

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Indian, Rajput,
Kangra School,
Late 18th Century

An Illustration of a
Love Poem.
Miniature Painting

Plate 126

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Brooklyn, New York

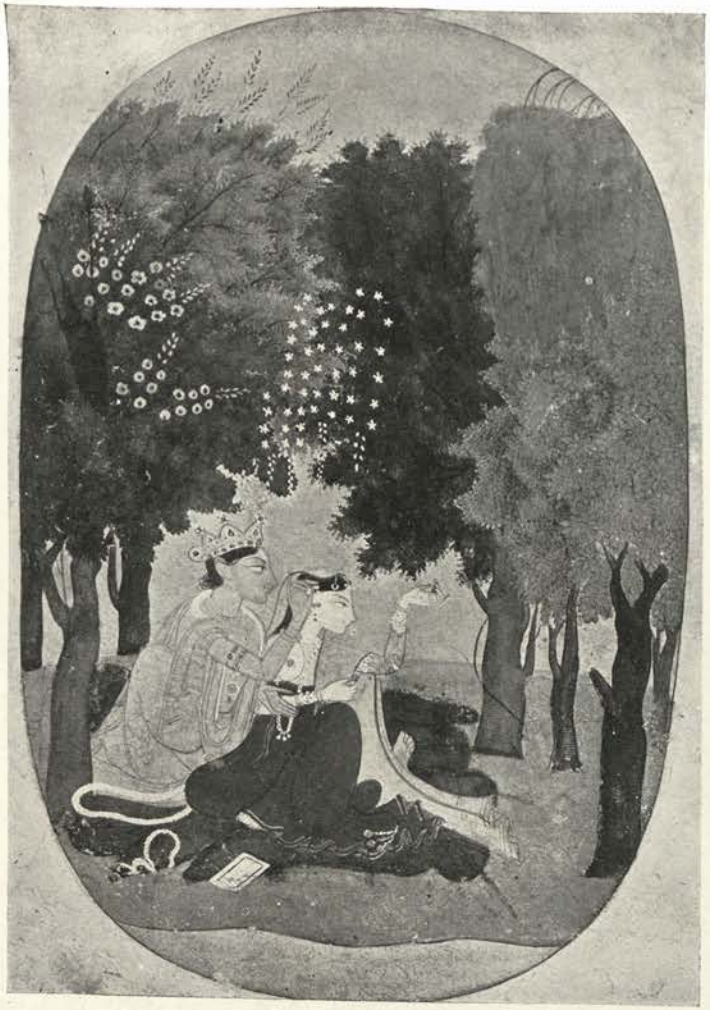
Indian, Rajput, Pahari, Kangra,
18th Century

Girl with a Pet Antelope.
Miniature Painting

Plate 127

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Indian, Rajput, Kangra, Pahari, Late 18th Century

Radha and Krishna Seated in a Grove. Miniature Painting

Plate 128

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Indian, Rajput, 17th Century

Woman at Worship. Miniature Painting

Plate 129

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Indian, Rajput, Late 18th Century — *The Hour of Cowdust. Miniature Painting*

Plate 130

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Indian, 16th Century

Temple Mandapam or Pillared Hall

Plate 131

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

VI
Art of the Far East: China

IF WE turn back the pages of China's history some four thousand years, we find an agricultural people (who may have been the direct ancestors of the modern Chinese) living on the fertile banks of the Yellow River, and producing a painted pottery made of the clay which abounds in northern China. This neolithic ware (Plate 132), decorated with spiral and geometric motifs of great beauty and intricacy, has much in common with the pottery produced by the neolithic cultures in Europe and Asia (the Aegean region, southern Russia, Mesopotamia, northern India) and carries within its ornamental vocabulary the beginnings of the rich repertory of Chinese design.

According to Chinese tradition, two great dynasties, the Hsia and the Shang-Yin, ruled over the country between 3000-1000 B.C. The first of these dynasties must be regarded as legendary; the Shang-Yin dynasty, however, has left behind definite evidence of its civilization. An-Yang, in present-day Honan province, was the seat of its rulers; on this site were discovered the royal tombs of the Shang kings, furnished with majestic bronze vessels which had apparently been used for religious and ceremonial purposes. These vessels constitute the great legacy of the Shang-Yin dynasty; their austerity of form and fitness of design have earned for them a place almost unique among the artistic achievements of mankind.

Not a few of these ancient examples of the bronze-caster's art, prototypes of the ritual bronzes that were produced in such great number during the succeeding Chou dynasty, have come down to us enhanced, in the passage of time, by the acquisition of extraordinary patinas varying from bright green to turquoise, blue, gray, coppery red, yellow and black. From ancient Chinese sources comes the information that these vessels were used as containers for food and wine during sacred rituals (Plates 133, 135).

A typical example shows a conventionalized design of the so-called *t'ao t'ieh* type, a tiger, owl or dragon monster whose most conspicuous features—curved horns, gaping mouth, protruding eyeballs and flaring nostrils—are abstracted, with brutal and powerful rhythm, into a staring mask. Other favorite motifs of the Shang-Yin artists are the meander, also called the *lei wan* or cloud-and-thunder pattern; the *kuei* or dragon design; the cicada, the owl, the serpent and the elephant (Plates 133, 135).

These animal designs probably originated as fertility symbols—beneficent powers like the dragons whose sky-combats caused the thunderstorms which brought

the desired rain; yet there is a constant evocation of terror in "these nightmare, threatening monster heads, these twisted and unreal beasts, treading quietly enough their path of rain and thunder but capable of dashing forth with terrible jaws and claws at any moment." Perhaps these fierce creatures, more horrifying than any real monster, reflected the nameless terror in whose grip lived the archaic people of China. For despite its remarkable cultural achievements, this society, as far as can be deduced from scant evidence, appears to have been savage and cruel, exacting human sacrifice and absolute obedience to king and priesthood.

In 1122 B.C., the Shang dynasty was defeated by the Chou, a confederation of barbarian tribes from western China. The Chou overlords, who reigned for almost a thousand years, continued the cultural traditions established by their predecessors and perpetuated the ancient art forms by almost slavish imitation. Eventually these art forms, held in the grip of tradition, were to grow rigid and lifeless, the designs becoming stereotyped and the workmanship inferior. Toward the end of the Chou dynasty, however, a rebirth seems to have taken place. New forms and designs appear, lacking perhaps the noble simplicity of the Shang vessels but nevertheless distinguished by a sense of dignity and authority.

Under the Chou emperors, artistic resources were utilized for dynastic purposes, to create pomp and grandeur at religious ceremonies and court functions. Thus the Chou artists, working mainly in bronze and jade, produced a great many handsome vessels for the emperors and great nobles—tripods, rectangular troughs, covered vessels in the form of houses with slanting roofs, cauldrons and massive containers with swing handles (Plates 134, 137, 138). These bronzes carry designs of monster masks, dragons, birds and cicadas which stand out in bold relief against the engraved surface of the vessel. Toward the end of the Chou period a lively interest in animal forms develops, and we find bronze vessels cast more realistically in the shape of owls, parrots, pheasants, water buffaloes and elephants.

More delicate in design and execution, though no less impressive for their sheer beauty of form, are the jades of the Chou period, ranging in color from pearly white through creamy yellow, mottled brown, grayish-green, olive and even black. The jade carver's art, like that of the bronze-caster, attained great perfection during the Shang dynasty, and reached its peak under the Chou. Conforming to some half-dozen traditional types (the cylindrical *ts'ung* or earth symbol, the perforated disk or sun symbol known as *pi,* etc.), these jades hark back to ancient fertility cults and were undoubtedly used for ritual purposes, while the exquisite little jade animals of this period (fish, cicadas, rabbits, ducks and elephants) were used as pendants, costume ornaments and amulets (Plate 140).

Enormously productive in the field of art, the Chou period was even more prolific in literature and philosophy, giving birth to such great figures as Lao-tzu, the mystic, and Confucius, the historian and moralist. Indeed, this period has been called the

classic age of China, and later epochs looked back to it with veneration. Throughout the long reign of the Chou overlords, China remained a federation of loosely connected feudal states. Despite the fact that the country had not yet become a political entity, the various states had sought and found "a common culture, a common ritual and a common idea of an organized and civilized way of life."

During the third century B.C., one of these feudal states, the Ch'in domain, succeeded, under the leadership of its feudal lord Shih Huang Ti, in overpowering the last of the Chou rulers. Shih Huang Ti, who first carried the title of emperor, united the various feudal states into a single empire by ruthlessly overcoming all opposition, and then proceeded to build the Great Wall which was to be an everlasting rampart against barbarian invaders from the northwest. While the Ch'in dynasty was of brief duration (221-206 B.C.), it is important in the social and hence the artistic development of China. The emperor Shih Huang Ti introduced a number of sweeping economic reforms, notably in land tenure; these measures came into violent conflict with the arch conservatism of the Chinese aristocracy, and there resulted a breakdown of those traditions (inherent in ancestor worship, and fostered by Confucius and his followers) which had continued to control the art forms of China throughout the Chou period.

To cast off the bonds of tradition and bring about the final annihilation of the feudal system and the triumph of a centralized monarchy the emperor Shih Huang Ti resorted to drastic means: he ordered the Burning of the Books which destroyed a great number of the ancient Chinese classics, and the melting down of the weapons and ritual bronzes which destroyed untold quantities of Shang and Chou art works. Through these harsh measures, Shih Huang Ti, the empire builder and social reformer, earned the eternal hatred of the cultured Chinese; but he managed to break successfully the stranglehold of the past upon the creative faculties of China's artists.

During the Ch'in dynasty, the religious motive is no longer paramount in design; the artist's delight is in pattern for its own sake, and there is an increasing tendency away from sheer plastic treatment of forms toward flat, free surface ornamentation, which was to lead, inevitably, to pictorial decoration. About this time, mirrors make their appearance in China, their use, however, still determined not by personal needs, but by a belief in their magic power to ward off evil spirits. These Ch'in mirrors, of which a good many have been preserved (the Boston Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago and the Freer Gallery own notable examples) are bronze disks which have one surface polished, the reverse being decorated with graceful, free-flowing arabesques of stylized animals or interlaced geometric figures.

For the next four hundred years (206 B.C.-220 A.D.) the centralized government of China was in the hands of the Han dynasty. This era witnessed the country's rise to unprecedented economic prosperity and imperial expansion. A contemporary Chinese historian has left us a vivid account of the splendor at the court of the Han

emperors. "Look all round about; contemplate the hall of green jade. A crowd of beautiful women are gathered together; here is an abundant and supreme elegance. Their faces are white like the flowers of the thistle; to see them, a million persons press and push. They are clothed with embroidered clothing and in many-colored gauze, light as mist. They have trains of fine silk and cloth. They hold in their arms flowers—camellias, irises, perfumed orchids. . . ."

Contacts with the western Asiatic countries and with Europe were established through trade, China's chief export being silk, over which she exercised an absolute monopoly. (It was not until the fourth century A.D. that, according to tradition, two Christian monks smuggled silkworm cocoons from China into Byzantium.) During the Han period, luxury-loving Rome was among China's best customers. Innumerable caravans crossed the Gobi desert, carrying silks and jades as far as Persia, where the Parthian rulers, after exacting a heavy tribute from the Chinese, sent the precious cargoes on to the Mediterranean. The vast extent of the silk trade during the Han times may be judged by the fact that Rome shipped so much bullion to Persia to pay for these Oriental luxuries that the credit of the Roman Empire was seriously impaired, and ruinous wars ensued between Rome and Persia over the control of this valuable commodity.

In this era of quickly accumulating private fortunes, art in China changed hands; from being the time-honored property of the ruling class and priesthood, it became a luxury article which any individual could own, if he could afford it. The bronze-casters and jade-cutters devoted more and more of their time to the production of objects for personal use and enjoyment; and bronze mirrors, belt-hooks and buckles as well as other costume ornaments, inlaid with gold, silver, jade and precious stones, appear in abundance. The Art Institute of Chicago owns a belt buckle of jade, surrounded by gold and silver inlaid bronze, which is described as "one of the supreme creations of the Han Dynasty in the realm of minor arts." As for the bronze vases, they have lost their architectural and sculptural quality and become, in the hands of the Han craftsmen, lavish vessels in which the design is brought out by means of gold and silver inlay (Plate 141), a process already in use during the late Chou period.

Of vital importance during the Han period, as indeed it was during the preceding Ch'in and even late Chou period, is the so-called animal style, which filtered into China proper from the outlying regions occupied by "barbarian" tribes. This style, which, as we have seen, extended throughout Central Asia and spread into Europe during the barbarian invasions, made itself felt with great vigor among the tribes living on the edge of the Ordos desert, along the Chinese border. The style of these Ordos bronzes—belt buckles, torques, fibulae, costume and harness ornaments—was thoroughly assimilated in Han China, and the favorite Ordos motif of animals in combat appears on many Han bronze ornaments. Thus the Great Wall, which Shih Huang Ti had built to keep out the barbarians, had not been strong enough to shut out the creative ideas of these nomadic peoples.

Aside from jade and bronze, the Han artists worked in clay and stone, and the Han period marks the beginning of the monumental style in sculpture which was to attain its richest development during the succeeding Wei and T'ang periods. It is significant that the most outstanding example of sculpture in the round which has survived from the Han dynasty is the colossal figure of a horse at the entrance to the tomb of a famous general. For during Han days, the horse, most formidable possession of the dreaded barbarians, had come to play an increasingly important part in Chinese life. To the same period, too, belong the superbly modeled bronze bears, two of which are in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, while another is in the City Art Museum of St. Louis (Plate 142).

The carved tomb slabs which constitute the main body of pictorial art during the Han period show a horizontal arrangement of scenes (similar to that of the Egyptian reliefs and tomb paintings. Cavalcades of horsemen, and dignitaries riding in chariots drawn by spirited, prancing steeds are carved in low-relief, with details often lightly incised in the stone. These slabs, of which there are fine examples in some of our museums, are devoted to historical and legendary tales and scenes from Taoist mythology, and constitute the beginnings of a narrative pictorial style in Chinese art. From the tomb chambers, too, come painted and incised clay tiles (a rich collection of these is in the Art Institute of Chicago, Buckingham Collection), which show further evidence of the development of a true pictorial style in Han times. While the figures in the stone reliefs are flat silhouettes with fluid, rounded contours, those in the tile paintings are done with swift, impressionistic strokes reminiscent of nothing so much as a sketch by Toulouse-Lautrec. The incised or stamped tiles are to be found in many of our museums, notably in the University Museum at Philadelphia and the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; of the tiles painted in polychrome, the finest example is in the Boston Museum (Plate 153). Here a series of courtiers are shown in conversation; their stance, the swirl of their robes, the deftly caught, fleeting expression on their faces, reveal a masterly command of graphic technique.

These tile paintings indicate the sources from which was derived the pictorial style of that almost legendary figure in the annals of Chinese art: the painter Ku K'ai chih. A painting on silk in the British Museum is the only work in existence which scholars attribute with any measure of confidence to the hand of this artist who lived in the fourth century of the Christian era. *The Admonitions of the Instructress in the Palace* is the name given to this painting; it illustrates in nine scenes a series of maxims or of moral tales which afford us delightful and intimate glimpses into the household of a Han emperor. Here is extreme elegance and sophistication; the figures are masterpieces of rhythmic, controlled line, and the whole work, with its spontaneous flow and its recurrent accents of dark against light, invites comparison with a musical composition. Though this is the earliest Chinese painting which has come down to us (or possibly a very ancient copy of Ku K'ai chih's work), it indicates that

Chinese painting by the fourth century A.D. had already reached a very high stage of development. In the style of Ku K'ai chih, and formerly attributed to him, though now believed to be a copy by a Sung master, is an exquisite scroll painting in the Freer Gallery, called *The Nymph of the Lo River.*

Ku K'ai chih's fame does not rest on this genre painting alone, superb though it is; records tell of monumental Buddhist pictures executed by him and widely admired in his day. For Buddhism, which had been introduced into China as early as the first century A.D., spread rapidly throughout the country in the fourth and fifth centuries, and the greatest masters in China were enlisted in the service of the new faith.

There are no surviving Buddhist paintings from the brush of Ku K'ai chih or any of his contemporaries; the pictorial interpretation of Buddhism during this period must be sought not in China proper, but rather in her farthest western outpost, the oasis of Tun Huang, situated between the Gobi and the mountains of Tibet. To Tun Huang, focal point of the caravan routes that stretched across Asia, came traders from every part of the continent, bringing their silks and jades and jewels, and pouring wealthy tribute into the city. Thither came, too, missionaries from India, bringing the new gospel of Buddhism which was freely welcomed in this cosmopolitan community. By the fifth and sixth century A.D. the oasis city boasted hundreds of sanctuaries and temples, hewn out of the living rock, like the Ajanta caves in India. These sacred places were the repositories of Buddhist painting and sculpture, modeled after the manuscript paintings and portable statues brought to Tun Huang by pious pilgrims on their return from India. Here, in this oasis on the edge of the vast Gobi, flourished a number of itinerant sculptors and painters who had assimilated the diverse and often conflicting currents of artistic tradition that poured in from India, Hellenistic Bactria, Iran and China. While India contributed the bulk of the iconography of Buddhist art, China brought to this provincial school her genius for rhythmic composition, for sinuous, flowing line, for calm and measured spatial arrangements, so unlike the panoramic, voidless Gupta painting, but perhaps even more happily suited to the mood and temper of Buddhist ideology.

This Chinese handling of Indian themes produced some works of remarkable beauty; from the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas at Tun Huang have come frescoes, brilliant in color, portraying the favorite Bodhisattvas in graceful, flowing robes and jeweled headdresses, surrounded by donors who are Chinese in mien and attire. The Tun Huang "Paradise" pictures, painted during the T'ang era, are astonishing in the complexity of their design, involving hundreds of figures which, far from producing a crowded effect, achieve a coherent grandeur and harmony, "a sense of thrilled peace." The Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge owns a Buddhist fresco from Tun Huang which illustrates clearly both the Indian source and the Chinese treatment of this theme. A clay statue painted in polychrome, of an adoring Bo-

dhisattva, in the same museum, also from Tun Huang, is an even more striking example of this mingling of styles from eastern and western Asia in the cultural melting pot of Tun Huang (Plate 162). The Chinese counterpart of this Central Asiatic Buddhist art is to be found, as early as the fifth century A.D., in the dynamic, nervous and highly sensitive sculpture of the Wei and Sui dynasties.

After the downfall of the Han empire, China became divided into three separate states, constantly at war with each other, completely at the mercy of the ruling war lords. The next four hundred years saw no less than six dynasties rise and fall. In the fourth century, however, a powerful Tartar tribe arose (barbarians whom Shih Huang Ti had tried so hard to keep out of China), who, a century later, had made themselves the masters of northern China. They were a virile race, endowed with a lively imagination and a veritable genius for the plastic arts. Turning avidly to Chinese culture, these conquerors absorbed not only the ancient traditions, which they enriched with their own vigorous artistic heritage (a highly developed animal art) but eagerly embraced the new Buddhist faith which had gained many adherents in China, and which the Wei Tartars eventually decreed to be the state religion. A pair of winged chimaeras, carved in limestone, owned by the University Museum in Philadelphia and dating from the fifth century A.D., illustrate the artistic traditions of the Tartars before the advent of Buddhism. In contrast to the serene Buddhist figures of the Wei period, these animals are charged with violence and power, although the statement of their vitality is implied rather than overt, by the subtle use of concentrated, repeated rhythms that somehow convey the suggestion of terrific force (Plate 147).

The most important centers of Wei sculpture are the caves of Tun Huang, those at Yün Kang in Shansi province, those at Lung Men in Honan and those at Kung Hsien. Of these, the Yün Kang caves which have often been likened, in the wealth of their imagery and the attenuated grace of their sculptured figures, to the early Gothic cathedrals of Europe, are perhaps the most important, esthetically. Most of the Yün Kang figures were carved during the fifth century. While their inspiration derives from Buddhist India, there is nothing in these serene, exalted beings to suggest the worldliness of Gandhara or the sensuousness of Gupta art. Wei sculpture is almost abstract in its rendering of the human form. The modeling of the body is often barely suggested, the drapery follows a definite schematization, and yet from the standpoint of sheer plastic value these sculptures are superbly realized.

Absorbed in mystic inner contemplation, often with an elusive smile hovering about their lips, the Wei Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are not, like the Greek or Greek-derived Indian sculptures, idealized portraits of human beings. For the first time the Chinese sculptors were challenged to express an ideal not in terms of abstract symbolism, but through the human figure. The Wei artists met the challenge in

characteristic Eastern fashion: to them, man was not the measure of all things; their Buddhist divinity or saint merely became "a spiritual concept embodied in anthropomorphic form."

Wei sculpture, for all its "primitive" character, is considered by most scholars to be the most felicitous phase in the history of Chinese plastic art, and we are fortunate in having in our American museums some superb examples of this period. To name but a few, there is the seated Maitreya from Lung Men in the University Museum of Philadelphia, a figure carved in gray limestone, following a traditional formal scheme, but achieving exquisite poise through the suggestion of inner spiritual harmony. Other impressive Wei statues are the Maitreya from Yün Kang in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 148), the fifth century Maitreya in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Plate 149) and the sensitive statue of Prince Siddhartha from the same Museum (Plate 145). A limestone stele in the Metropolitan Museum, carved in low-relief, takes its place with the most expressive of the Wei sculptures in its remarkable use of linear rhythm. There is a sober dignity about the figures of monks and holy beings in the scenes from the Buddhist scriptures here portrayed. But the intense feeling of spirituality, of otherworldliness, is perhaps best conveyed by the ecstatic, swirling figures of *apsarases* (cloud divinities) flying about the sacred bodhi tree with their offerings of lotus and rice. These figures are highly stylized, and again, there is no emphasis on the human form. The sinuous, rhythmic draperies, not in the least suggestive of opulence or luxury, hardly seem to clothe a corporeal shape, so freely do they flow about the figure.

Utilizing both the plastic and pictorial skill of the Wei artists who created, anonymously, a monumental communal art in much the same way as the men who built and ornamented the Gothic cathedrals, are the Buddhist stele of which there are fine examples in our museums, notably in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery and the Metropolitan Museum. Compositionally these carved stone slabs achieve a fine sense of balance through the skillful relation of horizontal and vertical elements.

The art of the Wei period merges almost imperceptibly into that of the succeeding Sui dynasty—short-lived but important because it once more united the northern and southern states and paved the way for the great epochs of the T'ang empire.

If the sculpture of the Sui dynasty loses something of the exaltation and mysticism which are the very essence of Wei art, it gains in solidity and plastic feeling; the material seems to respond more readily to the sculptor's touch, and the formal relations become more clearly articulated. A stone head at the Metropolitan Museum, dated about 600, still retains the gentle aloofness of the Wei period, but the richness in ornamentation and rounded contours indicate the transition from the Wei to the T'ang style. Foremost among the Sui sculptures in America must be placed the

three bronze altar groups belonging respectively to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Metropolitan Museum and the University Museum in Philadelphia.

The Boston group (known as the Tuan Fang Altar, for it once belonged to the viceroy Tuan Fang) shows the Buddha seated under the Tree of Enlightenment, attended by Bodhisattvas. The floral and flame pattern of the Buddha's halo and the decorative treatment of the tree-branches, festooned with garlands and temple-hangings, indicate a growing sense of luxury which was to burst into unequaled magnificence in the subsequent T'ang period. In the altar group from the Metropolitan Museum the figure of the Buddha still retains much of the Wei simplicity, but the decorative theme is stressed in the intricately pierced halo which forms the background.

The growing interest of the Sui period in luxurious appurtenances is less evident in the altar set from the University Museum where the central figure of the Amitabha Buddha (the Buddha of Infinite Light), is executed with austere simplicity, while one of the attendant Bodhisattvas with his gentle archaic smile seems scarcely aware of the rich apparel in which he is clothed (Plate 150).

The glorification of the Buddha in terms of material magnificence reached its culmination in the sculptures of the T'ang dynasty. No longer is the deity a mere concept embodied in human form; the wealthy T'ang empire with its far-flung colonies, its international trade, its proud and self-conscious nationalism, endowed its spiritual lord with all the attributes of its temporal ruler: grace and nobility of bearing, and more important still, lavish attire to denote majesty and power. Unquestionably one of the greatest masterpieces of T'ang sculpture (and one of the most felicitous achievements in the realm of plastic art) is the Rockefeller marble Bodhisattva. Closely related to it, and no less beautiful, is the Bodhisattva in the Cleveland Museum (Plate 151), while the Bodhisattva on a Double Lotus Pedestal in the Freer Gallery, with its classic proportions and sensuous rhythms, combines the esthetic ideals of India, China and Greece. Perhaps these T'ang sculptures carry such great appeal to Western eyes because they can be set within the framework of Greek idealism as well as Gupta realism. For contact with the Western world enabled the T'ang artist to unite his native genius for plastic rhythm with the Western ideal of form.

Parallel with its political and economic development as a world power, the T'ang empire witnessed a tremendous influx of cultural influences from Western Asia and Europe: waves of influence from India, whose sensuous Gupta art was eagerly received by Chinese sculptors; from Persia, whose potters and weavers exchanged motifs and techniques with China, and even from far-off Greece via the Hellenistic East. All these artistic formulas were assimilated and adapted by the T'ang artists whose native genius for rhythmic, flowing lines, subtly composed spatial relations and plastic harmony prevailed over all foreign esthetic canons.

The T'ang era saw an increasing secularization of the arts. Perhaps the foreign ambassadors who thronged the courts of the T'ang emperors, bearing priceless gifts from distant shores, provided the impetus for the Chinese artists; at any rate, in the realm of the minor arts, gold and silver vessels, jewelry and precious stone ornaments were produced on a lavish scale; gorgeous glazed pottery was made for secular use (Plate 170); glazed polychrome tiles were used in architecture; exquisite textiles displayed not only the ancient dragons, phœnixes and other symbols but secular motifs such as hunting scenes, which are believed to have been derived from Sasanian models. Sculpture and painting, too, were now concerned with the pleasant amenities of life. The well-known relief of a group of celestial dancers and musicians in the Freer Gallery might well portray some famous T'ang court beauties, while the wealth of mortuary clay figures, far from being the dismal objects their purpose suggests, are among the gayest, most delightful examples of the potter's art. Here are spirited horses and prancing camels, polo players, fierce warriors, graceful dancers fluttering their long, flowing sleeves, girl musicians playing curiously shaped instruments, coquettish ladies with carefully dressed coiffures and elegant attire. These figures are covered with brilliant glazes, blue, brown, green and amber, the glaze often being allowed to run freely, producing a "splash" effect. Sometimes, in the case of human figures, the faces were painted, but left unglazed; centuries have transformed these unglazed colors into delicate pinks, powdery blues, soft yellows, lending a charming, pastel-like appearance to the little faces.

Secular in character, too, though intended for the tomb of the great T'ang emperor, T'ai Tsung, are the six stone reliefs of the emperor's horses found in Shensi. Two of these reliefs, said to be "among the most famous extant documents of Chinese historical sculpture," are now in the University Museum at Philadelphia. One of these slabs shows "Whirlwind Victory," the emperor's charger, wounded in battle by an arrow which is being withdrawn from its chest, revealing the tremendous vitality and nobility which the T'ang sculptor has managed to convey.

We have already mentioned the Buddhist painting of the T'ang dynasty—the "Paradise" frescoes painted at Tun Huang in Central Asia, Indian in iconography, but stylistically Chinese. Of secular T'ang painting it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for while there are numerous references to a great body of pictorial art belonging to this period, no fully documented and authenticated examples have survived. Yet a number of paintings attributed to T'ang artists permit one to go beyond the field of conjecture.

Records reveal the names of scores of T'ang painters; outstanding among these were Wu Tao-tzu and Han Kan, the realists; Wang Wei and Li Ssu-hsün, the landscapists; and Yen Li-pen, the portraitist. Wu Tao-tzu, supposedly a disciple of Ku K'ai chih, is known to have painted hundreds of frescoes, all of which have

perished. The Freer Gallery has a painting of Sakyamuni in which realism is the dominant note; this has frequently been attributed to Wu Tao-tzu, and serves to indicate the general character of his work. Perhaps more revealing, however, is the legend which tells how he disappeared into a cave of one of the landscapes he had painted.

The other great realist painter of the T'ang period, Han Kan, was renowned for his studies of horses, and it has become customary to ascribe ancient paintings of horses to his brush. A scroll in the Freer Gallery called *Mongols Bringing a Tribute of Horses* was formerly attributed to him and is probably a copy by a Sung artist of one of Han Kan's works. In this scene of Mongol warriors in festive attire, leading richly caparisoned horses, the artist achieves an exuberant realism not by giving plastic values to his forms, but through the energetic use of rhythms which animate his figures.

Much has been said of the rhythmic element in Chinese art; no one has pointed out its significant rôle more aptly than Osvald Siren in his "Essentials in Art." To the Western or Christian artist, writes Dr. Siren, rhythm was "a spiritual quality that might be used to adorn matter or endow it with a borrowed beauty and temporary significance as a symbol of another world somewhere in time and space. To the Chinese, rhythm was the evidence of spirit in matter, reality in illusion; it was the inherent life principle in all things." Rhythm which not only determines the formal pattern of a composition but gives substance to the form itself, articulating its function, is the life blood of Chinese painting. It is put to more subtle and profound use in landscape than in figure painting, for in the former the artist, using the fluid and flexible form of scroll painting, can employ the units of his composition in an infinite variety of rhythms to express not only spatial relations but mood and character itself.

The Chinese landscape, with its great plains, vast mountain ranges and majestic rivers—the Hoang-Ho in the north, set among ravines, gorges and fantastic mountain formations, and the romantic Yangtze in the south—proved an unceasing inspiration to Chinese painting and poetry. As early as the T'ang dynasty, two leading landscape painters, Li Ssu-hsün and Wang Wei each immortalized in a series of scroll paintings the heroic character of the north country and the romantic aspects of the south. Of Wang Wei, who was not only an artist but a poet too, it was said that "his paintings were poems and his poems paintings." A series of his sketches in the British Museum, called *The Return of the Sage to His Country Home,* bear out this assertion, for the budding landscape with its young willows and blossoming plum trees, its delicate bamboo shoots and swollen rivers, is the very poetry of spring.

The work of Li Ssu-hsün is less evocative of the gracious, tender moods of nature and more suggestive of her power and sublimity. A long scroll in the Freer Gallery, ascribed to his brush, unfolds the panorama of a vast, idealized landscape

with a majestic backdrop of mountains wreathed in mist, and in the foreground, graceful pavilions rising above the water.

T'ai Tsung, one of China's greatest emperors, attracted to his court the leading statesmen, scholars, poets and artists of his day. His reign was distinguished by humanity, tolerance and profound culture. Just as the poet Li T'ai-po has immortalized this period in exquisite verse, so the painter Yen Li-pen has recorded it in a series of revealing portraits. There is every reason to believe that the *Portraits of the Emperors* (Plates 155, 159), a scroll painting on silk in the Boston Museum, one of the great masterpieces of Chinese painting, is by this seventh-century artist. Thirteen emperors of China, from the Han to the Sui dynasty, are here depicted in full imperial regalia with their courtiers, attendants and gentle-faced ladies. Again we observe the rhythmic, undulating flow of the composition as the figures follow each other in stately, measured procession. And although the realism of the portraiture is here minutely observed (each hair in the emperors' beards and eyebrows can be counted), the absence of cast shadow and the insistence on linear rhythms, constantly interweaving, now broken, now recurrent, once more calls to mind a musical composition. This is equally true of another famous scroll in the Boston Museum, *Scholars Collating Ancient Texts,* a Sung copy after an original by Yen Li-pen. Here individual characterization becomes unimportant, attention being focused on the ensemble of figures, seated, standing, bending, turning, each part being admirably related to the whole with casual, effortless grace.

The glorious reign of the T'ang dynasty came to an end in 905 A.D. It was followed by half a century of political confusion and disintegration during which no less than five dynasties rose and fell. When the Sung dynasty ascended the throne in 960, the empire, its strength depleted, was almost powerless to resist the continuous assaults of the Tartar tribes from the north. The Han and T'ang emperors had been statesmen, warriors and empire builders; during their rule the empire had either repelled the barbarian aggressors or absorbed them. It is characteristic of the Sung dynasty, however, that its most famous ruler, the emperor Hui Tsung, was above all an esthete. He founded the Imperial Academy of Painting, assembled a fabulous art collection totaling five thousand scrolls, and gathered in his imperial capital China's foremost artists whom he appointed as instructors in the arts of painting and calligraphy. Hui Tsung, scholar, connoisseur, distinguished painter and calligrapher, was no match for the aggressive Tartars; after a series of humiliating defeats he was forced to abdicate. The empire was cleft in two, the north succumbing to Tartar domination while the south continued to be ruled by another member of the Sung dynasty.

The emperor Hui Tsung (1082-1135) has left a number of works, many of

which are done in the manner of T'ang paintings (for to reinterpret the style of the old masters was considered a great art and serious challenge, rather than an inferior accomplishment). The emperor specialized in what today would be called still life and genre subjects, birds and flowers, like the *Five-Colored Parrakeet* (Plate 167), done with an exquisite, crystalline clearness. His scroll painting, *Ladies Preparing the New Silk* (Plate 154), a copy of a T'ang original, has the lucidity and serene grace associated in Western painting with the work of Vermeer of Delft. "The picture," says Osvald Siren, "has almost the charm of a court performance."

Two factors combined to make of Sung painting what would today be called an escape art. The Tartar invasions that ravaged the country left in their wake desolation and ruin. Life became unbearable in a great part of the country. Many people of means (including artists and scholars) fled to seek solace amid the romantic scenery and aristocratic splendor of the Southern Sung domain. No one would ever guess, looking at the exquisite Southern Sung landscapes with their tranquil, aloof charm, their whimsical humor, their lyric tenderness, that they were painted at a time when China was cruelly torn by war and aggression, with many of her proud cities ground beneath the Tartar heel.

The other and far more potent factor which drove Sung artists from stark reality into the escape of a dream world, mystic, contemplative and poetic, was the inspiration provided by Zen Buddhism. This form of Buddhism, practiced by the Zen sect and widely accepted in Sung China because of its affinity with the native Taoist religion, discarded all outward forms of worship and overt acts of faith, seeking enlightenment in inner contemplation, in mystic communion with the universe, as the Buddha himself had done. This insistence on individual experience and revelation found its visual expression in the landscape art of the Southern Sung period.

It has been said that in Zen painting, "Buddhism found a purely Chinese expression." It is difficult for the Western mind to conceive of these landscapes with their spaciousness, their airy serenity, their feeling of grace and charm, as religious painting; yet to the Chinese mind this spelled a oneness with the universe, an awareness of the moods of nature, an intimate knowledge of life itself. Laurence Binyon, who writes of Chinese art with great enthusiasm and discrimination, provides a clue to the character of Sung painting: "If the Hebrew genius had possessed the gift for pictorial art, we might have had a kind of landscape drenched in religious emotion, which would have been nearer to the Chinese ideal than anything in Western art," and he points out the affinity of a Sung landscape with such psalms as "*I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills . . .*"

History records the names of more than eight hundred painters who flourished during the Sung period. The Western student would do well to recall about a dozen of these who are great masters, judged by any standard. Ma Yüan (1190-1224) was one of the greatest landscape painters of the East. His work combines the richness

and the vigor of T'ang art with the delicacy and introspection of the Sung period; he was capable of producing sensitive, tremulous spring moods as well as full, majestic symphonies of nature. The famous *Landscape with Bridge and Willows* in the Boston Museum (Plate 165) is accepted as one of the very few paintings extant by the hand of Ma Yüan. Slender willows trail their bare young branches across a mountain stream; their delicate silhouettes, sensitively defined against the towering misty mountains in the background, quiver with the breath of a spring morning, full of fragile, tremulous enchantment. With an amazing economy of means the artist builds up his setting—a few swift strokes, a few light washes of monochrome ink, sometimes sparingly touched with muted colors—and a vastness of space is evoked that is truly breath-taking. Among other works attributed to Ma Yüan are the *Two Sages under a Spreading Plum Tree* and the *Lady Ling Shao Standing in the Snow* (both in the Boston Museum) and the *Sage's Retreat in the Mountains* in the Freer Gallery, all studies in mysticism and solitude. The Ma family produced several other excellent painters, including Ma Lin, son of Ma Yüan, and Ma Kuei, brother of the latter.

Hsia Kuei (1180-1230) loved the poetry of river landscapes, drawing infinitely subtle shades of meaning from a storm-tossed tree standing beside the water's edge, or the flight of water fowl at dusk. A number of works in American museums are attributed to him, among others a river landscape in Boston, executed with such strength and sensitive feeling that it has often been compared to a Rembrandt drawing; a superb landscape is in the Freer Gallery and another in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery. This last, painted in monochrome ink on silk, is divided into four scenes as follows: a distant mountain range and a flight of wild geese in the foreground; mist lies over the village; the ferry returns home; fishermen play their flutes in the quiet dusk; the boats anchor at evening on the misty bank.

These scenes merge and flow into each other with cinematic rapidity, producing an effect of unceasing motion which has, to an amazing degree, the directness of actual experience. Nothing like it exists in Western art. As Benjamin March put it, "The chief difference between occidental and Chinese perspective is in the point of sight. The occidental is fixed, the oriental infinitely movable, so while one looks at a Western painting, one *moves through* a Chinese." In this connection it is interesting to recall the comment of a Chinese artist when confronted with Western painting. "The Occidentals," he remarked, "are fond of giving their pictures perspective, and nothing could be more correct than the effect they produce of depth and reality. Figures, houses and trees cast shadows as in nature itself. Their mural paintings of palaces and houses seem so real that one almost wants to walk into them. While their work shows great skill in draughtsmanship and execution, I would hardly go so far as to class it as veritable painting."

Another Sung painter of renown who worked during the eleventh century is

Kuo Hsi, by whom there is a scroll painting of a mountainous landscape in winter in the Toledo Museum, another in the Metropolitan Museum, and a famous scroll called *Autumn in the Valley of the Yellow River* in the Freer Gallery. (The only known examples of his work are in American collections.) Kuo Hsi was one of the greatest landscapists of the Sung era; his landscapes were constructed almost entirely of washes of ink, the composition being built up of different tonal values rather than linear brush strokes. Like the "symphonies" of Whistler, the work of Kuo Hsi catches the same fleeting atmospheric moods, distilling the evanescent beauty of moonlight on water, of mountain peaks rising through the mist, of still, meandering streams flowing through peaceful valleys.

A contemporary of Kuo Hsi was Li Lung-mien (1049-1106); he is known to have excelled in Buddhist painting, and the extraordinary series of Arhats (hermits) in the Boston Museum and the Freer Gallery were formerly attributed to him and are undoubtedly close to his style. Of other Sung artists let us name the early painter Fan Kuan (ca. 990-1030) whose *kakemonos* (hanging pictures in the form of tall, narrow panels) depict isolated scenes of mountain splendor which mirror the loneliness of the human spirit, as in the *Temple Among the Snowy Hills* (Boston), and Li T'ang, whose *Man on a Water Buffalo Returning from a Village Feast* (Boston), an album leaf painted on silk, has been called by Siren "one of the finest of its kind—a touchstone for judging Sung painting." Chen Jung (active 1235-40) painted with an almost ferocious vitality. His *Dragons Appearing Through Clouds and Waves* (Plate 166) is a *tour de force* of volcanic rhythms. Four dragons appear and disappear among vaporous clouds and tempestuous waves, coiling and recoiling, writhing, and darting among the unleashed elements of air and water. For sheer mastery of movement, controlled yet intensely dynamic, there is little to equal this amazing performance. The greater part of this Chen Jung scroll is in the Boston Museum, while one section belongs to the Metropolitan Museum. Another Sung artist, Ma Fen, is known to this country through *The Hundred Geese,* a superb scroll done in ink on paper, and owned by the Honolulu Academy.

Mi Fei (1051-1107) was "a master of the wet brush and misty hills." The Freer Gallery owns one of his paintings, done on silk, showing a majestic, wooded landscape through which flows a river. The ever-present mountains tower in the background, half obscured by the mists which float up from the valley. Another painting attributed to Mi Fei, in the Moore Collection, called *Mountain Landscape with Returning Boat* bears an inscription by the artist which throws an interesting light on the character of Sung painting. "I was at the Tzu-chin Mountain to escape the heat. Getting up early one morning, I saw the river look so unreal that it seemed a long strip of silvery silk; the mist covered the tops of the green mountains and their centers like a belt. A fishing-boat was nearing the tree-covered shore. The scene was ever

changing, and it was impossible to foresee the next one. I painted this to record one of these changes. Those who see this must excuse the ink-play."

Kung K'ai, who was active between 1260 and 1280, has an album leaf in the Freer Gallery called *Man Asleep in a Boat near the Shore,* which is full of sly humor, not devoid of tenderness, while the Metropolitan Museum owns parts of a Taoist scroll painting from his brush, called *Merry Gatherings in the Magic Jar.* "The legend," writes Alan Priest, "is that he who drinks from the magic cauldron is enabled to enter heaven and see the Immortals at play. The painting is in free-brush black and white, a brilliant performance in the handling of rocks and trees, with a suggestion of mystery, humor and mild intoxication." To Chu Jui is attributed the superb panel in Boston called *Bullock Carts Ascending a Mountain* (Plate 164). Here the scenery which forms a majestic backdrop has been treated almost as a decorative pattern, to conform with the narrow shape of the panel; but the sweeping rhythm of the winding mountain path, the gnarled trees clinging tenaciously to rocky ledges and the slow labored ascent of the carts lead the eye ever upwards in a toiling journey to the summit of the sheer cliffs.

The imagination of the Sung artists was stirred by the thought of their mountains. Something of their strength and mystic aloofness, their isolation amid the teeming life of villages struck an answering chord in the minds of these painters who sought both escape from a welter of mundane affairs, and a pantheistic union with nature. "Austere at times, with a sense of desolation in bare peak and blasted pine, yet often bathed in the mood of serene and silent joy, the joy of the mountain dweller gazing out on vast spaces of moon-flooded night, their art is never trivial, never pretty."

Using colors sparingly—black or brown ink, washed in lightly, with touches of white, yellow, a leafy green or bright vermilion, the Sung artists painted landscapes that sound now a lyric, now a heroic or elegiac note, evoking scenes that are graciously appealing or stern and challenging, conjuring up vistas beyond vistas of panoramic beauty. The Chinese expression for landscape is composed of two symbols meaning "mountain" and "water," and with these two elements, always present in their landscape compositions, the Sung artists indicated the eternal flux as well as the stability of nature.

Zen Buddhism which provided the stirring impulse of Sung painting offered nothing of creative value to the sculptor of this period, relying as it did on intuitive knowledge and mystic experience rather than outward forms of worship which required the visible evidence of the divine. Sung sculpture lacks the monumental character of the Wei and T'ang periods; much of it is in wood, lending itself to great elaboration and refinement, and very often these lavishly carved statues are polychromed (Plate 160, 161, 163). In keeping with the aristocratic character of the age, these Buddhist statues achieve a supreme sense of luxuriousness, fastidiousness

and sophistication. The tendency of the T'ang sculptor to adorn his Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with regal appurtenances is here carried to the extreme. The Sung statues with their gorgeous costumes and jewels are veritable fashion plates; while they lack the spiritual nobility of T'ang sculpture, the unfailing good taste which characterized all artistic production in the Sung era endows these statues with a good deal of charm and persuasiveness.

Like Sung painting, Sung pottery is one of the great artistic achievements of this era—indeed of all times. Often called the golden age of pottery, the twelfth century in China produced some of the noblest vessels ever shaped by the potter's hand. Purveyors to the imperial and wealthy households, the Sung potters raised their craft to heights unattained in any other country, rivaling and surpassing the exquisite ceramics of Persia. More than forty famous kilns are known to have existed in Sung China; supported by the imperial treasury, their products were largely reserved for the emperor and his court. Today many of these vessels, collected and prized by generations of connoisseurs, are to be seen in our museums, notably the Metropolitan Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Fogg Museum, the Boston Museum, the City Art Museum of St. Louis, the Detroit Art Institute, and others.

Sung ceramics are distinguished for the richness of their glazes and their surpassingly beautiful forms. Fashioned with a subtle simplicity and a profound respect for the nature of the material, they are a delight to the hand as well as the eye. Although made in a great variety of types and glazes, they have been classified broadly into certain groups, named after their various kilns. These divisions cannot, of course, be regarded as rigid, since many types were made in various parts of the country, but they do serve to indicate the general characteristics of the most important groups. Named after their place of production, the half-dozen outstanding groups include the *Ju, Kuan* and *Ko* ware, the *Yin Ching* (blue mist), the *Lung Ch'üan* or Celadon, the *Chün, Ting,* and *Tz'u Chou* ware.

The *Ju* ware is one of the rarest of all Chinese ceramics. It is a semi-porcelain ware (clay with a certain amount of kaolin), covered with a gorgeous blue-green glaze, so subtle in coloring that it defies all description. Both the Freer Gallery and the St. Louis Museum own exquisite *Ju* pieces.

The *Kuan* ware is glazed in pale lavender or greenish-gray; a network of fissures or "crackles," caused by the uneven shrinking of the glaze during the process of firing, lends it its characteristic appearance. Aside from the richness of their thick, opaque glaze, the delicacy of their "crackle" and the beauty of their shape, the *Kuan* and *Ju* ware is entirely without decoration, and striking in its simplicity.

Perhaps the most famous of all Sung ceramics—certainly the most popular in the Western world—is the gray-green ware produced at Lung Ch'üan and known to us as Celadon. It is believed that the potters of Lung Ch'üan tried to capture the beauty of pale jade; in some instances they seem to have surpassed it. Before the

vessel is glazed in hues, ranging from the palest blue-green to a deep olive, it is often decorated with delicate motifs of flowers, vines, birds, fish, etc., done in slight relief. The base of these Celadon vases is often fluted and the neck shaped into a series of concentric rings, to articulate their shape. For sheer perfection of form and glaze these vessels are unrivaled. A great many pieces of Celadon ware are to be found in our museums, but the three superb baluster vases, similar in design and coloring, decorated with graceful peony patterns, which belong to the Art Institute of Chicago, the City Art Museum of St. Louis and the Detroit Art Institute, are among the finest specimens of this Celadon known anywhere.

Another monochrome ware of the Sung dynasty is the celebrated *Ting yao* (*yao* meaning "ware"), made of a fine, grayish-white paste and covered with an opaque glaze which ranges all the way from off-white to light brown. This *Ting* ware is generally incised with delicate patterns before the glaze is applied—lotus flowers, fish, ducks swimming among reeds, cloud patterns—the favorite traditional motifs of Chinese decorative art.

From a town in Honan province comes the sumptuous *Chün* ware, glazed in monochrome, but displaying a much richer effect than the other wares because of the metallic oxides in its glaze which, when fired, produces splashes of gorgeous color, adding to the delicate lavender blue of the glaze touches of crimson, purple, deep red and aubergine. *Chün* ware was the favorite pottery of the Sung emperors for growing orchids, narcissi and daffodils. The shallow bowls were filled with pebbles to which were added bits of jade, crystal, coral or other semi-precious stone. Superb examples of *Chün* ware are to be found in the Metropolitan Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, the City Art Museum of St. Louis, at the Freer Gallery and especially at the Fogg Museum which owns a collection of sixty pieces.

The only Sung pottery to use painted decoration extensively was the *Tz'u Chou* ware, made of clay with a partial kaolin content; beautiful vases and head-rests are the most familiar shapes in this ware. One variety is made in two tones, light buff and brown; the other has designs in black and color painted over the white slip. In the former, the vessel is covered with a dark brown glaze, and the design cut through the glaze to expose the light body below (Plate 171). The dark design thus stood out in relief. This process was often reversed, a white slip (liquid clay) being applied over the body; the design was then carved through the slip, glazed and fired. The polychrome *Tz'u Chou* ware was painted under the glaze in bold patterns of flowers or dragons (Plate 179).

Throughout the twelfth century the dreaded Mongols had been threatening the Sung empire. In the thirteenth century Genghis Khan, organizing the various nomadic Mongol tribes into a formidable, closely knit army, swooped down upon China, whose cities, one by one, succumbed to the conquering hordes. By 1280 the

entire country was under their domination, and the grandson of Genghis Khan, the fabled Kublai Khan, inaugurated the Yüan or Mongol dynasty which was to rule China during the next hundred years.

The newcomers brought no well-defined cultural traditions with them, but their tremendous zest for life infused new vitality into the art forms of the Sung era which had become somewhat over-refined and weary. Once the fury of these devastating conquerors had spent itself, they turned their thoughts to a revival of China's glory; significantly enough, it was from the full-bodied art of the T'ang period that they drew their inspiration. The Mongol emperors became fervent Buddhists; temple and monastery walls were covered with splendid frescoes, and artists, like the famous Liu Yuan who excelled in painting religious subjects, were raised to the rank of high officials. The Buddhist frescoes from the Hsin-Hua Ssu (the Monastery of the Joyful Transformation) in south Shansi province, now in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archeology, date from the beginnings of the Mongol rule and reflect the vigorous style of the T'ang era (Plate 157).

In sculpture the Yüan artists reverted completely to T'ang models, and once more there is a vigorous handling of plastic forms, richly ornamented. The Metropolitan Museum has a Kuan Yin standing on a lotus pedestal, carved in wood and polychromed, which dates from the beginning of the Yüan dynasty. The strength and grace, the lavishness and nobility so characteristic of T'ang sculpture are to be found again in this figure.

Many of the famous Sung kilns were destroyed by the Mongol armies, and those that survived the ravages of war were unable to reproduce the superb ceramics of the Sung dynasty. But fine pottery still continued to be made, for the rude conquerors from the north soon succumbed to the softening influence of Chinese civilization and developed a taste for the luxury products produced by Chinese craftsmen.

Secular painting rose to new heights in the Yüan dynasty. The painters, following the Sung tradition, chose subjects that lent themselves to sensitive treatment: a branch of flowering plum blossom, symbol of renascent life; a fragile orchid, a cluster of bamboo leaves suggesting pliancy and vigor. Chao Meng-fu (1254-1322), a member of an aristocratic Sung family, became the leading painter of the Yüan period. Famous as a calligrapher and landscapist, he was said to be able to suggest "by means of strokes and tone the difference in color and texture between the fragile orchid and the hardy bamboo." But his imagination was captivated by the new spirit which the Mongol regime had ushered in. The Tartar tribesmen, cunning, cruel, invincible, and their horses—agile little ponies, proud fiery steeds—became his favorite subject matter; with swift, incisive strokes of his brush Chao Meng-fu summed up the character of the formidable cavalry which had swept across a vast continent leaving nothing in their wake but smouldering ruins and charred bones.

"It is impossible," says Grousset, "to imagine more accurate ethnographical and historical documents than these representations of the Mongol cavalry which conquered the world." The Boston Museum owns a painting of two horsemen beside a tree which is done in the manner of Chao Meng-fu, while a painting of a group of horses in the Freer Gallery is ascribed to the school of this master.

The Yüan artists could also paint consummate masterpieces in the manner of Sung, adding to the intellectual reverie of the older painters something of the wild melancholy and poignant sadness of the northern nomads. The bamboo became the favorite theme of the Yüan artists who could evoke infinite movement and vitality in a few wind-tossed bamboo leaves by merely varying the tonality of their ink washes. The Boston Museum owns such a study called *Bamboo in the Wind* by the Yüan artist Wu Chen (1280-1354), an almost unsurpassed example of this dexterous, fleeting brushwork.

The Mongol empire encompassed almost all of Asia; throughout this period China was open to foreign influence from the West, and European travelers flocked to the court of the great Khans to negotiate international business deals and marvel at the splendor of the royal capital at Peking where, as Marco Polo wrote, "merchant princes lived as kings, and temples and palaces studded the streets." In 1368, however, the Mongol rulers were ousted by the native Ming dynasty, and China shut her gates to outsiders. The Ming rulers maintained a policy of seclusion for their country, determined to regain for China the glory of the T'ang empire. Ming artists were encouraged to look to the past rather than to the future, and to re-create former splendors by perpetuating traditional designs.

The Buddhist paintings of the Ming period have a suavity and dignity born of reverence for the past; but it is in secular painting that the Ming artists have captured the spirit of their age, re-creating a fairyland of enchantment which has its counterpart in some of the gay and flowery poetry of this period. "In this enchanted setting move legendary figures of female musicians and dancers, attendants and great ladies in brocaded court robes, with flowers in their hair, indulging in various aristocratic pastimes with dainty, mannered gestures which shed grace upon all around. Some are plucking flowers and arranging them in vases, others are reading, painting or playing chess. The empress, surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting, is sitting to a painter for her portrait, while one young woman stands like a dreaming vision on a veranda, gazing out into the distance at a lake fringed with weeping willows." Such is the subject matter of Ming painting. While the quiet monochromes of the Sung and Yüan dynasty were continued, producing the traditional landscapes, or such delicious, frothy escapades as the scroll in the Freer Gallery entitled *Fishing on the Yangtze River,* the Ming artists on the whole preferred to compose their patterns in flat areas of bright, harmonious colors. The flowery charm of the period is nowhere

more gracefully expressed than in the Metropolitan Museum scroll entitled *Lady Sui Hui and Her Verse Puzzle,* while its studied elegance is set forth in a panel painting in the Freer Gallery called *A Young Man, His Betrothed and Her Unsuccessful Rival.* In the latter, furniture and decorative accessories are painted with as much care and refinement as the figures composing the group of charming, well-to-do people; the feeling here is similar to that of a Terborch or a Metsu interior, and the values stressed are about the same.

During the Ming and succeeding Ch'ing dynasty were produced some of the most sumptuous textiles; the k'o-ssu, or silk-and-gold tapestry, done in a technique already found in the T'ang dynasty, was developed into patterns of incredible richness; embroidery became a fine art, reproducing not only the ancient symbolic characters and motifs such as the phœnix and dragon, but also introducing graceful figures against elaborate landscape backgrounds. A great many of these textiles, particularly the lavish imperial and mandarin robes, are to be found in our museums.

Porcelain made of kaolin (non-fusible clay) covered with a transparent glaze and fired to a homogeneous substance so that the glaze does not chip off, had been known in China for a long time, but it was only under the Ming dynasty that it gained first rank in the field of ceramics. The Ming emperors established imperial kilns at Ching-te-Chen, an ancient pottery center which had huge kaolin deposits, and throughout their reign porcelain, ranging in types from fragile little tea bowls and wine cups to massive wine jars and fish bowls, and displaying all the colors of the rainbow, were produced here in vast quantities.

Unlike Sung pottery, the ceramics of the Ming period are classified according to color and type. The ever-popular Celadon still continued to be made; other monochromes included a white ware with incised decoration, much like *Ting,* an apple-green ware, the so-called "Ming" yellow; a turquoise blue; a blue-and-white and a deep red. The snowy brilliance of white porcelain invited decoration in polychrome, and several methods were devised for this purpose. The decoration in color was either applied to the vessel before it was fired or glazed, or it was applied to the "biscuit" (the fired, unglazed body of the vessel), or else enamel colors were applied after the vessel had been covered with a transparent glaze. The method of underglaze painting is thus described by John Pope:

"The carefully prepared porcelain clay was fashioned to the required shape on the potter's wheel, and was trimmed and smoothed on another wheel when partly dry. After the surface had been treated with a thin slip (or liquid mixture of the clay) to make it perfectly smooth, the vessel was thoroughly dried, and the first decoration was applied with cobalt oxide. The black mineral had been finely ground and mixed with water for use with a brush; and this process was the first of a series that might then and there ruin the whole thing. Painting on porcelain with cobalt

oxide has been very aptly described as being like '. . . writing in ink on blotting paper; if the brush hesitates, the result is a smudge, and if too quick, there is no result at all.' The jar, thus decorated, was covered with a coat of liquid glaze, either by immersion or brushing, and when this was quite dry, the time had come for firing. The success or failure of the venture hinged on this step. The jar was placed in an earthenware case called a seggar, and set inside the kiln together with a hundred or so similar pieces; and the space around the stacks of seggars was completely filled in with firewood. The kiln entrance was sealed up, leaving only a small aperture through which to add fuel. After the fire was lighted it was kept going at full blast for twenty-four hours, then allowed to cool for two days before the kiln was opened; and then another day elapsed before the seggars were cool enough to handle. During this period, with the vessel twice sealed away from the hand and eye of its maker, one of two things had taken place. The magic of the fire had either turned the white clay bowl painted with black lines and covered with a creamy coating into a beautiful thing of purest porcelain decorated in delicate blue, or it had reduced it to a shapeless mass of glass and clay."

In the so-called "Five-color" ware, which actually included more than five colors, making use of various intermediate shades, enamel colors were laid on over the glaze and the vessel was refired in a muffle stove at low heat. This produced a gay polychromy which set off to excellent advantage the favorite decorative motifs of Ming China: sprays of flowers, butterflies, phœnixes, dragons, pastoral landscapes where a phœnix strutted beside a waterfall, or idyllic scenes from the life of mountain-hermits. It was the art of this and the succeeding Ch'ing period that Europe assiduously imitated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, setting up factories to reproduce Chinese porcelains and submitting to a veritable deluge of *chinoiseries* in almost every one of the decorative arts.

Lasting from the middle of the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ming empire may be considered the counterpart of the contemporary Venetian Republic; both had their feasts and pageants, their commercial prosperity and national pride; in both cultures the accent was on material well-being which made of art, religious or secular, an adjunct to gracious living.

The Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, which held the imperial throne of China from 1644 until the revolution of 1911, continued the culture of the Ming dynasty in its various aspects, devoting even more attention to the production of fine porcelain for which there was an ever-increasing demand from Europe. The names of the Manchu emperors K'ang Hsi, (1662-1722), Yung Cheng (1723-1735) and Ch'ien Lung (1736-1795) will forever be associated with the porcelains of this period.

Like his European contemporary, the "Roi Soleil," Louis XIV of France, the Emperor K'ang Hsi ruled over a court where pomp and splendor vied with frivolity

and charm. It is characteristic of this era that the once sacred ritual bronzes and jades were copied in porcelain and semi-precious stones and made into gay bibelots. The ceramic arts followed the technique of the Ming period, but several new types developed: the *sang-de-bœuf* (oxblood), *clair-de-lune* (pale blue) and peach bloom monochromes, the dazzling white *blanc-de-chine,* used chiefly for little figurines of Buddhist and Taoist mythology, and the blue-and-white ware of which the so-called "hawthorn" or "ginger jars" are most common. This blue-and-white ware which continues to be made in modern times is perhaps most familiar in our households, since our imported preserved ginger often comes packed in it. Originally, however, these jars were used as containers for tea and sweetmeat gifts at the New Year (which the Chinese observe in February); they were decorated with the symbols of departing winter and approaching spring: white prunus blossoms on a deep blue ground, with a network of fine white lines, producing a flowery freshness. The pattern is said to have been inspired by the sight of a flowering prunus branch extended over an ice floe which was breaking up, hence its symbolism of spring's harbinger.

The ceramists of K'ang Hsi's reign achieved their greatest success, however, with enamel-painted porcelain, enriching the "Five-color" ware of the Ming period by lavish and subtle tones and turning, in their decorative motifs, more and more toward realism. Various shades of green dominated the color scheme of the so-called *famille verte,* while a deep pink was characteristic of the *famille rose* porcelain. Answering the demand from Europe, these porcelains were made in sets or *garnitures* of five pieces, three covered baluster vases and two tall beakers. These were generally decorated with figures of slender, willowy ladies (called *lange leisjes* in Dutch, "Long Elizas" in English.) Throughout the nineteenth century these *garnitures de cheminée* were enormously popular in Europe; Whistler was so fascinated by their exotic beauty that he painted his *Lady of the Lange Lijsen* (Johnson Collection, Philadelphia), a portrait of a lady holding such a vase in her hands (Plates 174, 175). Other vases and bowls were decorated with alternating medallions of fruit and flower motifs, birds, butterflies, ladies strolling in gardens or playing with children. Much prized, too, were the vases with lustrous black background against which floral motifs stood out in glowing color (Plate 176).

Aside from this incredibly rich output in ceramics, both the Ming and the Ch'ing dynasties produced a wealth of ornate objects in lacquer, ivory, jade, nephrite, crystal, quartz and other semi-precious stones; gold and silver wrought into exquisite ornaments; cloisonné and woodcarving. Examples of these are to be seen in most of our museums, particularly in the Fogg Museum, the Metropolitan Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the Field Museum in Chicago, and the George Walter Vincent Smith Art Gallery in Springfield, Massachusetts (Plates 173, 178, 180).

Thus the last great period of Chinese art comes to a close. While the ancient bronzes and heroic sculptures of China are most characteristic of the noblest elements in her culture, and while Chinese painting, both religious and secular, is eloquent of its high spiritual content, her ceramic art which had an almost uninterrupted history of four thousand years, often combines both these elements, producing sheer esthetic enjoyment.

Chinese, Neolithic Period, ca. 2500 B.C. *Painted Pottery Jar*

Plate 132

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Chinese, Shang Dynasty, 1766–1122 B.C. *Bronze Ceremonial Vessel*

Plate 133

MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Chinese, Early Chou Dynasty, 1122–225 B.C.

Bronze Ceremonial Vessel

Plate 134. CITY ART MUSEUM, *St., Louis Missouri*

Chinese, ca. 1500 B.C.

Bronze Ceremonial Wine Vessel

Plate 135. WORCESTER ART MUSEUM, *Worcester, Massachusetts*

Chinese, Middle Chou, ca. 900–600 B.C.

Spiral Pole End in Form of Dragon. Bronze

Plate 136

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Chinese, Early Chou Dynasty, 1122–225 B.C. *Bronze Ceremonial Vessel*

Chinese, Late Chou Dynasty, 1122–225 B.C. *Bronze Basin*

Plates 137 and 138. FREER GALLERY OF ART, *Washington, D.C.*

Chinese, Late Han Dynasty,
206 B.C.–220 A.D.

Bronze Mirror

Plate 139

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

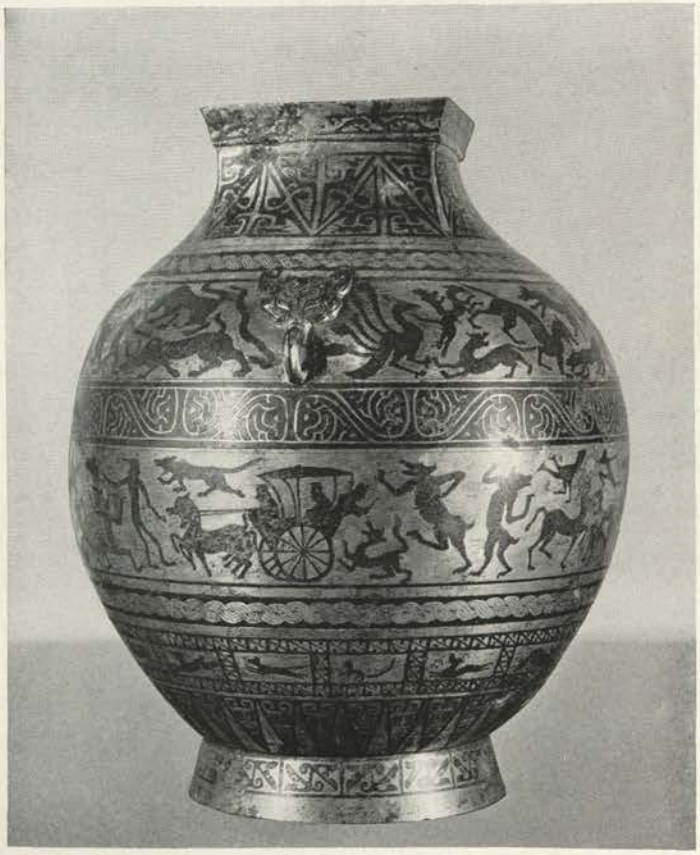
Chinese, Late Chou Period,
600–250 B.C.

Jade Disk or Pi

Plate 140

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri



Chinese, Han Dynasty,
206 B.C.–220 A.D.

Gilt Bronze Vase

Plate 141

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Chinese, Han Dynasty,
206 B.C.–220 A.D.

Gilt Bronze Bear

Plate 142

CITY ART MUSEUM

St. Louis, Missouri

Chinese, Early 7th Century — *Stone Lion*

Plate 143

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Chinese,
Early T'ang
618–906 A.D.

Figure of a Woman. Terra Cotta

Plate 144

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut

Chinese, 5th Century A.D.

Maitreya (Buddha of the Ages to Come). Stone

Plate 145

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Chinese, Dated April 9, 536 A.D.

Maitreya. Bronze

Plate 146

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chinese, 6th Century A.D.

Chimaera. Stone

Plate 147. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Plate 148

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Chinese, Northern Wei Dynasty, 386–534 A.D.

Maitreya from Yün-Kang. Sandstone

Chinese, Northern Wei Dynasty,
386–534 A.D.

Siddhartha in Meditation.
Limestone Statue from the Lung-men Caves

Plate 149

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Chinese, Sui Dynasty, 589–618 A.D. *Bodhisattva. Bronze*

Plate 150

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Chinese, T'ang Dynasty,
618–906 A.D.

Bodhisattva. White Marble

Plate 151

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Chinese, Style of Chou Fang, 8th–9th Century

Ladies Playing "Double Sixes"

Plate 152

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Chinese, Pre-T'ang Plate 153 *Painted Tile. Detail*

Chinese, Sung Dynasty, Emperor Hui Tsung, 1082–1135 A.D. Plate 154 *Ladies Preparing the New Silk. Painting on Silk*

Chinese, T'ang, 7th Century. Attributed to Yen Li-pen Plate 155 *Portraits of the Thirteen Emperors. Detail*

Plates 153, 154 and 155. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

Chinese, Sung Dynasty,
960–1280 A.D.

Bodhisattva. Fresco from Honan
(Fragment)

Plate 156. HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS, *Honolulu, Hawaii*

Chinese, Yüan
Dynasty,
1280–1368 A.D.

Bodhisattva.
Fresco

Plate 157. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM, *Toronto, Canada*

Chinese, 12th–13th Century

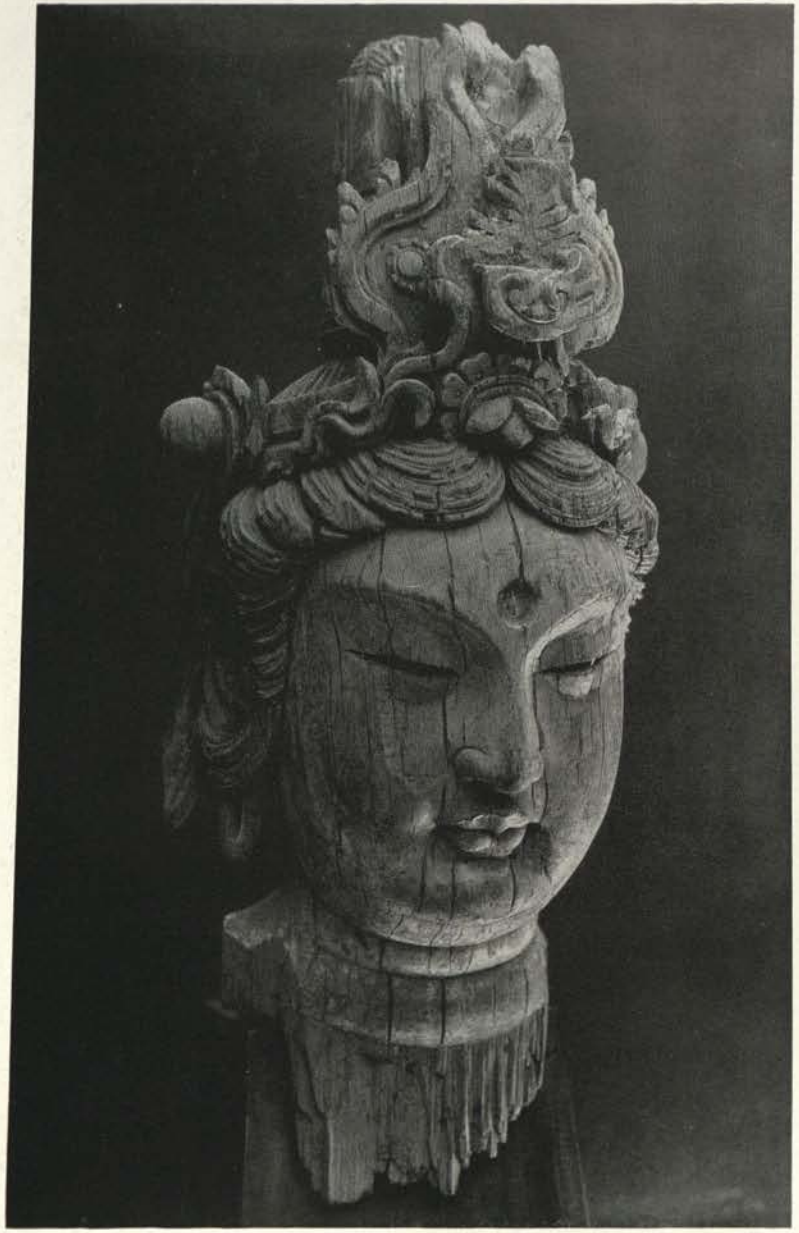
The Ladies of Hsiang.
Scroll Painting (Detail)

Plate 158. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

Chinese, T'ang, 7th Century.
Attributed to Yen Li-pen

Portraits of the Emperors. The Emperor Wen Ti of the Wei Dynasty (Detail)

Plate 159. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*



Chinese, Sung Dynasty,
960–1280 A.D.

Head of Bodhisattva.
Carved Wood

Plate 160

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

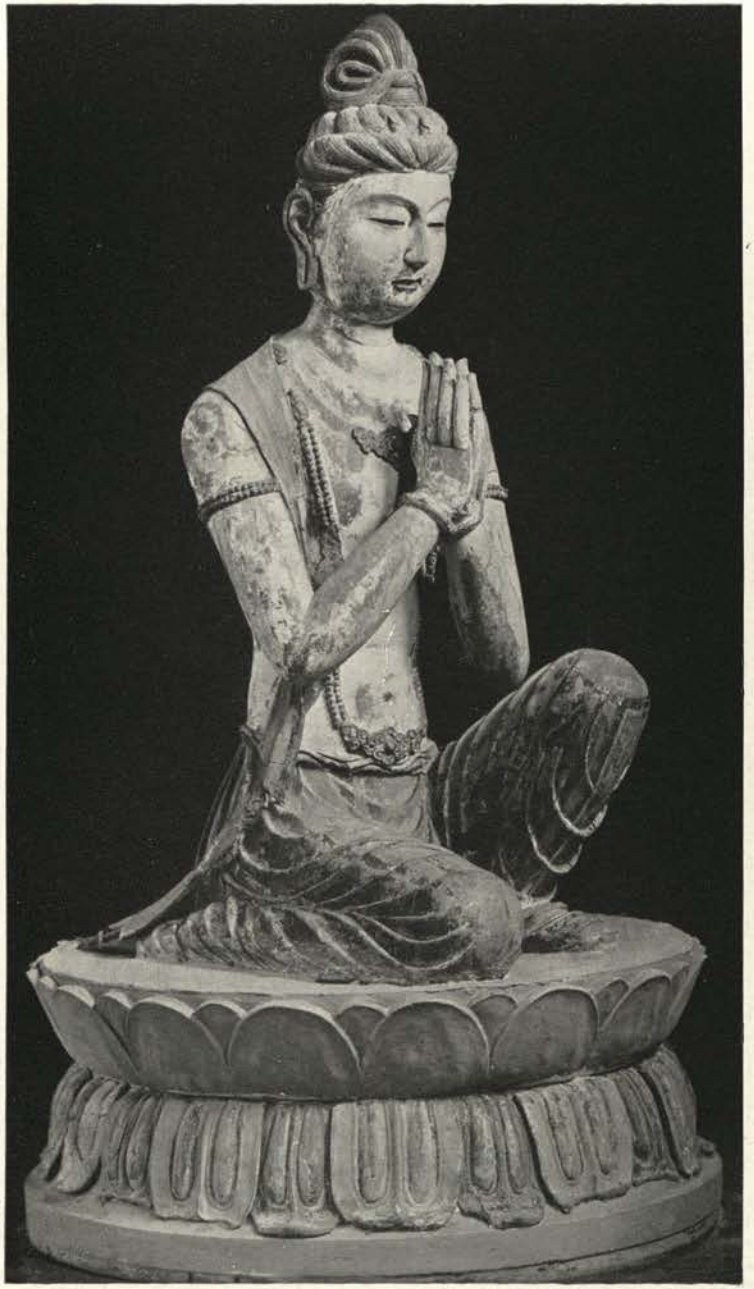
Chinese, 13th–14th Century

Kuan Yin or Goddess of Mercy.
Painted Wood

Plate 161

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri



Chinese (Chinese Turkestan)
8th Century A.D.

Bodhisattva from Cave Temples at Tun Huang. Polychromed Clay

Plate 162

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Chinese, Sung Dynasty, 960–1280 A.D.

Seated Kuan Yin. Wood

Plate 163

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Chinese, Sung Dynasty, 960–1280 A.D. *Bullock Carts Ascending a Mountain*

Plate 164. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY

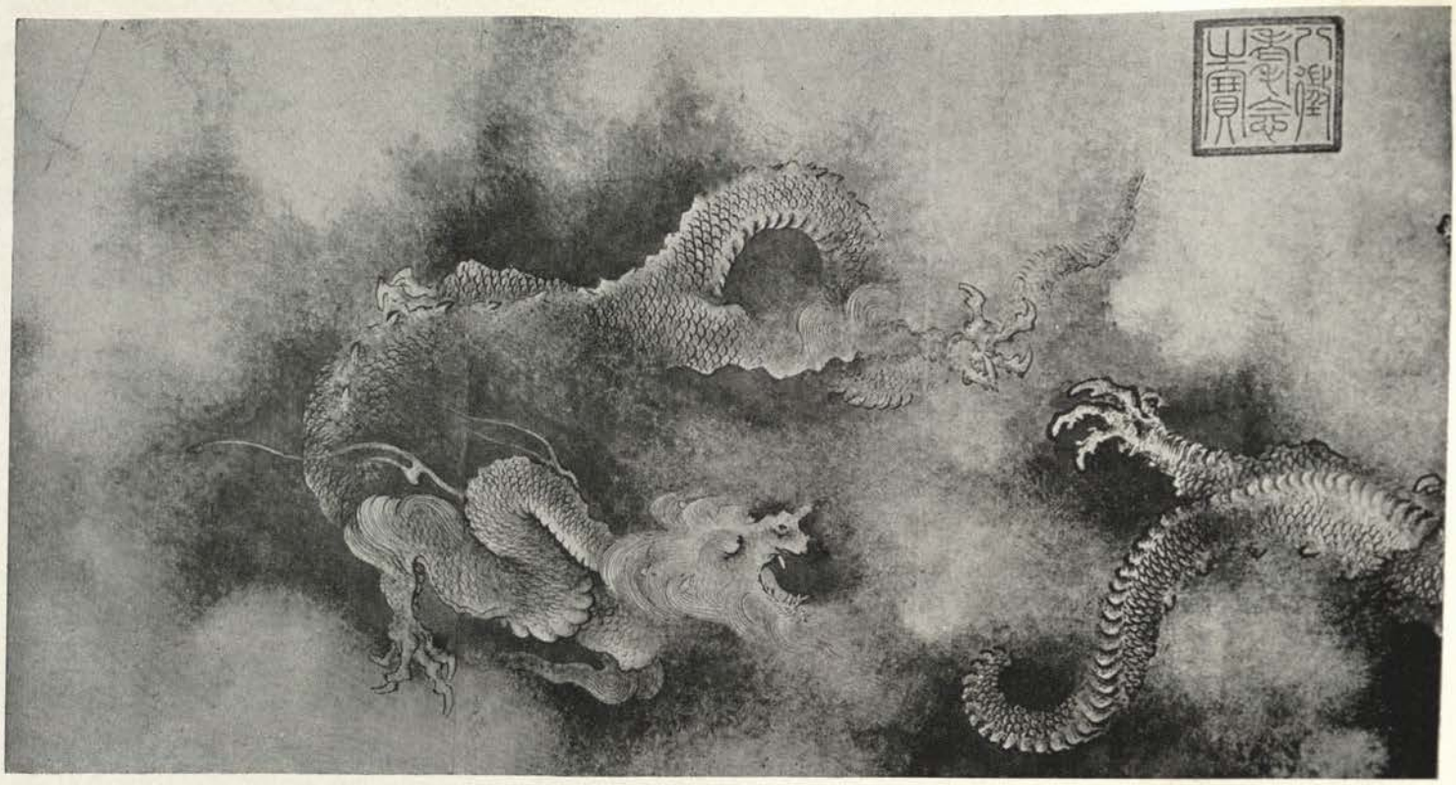
Chinese, Southern Sung, Ma Yüan.
12th–13th Century

Landscape with Bridge and Willows

Plate 165

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Chinese, Southern Sung,
Chen Jung, active 1235–1240

Dragon Scroll. Detail

Plate 166

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

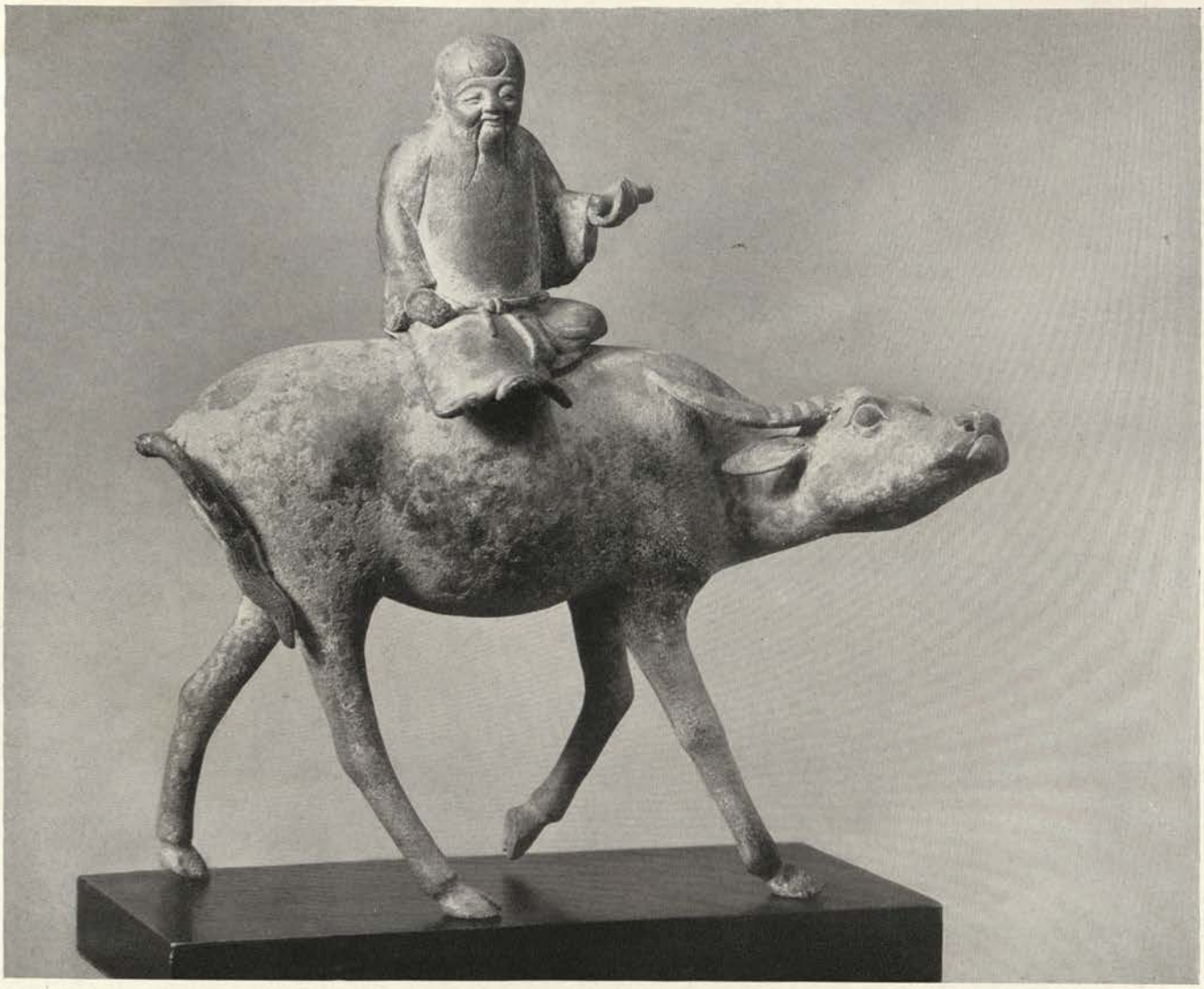
Chinese, Emperor Hui Tsung, 1082–1135

The Five-Colored Parakeet. Painting

Plate 167

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Chinese, Sung Dynasty, 960–1280 A.D. *Lao Tzu on a Water Buffalo. Bronze*

Plate 168. WORCESTER ART MUSEUM, *Worcester, Massachusetts*

Chinese, 12th Century *Bronze Incense Burner. Mandarin Seated upon a Donkey*

Plate 169. GEORGE WALTER VINCENT SMITH ART GALLERY, *Springfield, Massachusetts*

Chinese, T'ang Dynasty,
618–906 A.D.

Glazed Pottery Jar and Cover

Plate 170

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Chinese, Sung Dynasty,
960–1280 A.D.

Glazed Pottery Jar (Tz'u Chou Ware)
with Teak Cover

Plate 171

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Chinese,
Ming Dynasty
1368–1644

Imperial
Beaker-Shaped
Vase

Plate 172

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

Chinese, Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644

Oviform Jar with Ornament in Relief in Turquoise

Plate 173

GEORGE WALTER VINCENT SMITH ART GALLERY

Springfield, Massachusetts

Chinese, K'ang Hsi Period, 1662–1722 — *Beaker. Part of "Long Eliza" Garniture*

Plate 174

TAFT MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio

Chinese, K'ang Hsi Period, 1662–1722 — *Covered Vase. "Long Eliza" Garniture*

Plate 175

TAFT MUSEUM

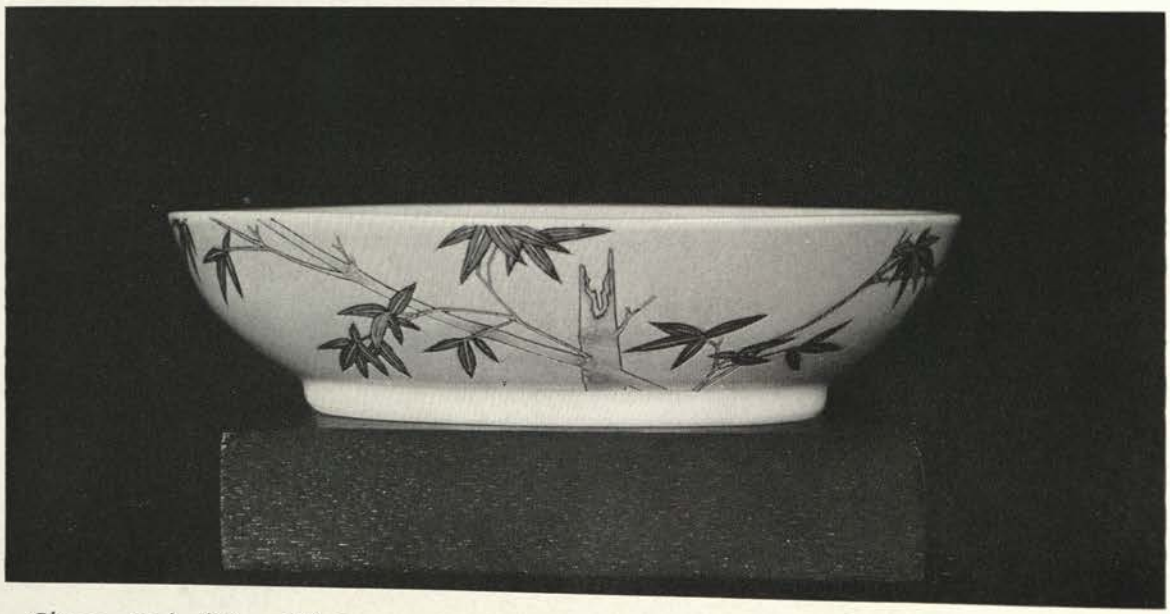
Cincinnati, Ohio

Chinese, K'ang Hsi Period, 1662–1722 — *Black Hawthorne Vase*

Plate 176

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Chinese, Mark of Yung Chêng, 1723–1735 — *Bowl with Decoration*

Plate 177

FREER GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Chinese, Ch'ien Lung Period, 1736–1795 — *White Jade Vase*

Plate 178

MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Chinese, Sung Dynasty, 960–1280 — *Vase, Tz'u Chou Ware*

Plate 179

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Chinese, Ming Dynasty, 1368–1644 — *White Jade Incense Burner*

Plate 180

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

Chicago, Illinois

VII
Art of the Far East: Japan

COMPARED with China, Japan's settlement and art are recent. It was only half a century before our era that migration from China and other regions drove before it the aborigines of Japan, the Ainu, at present to be found only as a remnant on the northern island of the main Japanese group. These puzzling aborigines, now called "caucasoid," were and still are primitive folk, but they had, nevertheless, an early art of their own which is fragmentary and only recently unearthed. It seems to have had little influence on the art of the invaders who were usurping the country much as our European forebears supplanted the Indians here. Few of the recovered pieces of this early art are in museums in this country, but the Metropolitan Museum in New York owns some pottery funeral furniture and one bronze bell dating from the last epoch of this prehistoric period. Although the iron age of other lands had become recorded, in Japan this period is still "prehistoric," for its existence was only recently realized. Only a few scattered fragments have survived to indicate what the arts and crafts of this age of conquest and settlement were like. The primitive nature worship called Shinto, which remains to this day the national cult of Japan, did not require elaborate ritual or images; architecture alone was encouraged, but since these early temples were built of wood, only a few have escaped destruction by fire; these, however, are of great interest and beauty. Shintoism, as René Grousset has pointed out, "lies at the root of Japanese culture. Japanese drama and lyrical poetry have their origin in the religious dances and liturgical songs in which the Shintoists proclaimed their participation in the universal life and joy." And just as Taoism continued to be a potent spiritual factor in Chinese culture long after the advent of Buddhism, so Shintoism was to maintain a hold on Japanese culture equal to that exercised by the Buddhist faith. Tradition has it that during the fourth century a great many Chinese and Koreans migrated to Japan and that their coming greatly influenced the development of Japanese arts and crafts, but it was not until two hundred years later (552 A.D.) that Buddhism was introduced by Korean priests and firmly established through the missionary zeal of a member of the royal family, Prince Shotoku. With the introduction of Buddhism came not only missionary priests from China and Korea but also teachers, artists and artisans who taught the Japanese to fashion the statues and paintings needed in the service of the new religion. It is difficult to determine whether some of these early works of art might not have been brought over from the main-

land. In any case, they are not the product of beginners, and there is little departure from Chinese ideas or technique. After a little more than a generation, however, the pupils had become masters in their own right. The period of artistic activity which now set in, called Suiko (552-645 A.D.), after the reigning Empress, produced some works of rare archaic beauty. The sculpture of this, as of the succeeding period, is manifestly derived from that of the Northern Wei Dynasty; but the austere mysticism of the Wei statues is here transformed into a benign and radiant gentleness. When Prince Shotoku succeeded to the throne (592-622 A.D.) he erected a number of temples in honor of the new religion. The most famous of these is the temple-complex built in 607 A.D. at Horyuji which appears to have been modeled after contemporary Chinese architecture. Today only the Pagoda and Golden Hall remain of the buildings originally erected; these are the oldest wooden buildings in the world and they house some of the greatest treasures of this early Buddhist art.

In 710 the Imperial Court of Japan was established at Nara, and it was this capital which gave its name to the succeeding period of art, the Nara period (710-794), often called the Golden Age of Buddhist art in Japan. The finest works of this period have been designated "national treasures" by the Japanese, and have largely remained in their temples and sanctuaries. A number of early pieces did find their way into our museums, however. Among these are the bronze statue of Bosatsu (Bodhisattva) and a Trinity relief in terra cotta of a Buddha and two attendants, in the Fogg Art Museum, a splendid seventh century statue at the Freer Gallery, a bronze Kwannon (Goddess of Mercy) in the Boston Museum (Plate 182) and a seated Kwannon in the Honolulu Academy of Arts (Plate 183). During the great exhibition of Japanese art held at the Boston Museum in 1936, a number of works made during the first centuries of Buddhism in Japan were lent to the museum by the Imperial and National Collections, and for a time there was to be seen in the Boston Museum the most complete survey of Japanese art in the Western world.

The Buddhist iconography was, of course, taken over completely by the artists of Japan, and the Buddha as well as his attendants are shown in the traditional poses of spiritual contemplation or benediction. Thus the famous Miroku Bosatsu (Maitreya) in the Chuguji Nunnery assumes a pose very similar to that of the Prince Siddhartaka in Boston (Plate 145). These Japanese statues vary from their Chinese prototypes in one important aspect: their display of elaborate and ornamental detail. For the Japanese sculptures are almost without exception carved in wood, cast in bronze, or modeled in clay and lacquered, and these media lent themselves to greater decorative treatment than the obdurate stone of the Wei period.

In the half century which elapsed between the Suiko period and the Nara period, a transitional school known as the Hakuho (646-710) was established, while the succeeding age of the emperors who reigned at Nara is often known as the Tempyo period (710-794). The sculpture produced during this century no longer

bears the impress of Wei art but rather of the Sui and T'ang eras. There is greater insistence on plastic treatment of form and a tendency to stress luxurious appurtenances (Plate 182). The finest example of Hakuho sculpture is the famous bronze Trinity at Horyuji with its superb background screen decorated in low-relief. "Amida Buddha, the Lord of Light, is in the center, and a Bodhisattva is on either side of him. Each is seated on the Lotus, the flower which springs from the mud to unfold its stainless petals above the water just as the soul has need of the gross passions of earth from which to rise by its impulse and effort into passionless serenity." As for the figures which decorate the background screen, "the springing curves in low-relief create an illusion of movement, like the wavering lines of smoke ascending in the air and give strange life to the celestial beings who seem to rise on their Lotus Thrones from unseen waters below." In addition to the figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are the celestial guardians (Chinese: *Lokapala,* Japanese: *Shitenno)* or Heavenly Kings "whose duty it is to protect their charges from the assaults of demons and evil spirits." As in Chinese art, to which all Japanese art of this early period owes its ultimate derivation, these figures of warrior kings in their full martial regalia express all the fierceness and violence of which humanity is capable, but which are denied to the gentle members of Buddhist pantheon. Two fine wooden sculptures of these guardian kings, carved in the tenth century, are owned by the Art Institute of Chicago. Not only sculpture but painting also reached a high stage of development during the Nara period. Foremost in importance are the frescoes of the Horyuji temple, which, as has been frequently indicated, derive from classical Buddhist painting, although some of the scenes, such as the charming portrait of Prince Shotoku and his two little sons, recall the secular style of Chinese painting made famous by Ku K'ai chih.

The year 794 marks the end of the Nara period. The Emperor's Court was moved from Nara to Heian-kyo, and the artistic products of this period are spoken of as belonging to the Heian or Jogan period (794-897). It was at this time that paintings on silk made their appearance, influenced, as Grousset has pointed out, not only by graphic arts of the T'ang Dynasty but also by Hindu art. A splendid example of Jogan painting is the *Benten* with its exquisite flow of lines, soft harmonious colors, and expression of beatitude, in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery in Kansas City (Plate 187), while the sculpture of this period is well illustrated by a seated Kwannon in the Honolulu Academy of Arts (Plate 183). From the eighth century onward Japanese civilization was, for some time to come, to be molded by the refined court society which had its captial at Kyoto. The exquisite sensibility and preciosity which distinguish the culture of this period are best illustrated by its literature, subtle, delicate, with a highly romantic flavor. The courtiers and noble ladies of the Imperial household composed these tender, amorous poems and romances, the most famous of which was the *Tale of Genji,* written by Lady

Murasaki at the end of the tenth century. These romances provided the inspiration for the contemporary painters, who recorded their colorful episodes on long, narrative, horizontal scrolls. Nothing could be more eloquent of the Oriental sense of decorum than these scenes of aristocratic life, rigidly controlled by court etiquette, where figures moved with the languorous poise of flowers or the swift grace of hummingbirds, through enchanted gardens and palace interiors. The development of this courtly society, which modeled its behavior upon that of aristocratic China, was furthered by the powerful Fujiwara family, the hereditary major-domos of the royal palace, and it was this family which lent its name to the succeeding Fujiwara period (897-1185). One of our museums is fortunate in possessing an unusually fine example of Fujiwara sculpture—the great statue of the Sun Buddha, Dainichi Nyorai (Plate 181). Carved in wood, this massive figure is one of the most inspiring images of the great religious teacher that Asiatic art has produced. More characteristic of the gracile spirit of the age, however, is the carved and lacquered wooden figure of a Flying Apsara, or celestial nymph, in the Seattle Art Museum (Plate 184). It was during the time of the Fujiwara that the esthetic canon of what was to become the national Japanese style became clearly defined.

The social and cultural scene of medieval Japan is highly complex, and to the Western mind, confusing. Politically, the Fujiwara period saw the growth of an intensely military feudalism. The emperor had become a mere figurehead; the actual rulers of the country were the feudal barons in their impregnable fortress castles. Military valor came to be prized as the highest virtue; the Japanese *samurai* was no "parfit gentil knight," but a fire-eater, "bound to defend the honor of the clan to his last breath, and to wipe out in blood any insult to the arms of the house he served." Rather than submit to dishonor, he was expected to have recourse to the heroic form of suicide known as *hara-kiri*. The rivalry for individual power, characteristic of every feudal regime, resulted in bloody and incessant clan feuds which persisted for centuries and left their indelible mark on Japanese civilization.

Influences from continental China were still actively at work; the cult of Amitabha Buddha—the Lord of Infinite Light—which had taken root in China some centuries before, now reached Japan. (We shall find Japanese culture always lagging several centuries behind the older country.) This cult, with its promise of a paradise, or land of the blessed for the faithful, was infinitely more appealing than the prospect of *nirvana* which the older form of Buddhism had held forth, and it was in Amida (Chinese: Amitabha) rather than in the Buddha Sakyamuni that worship now centered. "In the popular distress which accompanied the great civil wars of the Fujiwara period, all tender souls and simple hearts turned towards this divine savior, who required nothing but a little confidence and love to induce him to pour forth his grace."

The worship of this gentle, compassionate divinity inspired a religious art

which, based stylistically on T'ang models, is highly individual in its expression of calm and smiling beatitude. A painting in the Freer Gallery of a celestial paradise scene, the *horokaku mandala,* is filled with the unearthly bliss which the cult of Amida promised, while a famous panel painting of Amida and twenty-five Bodhisattvas is suffused with a serene and tranquil joy, comparable in Western art only to the visions of Simone Martini or Fra Angelico.

In the twelfth century, the spiritual calm of religious Fujiwara painting was interrupted by an unexpected element—the irrepressible humor which characterized the work of Toba-Sojo (1053-1114), a Buddhist priest with a sly sense of humor and a superb gift for caricature. In addition to genre scenes which recorded with amazing fidelity the activities of the common man, Toba-Sojo did delightful drawings in which the parts of men were played by animals. His frogs, hares and other nimble creatures belong to the family of Mickey Mouse and his companions.

The sculpture of the Fujiwara period has a strong tendency to ornateness, and such statues as the well-known carved wooden figure of *Kichijoten* (the Japanese equivalent of Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of beauty), outdo even the most luxurious T'ang figure in lavish attire and worldly refinement. On the other hand, the *Gijaku* mask and the wooden figure of *Daiitoku Myoo,* in the Boston Museum, are starkly simple, relying on the strength of their modeling for effect.

Like the Nara and the Heian periods, the age of Kamakura (1185-1392) takes its name from the capital of the ruler, at this time the head of the most powerful feudal clan in Japan. The endless civil wars which had torn the country for centuries had come to an end with the victory of Yoritomo, head of the Minamoto family, over the rival house of Taira. With the emperor reduced to a mere figurehead, Yoritomo assumed the title of *shogun* or military chief. His rise to power marked the beginning of the military dictatorship or *shogunate* that was to dominate Japan almost without interruption, for more than six centuries.

Buddhist painting during the Kamakura period produced some works of great spiritual beauty, such as the famous idealized portrait study by Nobuzane (1177-1265) of the saint Kobo Daishi as a boy, one of the great classics of Japanese art; the radiantly beautiful *Jizo* in the Metropolitan Museum; the painting on silk of the gracious Bodhisattva, Nyorin Kwannon, seated on a lotus pedestal, in the Toledo Museum of Art; the *Kwannon of the Waves* in the Fogg Museum (Plate 188), in which "the majestic and lovely serenity of the God of Compassion standing still and alone on a lotus blossom, is emphasized by the quick, restless little waves of the sea"; and the magnificent Buddhist triptych in the Chicago Art Institute, which shows the Buddha attended by the Bodhisattvas Seishi and Kwannon (Plate 186).

one of the finest paintings of this kind, as well as other splendid examples in the Boston Museum.

But it is the *makimono* or horizontal scrolls that most vividly reflect the character of this age of violence and bloodshed. Foremost among these are the famous scrolls which illustrate scenes from the *Heiji Monogatari,* the national epic which recounts the struggle of the Taira and Minamoto clans that contended for the mastery of Japan. Perhaps the greatest of these *Heiji Monogatari* scrolls is that in the Boston Museum (Plate 189), attributed to Keion (1166-1237). "With its cavalcades of horsemen," writes Grousset, "its furiously galloping squadrons, its scene of the imperial palace in flames, its dashing attacks, jostling groups, mêlées, and massacres, it is a striking historical vision, an epic page written in characters of fire and blood. What is more, these tumultuous scenes of violent movement are treated by the most precise and coldly elegant brush that ever existed."

Attributed to the hand of Mitsunaga, an artist who preceded Keion by half a century, is another famous *makimono* in Boston, illustrating the adventures of the Japanese envoy Kibi no Makibi during his travels in China. The picaresque tales of Kibi's adventures are recorded in brushwork less trenchant than that of the *Heiji Monogatori* scroll, but more fluid, more exciting in its gorgeous coloring, and displaying that same element of sly, pert humor for which Toba-Sojo was renowned.

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries various schools of painting evolved certain stylistic elements which were eventually to coalesce, forming a style of truly national character. The chief interest of these schools was for some time focused on portraiture, and such famous works as the portrait of the *shogun* Yorimoto by Takanobu (1141-1204), and that of Taira no Kanemori, one of the thirty-six famous poets of ancient Japan, painted by Nobuzane (1177-1265), the son of Takanobu (shown in Boston during the great Japanese Exhibition), were executed during this period. The artists, no less than their subjects, came from the refined society which had originated at the old imperial court of Kyoto, beautifully described in Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji.*

It was an art at once highly decorative and psychologically penetrating; the figures of these scholars and courtiers in their voluminous robes, "translated into a series of angular lines, the charm of which is the strength inherent in geometric shapes," are fastidiously posed, sharply silhouetted, coldly elegant.

It was the son of Mitsunaga, Tosa Tsunetaka, who in the middle of the thirteenth century inaugurated the Tosa School, one of the most famous schools of painting in Japan, which continued for some time the tradition of elegant court portraiture. Throughout the Kamakura period, painting was to flow in two streams: the decorative art of the Tosa School and the virile and dramatic art of Keion, Mitsunaga and their successors, inspired by the martial influence of Kamakura's

soldier society—an influence tempered by Zen Buddhism, which, as interpreted by the religious teachers of medieval Japan, preached a doctrine of militant and rugged individualism.

In addition to these two main streams, predominantly secular, was the religious painting of the period discussed above, and the landscape art of Kamakura, saturated in Zen Buddhism and its austere and melancholy esthetics which aimed at stirring up religious emotion by making the landscape symbolic of a state of mind. An intense love of nature in all her varying moods is characteristic of all these landscapes.

The plastic art of Kamakura, marked by vigor and realism, also borrows its esthetics from Zen Buddhism. Of the monumental religious statues, both in wood and bronze, executed during this period, few are to be seen outside the sacred temples of Japan. The wooden statue of the hermit Basu-Sennin is almost repulsive in its pitiless realism; on the other hand, the statue of Hachiman as a Buddhist Monk, at the Boston Museum (Plate 185), representing, as Kojiro Tomita has suggested, a compromise between hieratic imagery and realistic ecclesiastic portraiture, expresses a gracious nobility and benign grandeur. Here, for the last time, Japanese sculpture is conceived on a grand scale; thereafter, it gradually diminishes in size until it finally reaches the miniature form of *netsukes*.

It was during the Kamakura period that pottery in Japan assumed importance as one of the fine arts. This, too, was due to the all-pervasive influence of the Zen sect, for, "inherent in its doctrine is the attitude that the most inconspicuous material contains inspiration and beauty." The Japanese wares of this period, with their free stylistic decoration, intentionally made to appear as though it were produced by the "accidentally harmonious play of natural forces," rather than by the hand of the ceramic painter, have strongly affected our own tradition of ceramic decoration in modern times. Fine examples of this Kamakura pottery are to be found in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Detroit Institute of Arts and the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery. Lacquer, too, was developed into a medium of surpassing beauty by Kamakura craftsmen; a lacquer box in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, decorated with a design of semi-naturalistic flowering trees and birds in flight, illustrates the great heights that were reached by this minor art.

After holding the reins of power for more than a century, the Hojo *shoguns* were displaced in 1337 by the house of Ashikaga which ruled until 1573. This period, like the Fujiwara age, witnessed a series of bloody civil wars, for the Ashikaga family was torn by internal strife, and the various feudal clans of Japan continued their intermittent struggle against the *shogunate* as well as their savagely cruel hostilities among themselves. As in the Fujiwara age, the artists and poets of the

day and the elegant court society which clustered about Yoshimitsu, the most celebrated member of the Ashikaga family, turned their backs on harsh reality and took refuge in an unreal world of evanescent beauty. The social conditions which existed in Japan at this time strongly recall those of China at the end of the Sung period, and it is interesting to find that Ashikaga art, especially painting (for sculpture had ceased to play an important rôle), was closely modeled upon the art of Southern Sung.

A galaxy of painters graced the Ashikaga period. It is no mere coincidence that most of these were Buddhist priests and monks, for it was only by seeking refuge in the sanctuary of the temple or monastery that the artist was able to turn his thoughts to matters of spiritual beauty. The free and sketchy black and white style of painting in ink, beloved of the Sung artists, was enthusiastically taken up by the Ashikaga painters. At times the distinctions between a landscape executed in Sung China and one done in Ashikaga Japan, are almost imperceptible to the Western eye; a clearer study, however, reveals certain stylistic differences, manifest not only in technique but also in selection and emphasis, which provide a clue to the respective character of each school. The Ashikaga artists constantly had some classic Chinese Sung model in mind when they interpreted a landscape subject; however, while the landscapes of such Chinese artists as Ma Yüan or Hsia Kuei are universal in character, the Japanese landscapes, although closely following the spirit of their Chinese prototypes, are so composed as to convey the impression of a particular scene or place. "Painting in the Ashikaga period," as one critic puts it, "shows the kind of development that had been displayed by the arts of Japan throughout their history. A foreign mode is adopted and faithfully pursued until in due course it receives an impress of the native temperament, and from it there arises a school whose work is distinctly Japanese in quality."

It was the priest Josetsu (ca. 1394-1408) who introduced the "mountain-and-water" pictures of Sung China, with their misty valleys, towering mountain peaks, trees along the shore, silhouetted against the receding skyline; among the painters who followed his style were Shubun and Noami, Geiami and Soami—father, son and grandson; and Sesshu (1420-1506), whose style was so distinctive that he eventually formed a school of his own which counted among its masters the gifted Shuko and Sesson. All these painters, who were active during the fifteenth century, are well represented in our museums; a landscape by Shubun at the Boston Museum shows a typical composition: in the foreground, a tree clinging to a rocky ledge overshadows charming pavilions built on little islands half-seen through the mist, while in the background rise mysterious, towering crags. Geiami (1432-1485) is the author of the delightful painting *Jittoku Laughing at the Moon* in the Boston

Museum, perhaps the most brilliant evocation of mirth from the brush of any artist.

Soami and Sesshu are both represented in the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the former by a superb screen, decorated with an austere autumn landscape in which bare trees and hills herald the coming of winter; the latter by the engaging *Monkeys and Falcons,* subtle in rhythm, sparkling in vitality. Among the numerous other works of this period might be mentioned the *Sage Riding a Donkey* by Shuko, in the Boston Museum; here the impressionistic "staccato" style is far more incisive, though perhaps less subtle, than a Chinese rendering of the subject would have been.

Side by side with this "Chinese School" there arose in the middle of the fifteenth century a school which produced works of a more truly indigenous character—the Kano school.

The members of this extraordinarily gifted Kano family, among whom Kano Masanobu (1453-1490), and his son, Kano Motonobu (1476-1559), were the most important, continued to base their work on the traditions of the "Chinese school," but they also introduced certain new elements, architectural and decorative in quality, which strongly differentiate their painting from the highly subjective, impressionistic art inspired by the Southern Sung style. This difference is well illustrated by such paintings as Kano Masanobu's painting of *Keikaboku and Fukurokuju* in the Boston Museum, Kano Motonobu's *Rapids,* and Kano Hideyori's charming screen painting, *Picnic under Maple Trees.*

While the artist-monks of the Ashikaga period produced their landscapes full of mystic reverie and their genre scenes touched with warm and tender humor, the craftsmen in the service of the Ashikaga *shoguns* were creating a wealth of beautiful objects for the princely palaces of these dictators, who were also great patrons of arts and letters. Pottery, lacquer, ivory and textiles exquisite in design and workmanship rose to new heights of achievement; lacquer utensils, such as writing boxes and incense cases, theatrical robes and masks took on a new splendor; Zen standards, however, held them to subtle simplicity and harmony with the world of natural beauty. The tea-ceremony, instituted by the painter Soami, became "a school of taste, a philosophy of manners," which placed strict emphasis on the esthetic canons in the making of pottery and other utensils. In addition to hanging pictures and scrolls *(kakemono* and *makimono),* screens magnificently decorated in monochrome became essential furnishings in homes and temples. Of great importance, too, were the gardens whose cultivation became a fine art expressive of this sophisticated civilization. Although almost all other artistic products in Japan were eventually to become over-ornate and over-refined, the gardens always retained their values of space and contemplative serenity.

The anarchy which had resulted in Japan toward the end of the sixteenth

century, brought about by the rift in the Ashikaga family and the internecine feuds of the clans, paved the way for the rise of three new dictators: the aristocratic Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, the soldier of fortune who rose from the ranks, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, a general trained in ruthless army discipline, who gave his name to the new period of military dictatorship which ensued (1568-1867).

Art historians frequently compare the sixteenth century in Japan with the contemporary Italian Renaissance, pointing out the parallel between the Japanese *shoguns* and Italian tyrants and condottiere like the Medici, Gonzaga, and Sforza; Japan, like Italy, saw the erection of splendid palaces, furnished and decorated with a lavishness almost beyond description. Like the Renaissance princes, these Japanese dictators were great patrons of art and literature; Hideyoshi's luxurious palace at Momoyama, decorated by the foremost artists of the day, bestowed its name upon the entire sixteenth century which is usually referred to as the Momoyama period; the dictator Tokugawa Ieyasu, having established his regime by a series of bloody battles, abdicated in order to devote himself to the encouragement of arts and letters.

During the previous periods, Western ideas had been brought into Japan by Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries. The Tokugawa dictatorship, however, fostered a policy of rigid isolation. When Japan was "opened" to the Occident in the middle of the nineteenth century, following the historic visit of Commodore Perry, she had been living in seclusion for two hundred and fifty years, shut off from all contact with European nations. Of far greater significance for the development of Japanese art, however, was the severance of cultural ties with continental China. For now Japanese art was thrown back upon its own resources, and although the classic Chinese style still produced sporadic masterpieces, it was to their own national epics and romances, to the pageants of their theatre and daily life that Japanese artists now turned for inspiration; these subjects they interpreted in a style that gradually gained a highly indigenous flavor.

Tosa Mitsuyoshi (1539-1613) and Tosa Mitsunori (1583-1638) continued to produce excellent work in the traditional style of the Tosa school which, founded in the thirteenth century, had excelled in portraiture and epic narrative painting; a charming painting of this school, depicting an episode from the life of Prince Genji, the Japanese Don Juan, is in the Art Institute of Chicago, while another of Tosa Mitsunori is in the Freer Gallery of Art. The Kano school, founded in the fifteenth century by Kano Masanobu, was now continued by Kano Eitoku (1543-1590), Kano Sanraku (1573-1635), Kano Tanyu (1602-1674), Kano Naonobu (1607-1650), his brother, Kano Yasunobu (1613-1685), and various other members of this illustrious family of artists. In addition to the brilliantly executed *makimono* of the medieval period, these screens, with their enchanting decorations, constitute the most important and original contribution of Japan in the sphere of art. A screen

painting such as Eitoku's *Trees and Birds* in the Jukoin Temple at Kyoto, with its exquisite arrangement of flowering branches extending over a stream, or the famous *Uji Bridge* of Sanraku, with its dramatic contrast of dark silhouetted tree trunks and delicate trailing leaves, succeed in creating that atmosphere, at once fairy-like and real, which no other art has quite been able to evoke in equal measure.

Our museums own a wealth of masterpieces executed by the painters of the Tosa and Kano schools. Outstanding among those are the *Dragon and Tiger* screen by Tohaku (1539-1610), done with extraordinary vehemence (Plate 194); the *Apricot Altar,* showing Confucius and two of his disciples, by Tanyu; the painted screens by Naonobu of *Po I* and *Shu Ch'i* and the *Four Sages of Mt. Shang* (Plates 191, 192), with their masterful arrangements of spatial relations and their subtle evocation of atmospheric values; the delightfully gay *Celebrations of the Twelve Months,* by Itcho (1652-1724), who was a pupil of Kano Yasunobu; and the *Three Laughers* by Shohaku (1730-1783), all in the Boston Museum, as well as splendid examples by all these masters in the Freer Gallery, the Metropolitan Museum, the de Young Memorial, and other collections.

The most brilliant exponents of the decorative Kano style, however, were the seventeenth century artists Ogata Korin and Sotatsu. By a striking contrast of vigorous linear design and rich gold background they created compositions of architectural strength and great ornamental beauty (Plate 203). Like so many other artists of this school, Korin was not only a painter; he also worked in lacquer (Plate 207), painted pottery (the Boston Museum owns a charming dish decorated by him), and designed textiles. One of his famous screen paintings is *The Waves at Matsushima;* Sotatsu also painted a splendid version of this subject, a six-fold screen now in the Freer Gallery. "We feel," writes Laurence Binyon, "as if the artist had brooded in his own mind over the memory of the boiling and swirling waves among the islets of Matsushima, till the water had acquired a sort of ghostly life of its own and had appeared before him in a vision. The sinuous lines seem actually to move as we contemplate them in a continuous rhythm."

Out of the traditions of the artistic Tosa and Kano schools grew the art of the Ukiyoyé school, perhaps the most colorful and genuine manifestation of a true "people's art" in any age. Ukiyoyé means "Pictures of a Passing World," and it was the incidents of daily life, so constant and yet so fleeting, that the artists of this school recorded. The development of the Ukiyoyé is closely bound up with that of wood-block printing in Japan. The artists of the Tosa and Kano schools had catered primarily to the rulers and wealthy nobles of Japan; screens lavishly decorated in gold, or paintings fastidiously executed, were too expensive for the common man to own, and their subject matter was, as a rule, too esoteric to appeal to his taste; but the portraits of favorite actors and scenes from popular plays; courtesans in their

coquettish attire; genre scenes of people in various occupations; women and children in countless engaging poses, and views of the picturesque countryside were welcomed by ordinary folk. Most important of all, the art of wood-block printing made possible the reproduction of these subjects in great numbers, thus making them accessible to a vast public.

Although Japanese scholars and esthetes look upon the work of the Ukiyoyé masters as distinctly inferior to that of the classic Tosa and Kano schools, some of the most gifted Ukiyoyé painters were trained in the older academic style, which they subsequently abandoned for the freer, more versatile, and psychologically more vital and interesting range of subject matter which Ukiyoyé presented. Such a master was Koyetsu, a brilliant craftsman, primarily a swordsmith who was also a painter, potter and lacquer-artist. Subsidized by the dictator Ieyasu, Koyetsu established an artists' colony which included, in addition to its many students, artisans versed in every phase of papermaking, brushmaking, printing, woodworking, and painting; his was one of the first ateliers to produce wood-block prints; other artists followed his example, illustrating the favorite popular books such as the *Ise Monogatari,* the romantic story of a young nobleman, or *The Thirty-Six Poets of Japan.* Another artist of renown who turned to the interpretation of popular subjects was Matabei, whose pupil Ishikawa Moronobu became one of the great masters of wood-block printing. Throughout the eighteenth century Ukiyoyé produced a long line of artists whose output of color prints was vast in number and bewildering in variety. At first the prints were done in black-and-white, printed from a single block, and often colored by hand, but gradually improved methods made it possible to use a number of engraved blocks, producing great chromatic richness.

During the eighteenth century almost every artist of ability in Japan worked in the medium of the color print. Masonobu delighted in scenes of actors and geishas, as did Toyonobu (Plate 197); Harunobu exhibits a delicate lyrical touch (Plate 199), found also in his pupil Koryusai (Plate 201). A masterful interpreter of the female figure in all its sinuous grace is Kiyonaga (Plate 200). His ideal of feminine beauty most closely approaches our own; but Utamaro (Plate 202), painter of luscious courtesans, distorts both features and limbs to achieve a languorous attenuated grace. Sharaku is famous for his portraits of actors in striking poses and gorgeous costumes (Plates 195, 196), while Hokusai and Hiroshige produced idyllic landscapes.

There is hardly a museum in the United States or Canada that does not own some fine Japanese prints. Among the collections of outstanding merit mention must be made of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Portland Art Museum, the Rhode Island School of Design, and the Fogg Art Museum. The influence of the Japanese prints on Whistler

and the early Impressionists is well known. Their gorgeous color schemes brought new decorative elements into Western painting, while their swift, calligraphic line left its mark on the entire Impressionist school.

Today Japanese prints have somewhat fallen into disrepute, perhaps as a reaction against the veneration accorded them by the nineteenth century. As a vivid, creative expression of the popular imagination, however, they hardly have their counterpart in any age.

Japanese, 10th Century A.D.

The Great Sun Buddha, Dainichi Nyorai.
Wooden Sculpture

Plate 181

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Japanese, Tempyo Period, 710–794 A.D.

Kwan-Yin (Kwannon) or Goddess of Mercy. Bronze Statuette

Plate 182

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Jogan Period, 794–897 A.D.

Seated Kwannon or Goddess of Mercy

Plate 183

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Japanese, Fujiwara Period,
897–1185 A.D.

Flying Apsara (Celestial Spirit).
Carved Lacquered Wood

Plate 184

SEATTLE ART MUSEUM

Seattle, Washington

Japanese, Koshun, Kamakura Period,
1185–1392 A.D.

Hachiman as a Buddhist Monk.
Wood Sculpture

Plate 185

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Kamakura Period, 1185–1392 A.D. — *Kwannon from a Buddhist Tryptich*

Plate 186

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Japanese, Jogan Period, 794–897 A.D. — *Benten. Painting on Silk*

Plate 187

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Japanese, Kamakura Period, 1185–1392 A.D. — *Kwannon of the Waves, Painting on Silk*

Plate 188

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Japanese. Kamakura Period, 1185–1392

The Burning of the Sanjo Palace. Detail from the Heiji Monogatari Scroll

Plate 189

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Attributed to Mitsunaga, Kamakura Period, Late 12th Century

The Game of War. Detail from The Adventures of Kibi in China. Scroll Painting

Plate 190

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Naonobu, 1607–1650

Po I and Shu Ch'i. Painted Screen

Plate 191

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Naonobu, 1607–1650

The Four Sages of Mount Shang. Painted Screen

Plate 192

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Shohaku, 1730–1783 — *The Three Laughters. Painted Screen*

Japanese, Tohaku, 1539–1610 — *Tiger. Detail from a Painted Screen*

Plates 193 and 194. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*

Japanese, Sharaku, active 1790–1795

Segawa Kikunojo as a Courtesan and Sawamura.
Color Print

Plate 195

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Japanese, Sharaku, active 1790–1795

Iwai Hanshiro. Portrait of an Actor. Color Print

Plate 196

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, Toyonobu,
1711–1785

Figure of a Woman. Print

Plate 197

PORTLAND MUSEUM OF ART

Portland, Oregon

Japanese, Hokusai,
1760–1849

Cranes on Snow-Laden Pine

Plate 198

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Japanese, Harunobu,
1718–1770

Windy Day under the Willow. Print.

Plate 199

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Japanese, Kiyonaga, 1742–1815

Autumn Scene. Color Print

Plate 200

PORTLAND MUSEUM OF ART

Portland, Oregon

Japanese, Koryusai, Active 1760–1780

Beauty Under a Willow. Color Print

Plate 201

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

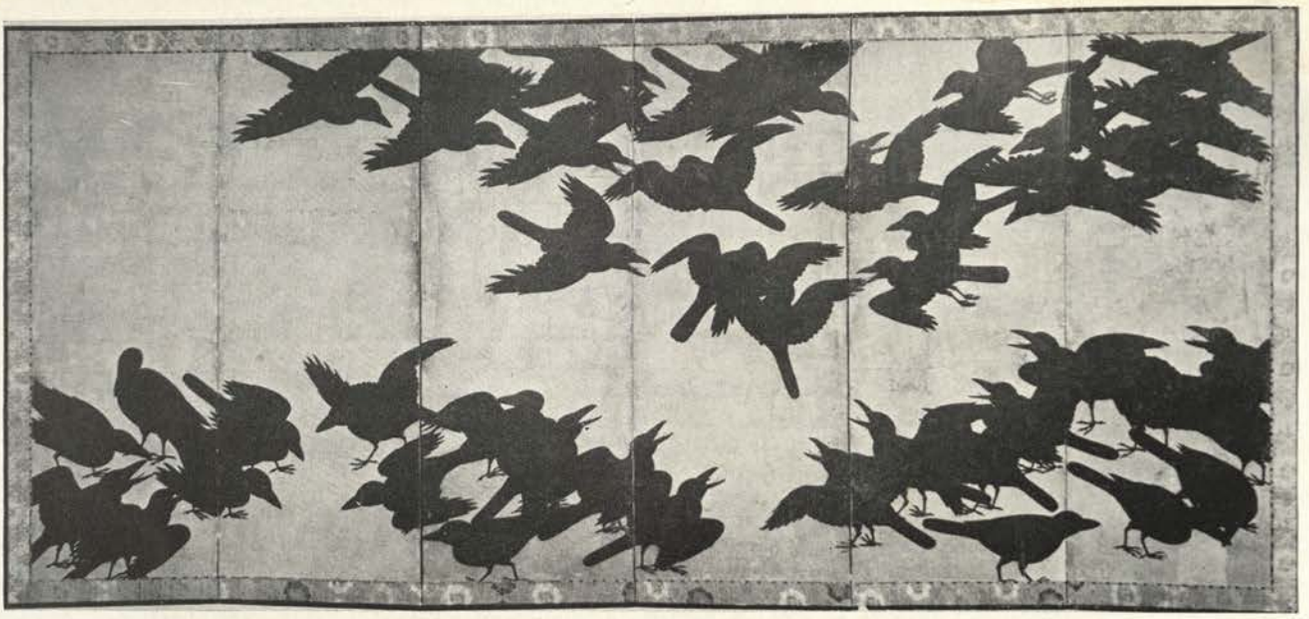
Japanese, Utamaro, 1754–1806

Two Women. Color Print

Plate 202

PORTLAND MUSEUM OF ART

Portland, Oregon

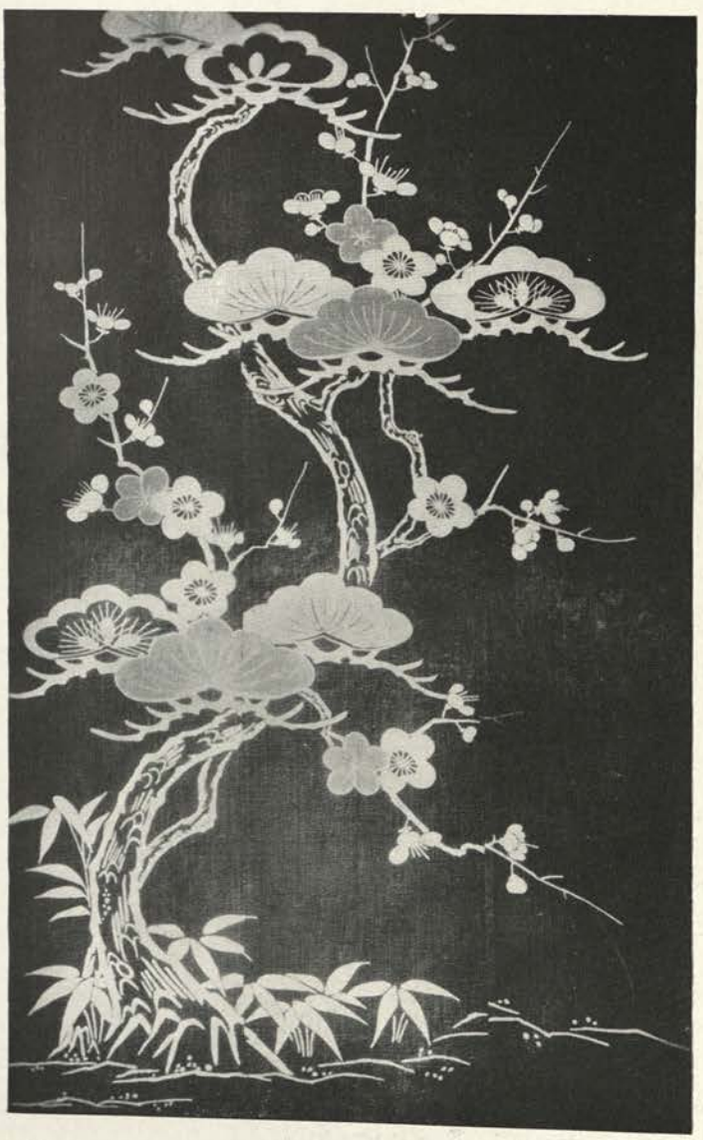


Japanese, Kano School, 16th–17th Century — *Painted Screen*

Plate 203

SEATTLE ART MUSEUM

Seattle, Washington



Japanese, ca. 1830 — *Noren (Curtain). Peasant Textile with Design of Pine, Bamboo and Plum*

Plate 204

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

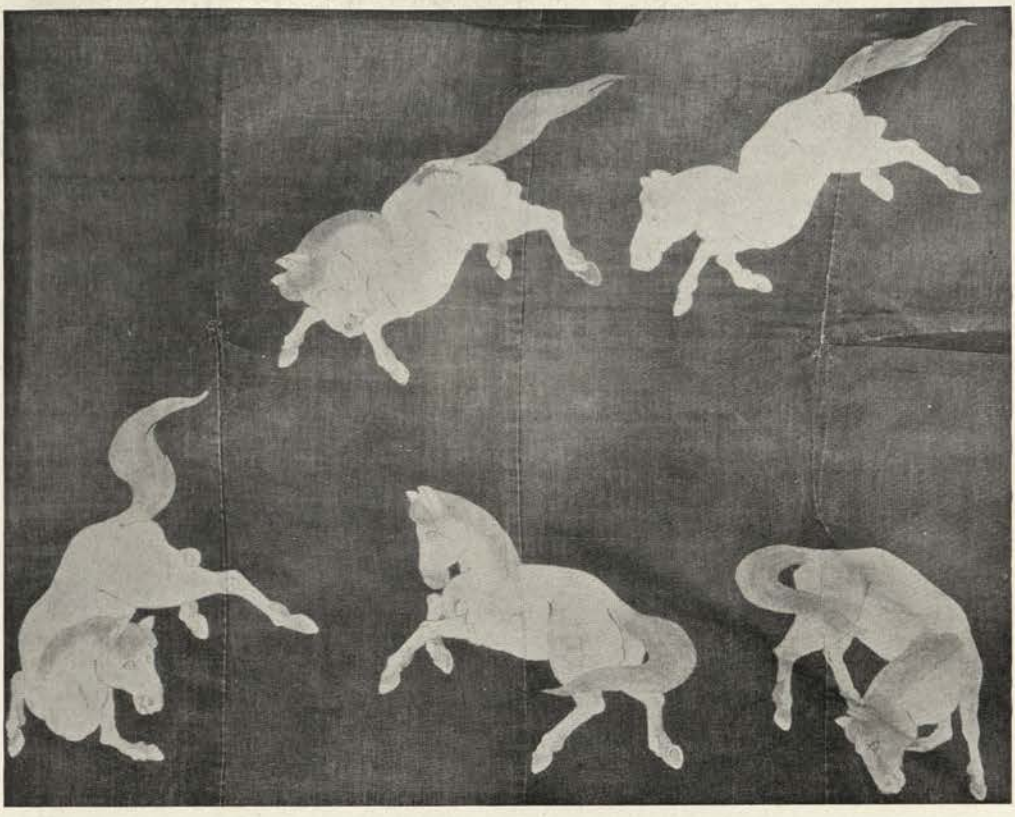
Honolulu, Hawaii

Japanese, 19th Century — *Noren (Curtain). Textile with Design of Crane and Tortoise*

Plate 205

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii



Japanese, Tokugawa Period, 1615–1867

Peasant Textile with Design of Horses

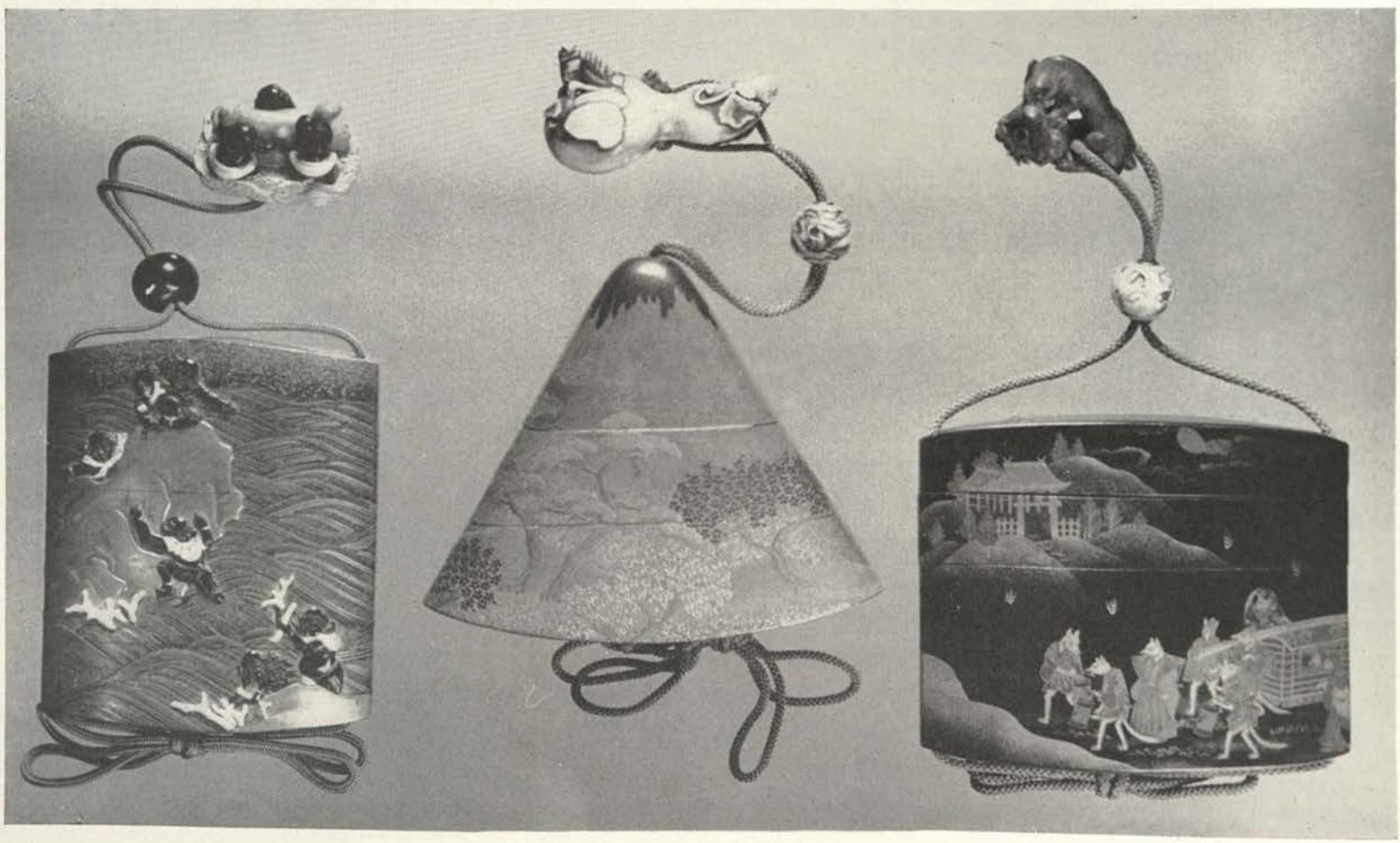
Japanese, Ogata Korin, 1661–1716

Writing Box. Black Lacquer and Mother of Pearl

Plates 206 and 207. HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS, *Honolulu, Hawaii*

Japanese, 15th Century *Textile*

Plate 208. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*



Japanese

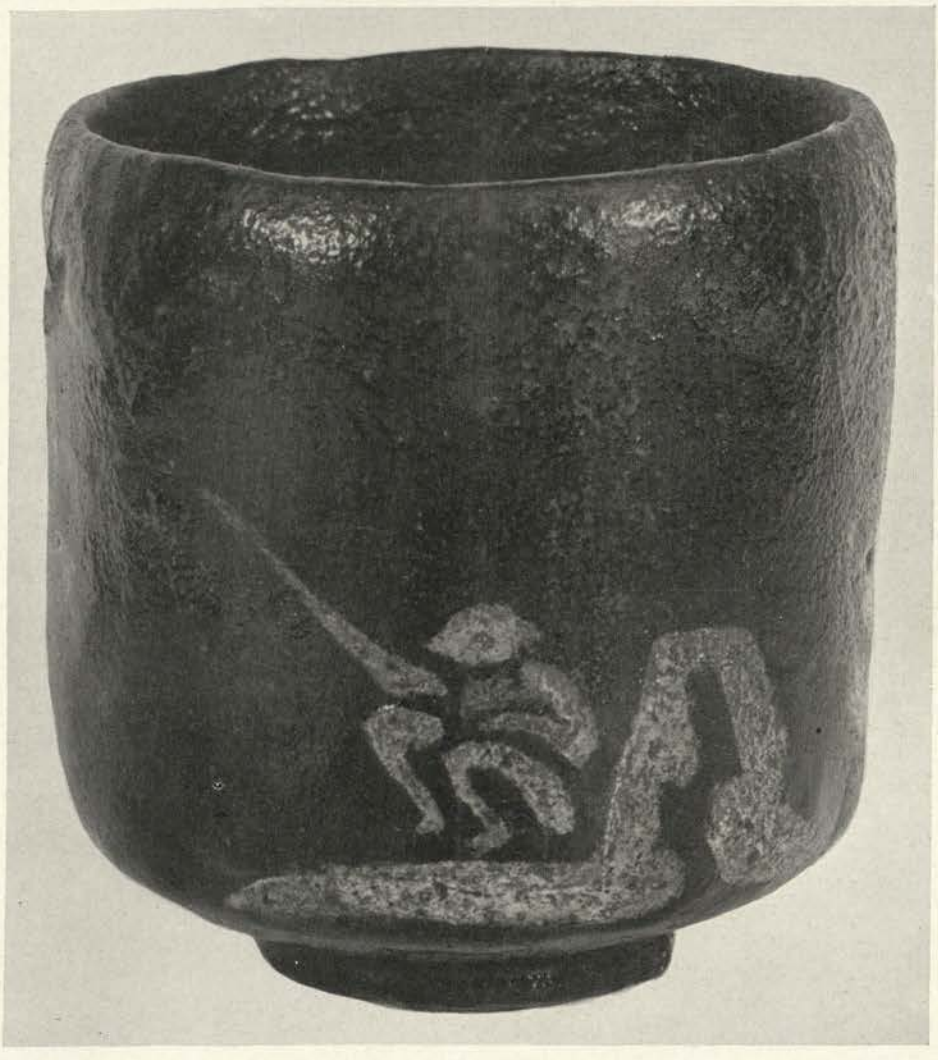
Inro and Netsuke: Coral Divers. Mount Fuji. The Foxes' Wedding

Plate 209. THAYER MUSEUM OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, *Lawrence, Kansas*

Japanese, 18th Century

Oil Dish. Pottery with Painted Decoration. Shino Ware

Plate 210. SEATTLE ART MUSEUM, *Seattle, Washington*



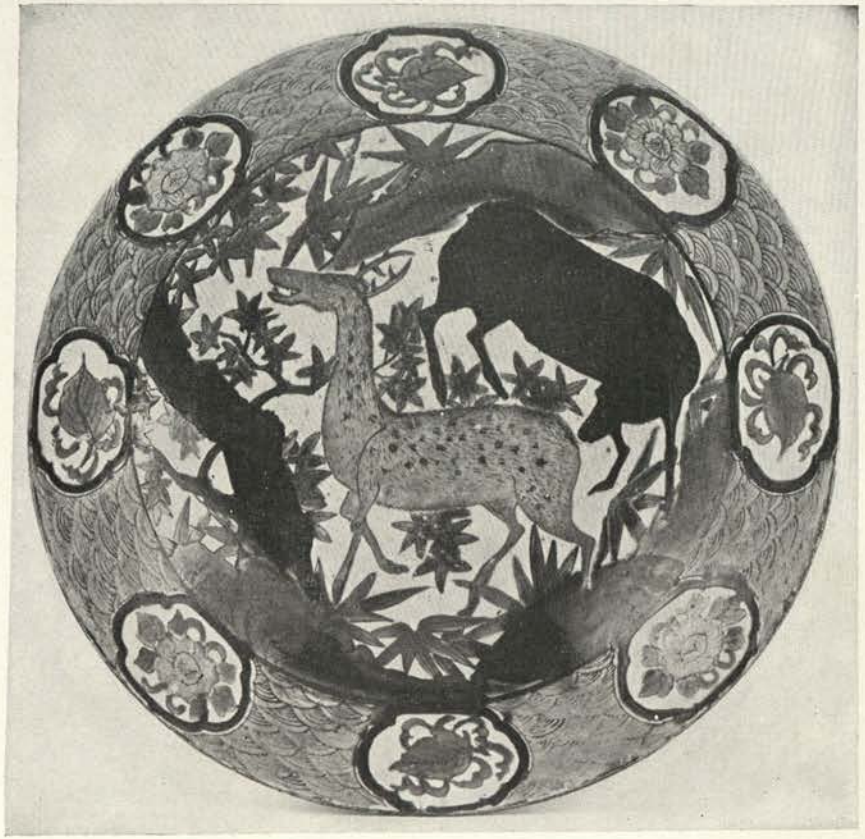
Japanese, Tokugawa Period, Kyoto, 1779

Tea Bowl Decorated with Figure of a Monkey

Plate 211

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri



Japanese, 19th Century — *Plate. Kutani Ware*

Plate 212. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, 17th Century — *Bowl with Overglaze Enamel Painted Decoration. Kakiemon Ware*

Plate 213. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Boston, Massachusetts

Japanese, 17th Century — *Bowl with Overglaze Enamel Painted Decoration. Kakiemon Ware*

Plate 214. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, Boston, Massachusetts

Korean, 8th Century — *The Healing Buddha. Bronze*

Plate 215

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Korean, ca. 11th Century — *Silver Ewer*

Plate 216

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

VIII
Byzantine, Romanesque and Gothic Art

EARLY in the Christian era the great Roman Empire had already entered upon a period of decline. Its fall was not a sudden catastrophe brought about by invading barbarian tribes, although in the social upheaval that shook the Empire so profoundly the barbarian onslaught was by no means a negligible factor.

The first barbarians came to knock at the gates of Rome long before the beginning of the Christian era. The thorough organization of the Empire permitted their absorption without disturbing the political or social organism; they were established in border provinces where they formed buffer states, and often acted as "shock-troops" for the Roman legions. Although they always remained "foreigners," many of them rose to high rank within the Empire, and the majority of them, adopting Roman customs, became thoroughly assimilated.

But the gradually spreading internal decay and economic paralysis of the Roman Empire made it increasingly difficult for its administration to cope with the barbarian problem; and over the Imperial frontiers there continued to infiltrate nomadic tribes—Huns and Goths, Lombards and Vandals, Franks and Suevi, vigorous, uncivilized people who spread across the European continent in tremendous mass migrations. Instead of receiving them and turning their untamed energies to social use, the tottering Roman Empire attempted to repulse them; but the barbarians had come to stay, and by the sixth century of our era they had securely established themselves in every part of Europe: the Ostrogoths in Italy, the Visigoths in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, the Teutons in Germany, and so forth.

In the fourth century of our era the unwieldy Roman Empire was divided into an eastern and western half. To avoid the ever-growing barbarian menace, and also in order to profit by the prosperous Asiatic trade with Europe, the Roman Emperor Constantine removed his capital to Byzantium, an ancient Greek city situated at the crossroads of Europe and Asia. This city (afterwards called Constantinople, in honor of the Emperor Constantine) became the center of a brilliant civilization which dominated the culture of Europe for more than a thousand years.

At one time it was customary to speak of Byzantine art as a decadent form of Roman art. It was the twentieth century which established the fact that the creative expression of Byzantium (that is, the entire realm of which this city was the political and cultural center), although partly derived from the realistic, representational art of Rome, had drawn much of its inspiration from the rich, formal, non-representational

arts of the Near East, and that the fusion of these two elements, plus its Christian content, gave Byzantine art a vitality and meaning of its own.

Although the Christian ideal had been expressed in various art forms (mostly borrowed) by some of its earliest adherents, Byzantine art was the first truly monumental and national art to enter the service of Christianity. For the earliest Christian art in Europe, the frescoes which the Roman Christians painted in their catacombs or subterranean burial grounds outside the city limits, was derived (often rather ineptly, for it was not the work of great artists) from late Hellenistic painting. Stylistically as well as iconographically, the art of the catacombs owed almost everything to Rome, hardly anything to the new faith. Biblical scenes are inextricably interwoven with pagan myths; the gods and heroes of Olympus are made to represent, allegorically, the Christian saints and martyrs; the classical figure of a shepherd carrying a lamb becomes that of the Good Shepherd; the beautiful story of Orpheus charming the beasts with his music is likewise interpreted as the taming of pagan souls by the Saviour. Even when Christian art was no longer forced to seek refuge in the catacombs, it retained the outworn style of decadent Rome.

Egypt had been another stronghold of early Christianity; its greatest city, Alexandria, for centuries the home of a brilliant post-classical culture, at first attempted to reconcile pagan and Christian thought, but the humble people of Egypt who had accepted the new faith—the Copts, as they were called—adhered more rigorously to its doctrine. Their earliest art is still predominantly Hellenistic (Plates 217, 218), but they soon reacted against the superimposed classical culture and drew upon their native folk-arts for inspiration. Their textiles and carved ivories, among the finest in the ancient world, were masterpieces of technique and design (Plates 219, 220). A number of our museums own works of Coptic origin; the Cooper Union and Dumbarton Oaks Collection are particularly rich in Coptic textiles.

In addition to the art of the Roman catacombs and that of the Copts another source of Christian art has recently been revealed by some splendid frescoes discovered in the ruins of an ancient synagogue at Dura Europos, a Mesopotamian city destroyed in the third century of our era. These striking interpretations of Biblical legends, executed by Jewish artists, also appear to have contributed to early Christian iconography.

While these arts attempted in various ways to express the spirit of Christianity, it was Byzantine art which supplied the need for visual images that conveyed, both in form and content, the concept of the new religion. The Emperor Constantine summoned to his capital the most accomplished artists and renowned scholars from Alexandria and other cultural centers in the Near East, thus laying the classical foundation for Byzantine art, while during the formative years of the fourth and fifth centuries, the Asiatic elements were assimilated to those of the Mediterranean region. By the sixth century, with the reign of the Emperor Justinian, the new Byzantine style had definitely emerged. It found its most perfect expression in the Church

of Haiga Sophia, or Santa Sophia as it is usually called, the Church of the Holy Wisdom which the Emperor Justinian erected in Constantinople (532-537 A.D.).

The Roman basilica or assembly hall, which had been adopted by the early Christians as best suited to their religious purposes (the Greek and Roman temples had served merely to house the image of the deity, while the Christian Church had to serve as a meeting place for the congregation), had been built with a flat or pointed roof. For this, the East substituted a domed roof, superimposed on a square or rectangular structure by either of two methods: the use of squinches—arches spanning the corners of the square structure, thus permitting the construction of a circular base for the dome; or the use of pendentives—the spherical triangles created by the erection of wall arches which also formed a circular base upon which a dome could be placed. We recall how brilliantly the Persian architects, from the Sasanian period onward, employed the former method; the latter was used extensively by the Byzantine builders, and most happily applied in the construction of Santa Sophia, the most beautiful Byzantine church ever built.

The exterior of Santa Sophia is not very impressive; the walls appear to be too massive, the dome too low. When Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, the church was converted into a mosque, and four minarets were added, which obscure its original plan still further today. The interior, however, is unexcelled among Byzantine churches for its harmonious construction and wealth of decoration. Walls and pillars of colored marble and mosaics against a shimmering gold background set off the left dome which soars almost one hundred and fifty feet above the ground, and placed over a circle of windows, appears to be suspended over the nave. Some notion can now be gained of the splendor once created by the mosaics of Santa Sophia, for the whitewash with which the Moslems covered them is being removed by the Byzantine Institute of America.

At the end of the fourth century the Roman emperor, who ruled over the western part of the Roman Empire, transferred his capital to Ravenna, a marshy city, safe from invading barbarian tribes. By the sixth century a number of buildings now arose in Ravenna which vied with those of Byzantium in decorative splendor, if not in architectural beauty. Chief among these were the churches of San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, and the presumed tomb of the emperor's sister, Galla Placidia. All three buildings are notable for their superb mosaic decorations, the finest to survive from the Byzantine period. The procession of Virgins and saints in the mosaics that cover the walls of the nave in Sant' Apollinare Nuovo; the scenes from the court of the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora in the San Vitale mosaics, and that of the Good Shepherd in the tomb of Galla Placidia (far more realistic than the former), are, perhaps, the most outstanding. Hieratic in scheme, these compositions, with their rhythmic repetition of light and dark accents, their grandeur of scale and gorgeous coloring, illustrate the most striking characteristics of Byzantine art.

The Golden Age of Byzantium lasted from 500 to 800 A.D. In addition to its splendid architecture, it produced a wealth of carved ivories, enamels, textiles, metal-

work and illuminated manuscripts. Products of a theocratic society, these art-crafts depicted subjects that were almost exclusively religious in character. But the imperial court at Byzantium, famed for its luxury, striving to overshadow the glittering court of Sasanian Persia, encouraged its artists to render these holy subjects with a grandeur and luxury that are at times overwhelming. Thus the first important civilization to establish Christianity officially clothed this religion in a raiment so gorgeous that its obscure and humble origins were soon forgotten.

The Golden Age was followed by a period of reaction marked by civil war and iconoclasm. The Iconoclast Emperors not only prohibited image-making of any kind, but also ordered great numbers of existing works destroyed, and for a time traditional religious arts in Byzantium were affected. By the end of the ninth century, however, the cultural pattern of Byzantium was reconstructed along the lines of its former magnificence, and the period that followed, often called the Second Golden Age, saw an incredibly large output of ivory carvings and metalwork, cloisonné enamels, sumptuous textiles and illuminated manuscripts.

Of the monumental sculpture of Byzantium which appears to have been almost entirely confined to reliefs, very little survives; the finest example in America, owned by the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, is a medallion of heroic size, carved in low-relief, showing the figure of a Byzantine emperor in full regalia. The practice of carving small ivory plaques, which were used to embellish book covers and portable altars, has preserved for us many of the subjects originally executed on a large scale. Thus, a little ivory relief of the Madonna holding the Child in her arms, reproduces a famous icon originally made for the Odegon Church in Constantinople, while the celebrated "Stroganoff Madonna" owned by the Cleveland Museum (Plate 225) is believed to be a copy of another monumental image which graced one of the imperial churches of Byzantium, built during the eleventh century. Other famous ivories of the Byzantine Renaissance (tenth to twelfth century), are a plaque in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, showing Christ crowning an emperor and empress; a triptych in the Louvre, showing Christ enthroned between the Virgin and St. John, and surrounded by patriarchs and saints. The Dumbarton Oaks Collection owns a splendid ivory relief of the Virgin and Child between two saints (Plate 224). Although scarcely seven inches high, these figures possess monumentality of design and a feeling of grandeur. Another beautifully carved ivory in the same collection depicts the incredulity of St. Thomas. These Byzantine icons were venerated not only in the East but throughout the Christian world and in Europe as well, where ivory carvers followed their style faithfully as late as the twelfth century. Other famous collections of Byzantine ivories are those of the British Museum, the Cluny Museum in Paris and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

The neo-classic style of the ninth to twelfth century is perhaps best illustrated by the carved ivory caskets of this period. About fifty of these have survived; the Metropolitan Museum, Walters Art Gallery, and Cleveland Museum own some of the choicest examples. Comparison of a casket in the Cleveland Museum (Plate 227)

with a Hispano-Moresque ivory box carved about the same time (Plate 226) sharply underlines the neo-classicism of Byzantine art. For while the decoration on the Cleveland casket indicates a striving for classic proportions, the Hispano-Moresque box with its deeply undercut foliation and floral motifs shows the intricate play of light-and-shade, and the asymmetric arrangement characteristic of Islamic ornament.

The arts of enameling on gold, miniature painting, and weaving reached an almost unsurpassed level during this period. With the introduction of silk from the Far East (effected, according to legend, by monks who smuggled silk cocoons from China into Byzantium), the fabrics of the early looms began to rival those of the T'ang Empire in complexity of weave and richness of design. Byzantine textiles show affinities with the art of the Copts, but Sasanian and Syrian motifs, such as heraldic figures enclosed in roundels separated by stylized flower motifs, are not lacking. These Byzantine textiles are so closely related in technique and design to those of Sasanian Persia that the task of assigning surviving specimens to specific centers of production has proved extremely difficult.

Miniature painting in Byzantium flourished for almost a thousand years. In addition to illustrating the Holy Scriptures, the illuminators—generally monks working in their scriptorium—depicted the lives of the saints and illustrated the writings of the Church Fathers which were the favorite reading matter of the age. Throughout the iconoclastic period, when most of the Byzantine plastic art was doomed to destruction by the ascetic emperors, manuscript illumination continued to flourish in the sanctuary of the monastic scriptorium; indeed, some of the finest Byzantine manuscripts were produced during this period of reaction. Some of these miniatures are done in a swift, nervous, summary style; others continue the Hellenistic tradition of realism. A famous illuminated manuscript, believed to have been copied and illustrated in Alexandria in the seventh or eighth century of our era, the so-called *Joshua Roll* now in the Vatican, served as model for some of the finest Byzantine manuscripts; among these is the great Psalter belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, whose miniatures, as Professor C. R. Morey has pointed out, show a mingling of Asiatic and Alexandrian traditions.

Executed by different hands, the miniatures of the Paris Psalter are almost all "illusionist" in technique, influenced by Eastern formalism and Hellenistic realism to a varying degree. Some of the paintings recall the Byzantine mosaics in their hieratic composition and two-dimensional effect; others—the finest in the book—were executed by an artist who worked entirely in the Alexandrian tradition. Among the latter are the dramatic *Crossing of the Red Sea* and the lyrical *David Playing the Harp*. The painter of these scenes, says Professor Morey, "uses for background a hilly landscape, peopled with Hellenistic personifications, or the vista of a distant city, or picturesque perspectives of architecture. Against this background his figures move in lively groups, with animated drapery and sinewy limbs portrayed in sharp highlights and shadows, or serve to compose an idyllic scene like that of the Harper David, charming the beasts like Orpheus in a Pompeian setting, with Melody as his

inspiration seated beside him, and Echo peeping around the fountain to the right." To offset the rich formalism of the Byzantine frescoes, nothing could be more effective than these miniatures with their chiaroscuro effects in landscape backgrounds, their classical treatment of drapery, their modeling of the human figure, their elegant and nervous line which was to become far more pronounced later on and influence the art of miniature painting in Western Europe.

Byzantine jewelry and metalwork show a lavish use of semi-precious stones and pearls, so skillfully employed that the color of the gems becomes the most important element in building up the composition. The work of the Byzantine jewelers was highly prized by the barbarian peoples of Western Europe; it has been found in such widely scattered areas as Hungary, Southern Russia, France and Scandinavia, where it left its mark on the work of the barbarian craftsmen (Plates 221, 222).

Europe's debt to Byzantium is great: for centuries this eastern part of the Roman Empire was the gateway through which not only objects of material culture but also philosophic, religious and scientific ideas passed from Orient to Occident. During the so-called Dark Ages, when the social order established in Europe by the Roman Empire had broken down almost completely, with urban life disintegrating, and what was left of classical culture seeking a perilous hiding-place in scattered monasteries, it was Byzantium that preserved and fostered the cultural heritage left by the ancient world; it was she who became the respository of the scientific, literary and artistic knowledge accumulated throughout long centuries in Egypt, Greece and Rome; she who transmitted the wealth of artistic ideas that flowed in a steady stream from Persia and Asia Minor.

During the seventh century, when the warriors of Islam swept over the eastern world, refugee artists from such important cultural centers as Antioch in Asia Minor and Alexandria in Egypt, thronged the workshops of Byzantium, contributing their skill and knowledge to every branch of artistic production. Thus the various streams of post-classical art united with older, Asiatic elements to produce the great flowering of Byzantine culture which lasted well on into the thirteenth century. For almost a thousand years, Europe eyed Byzantium with envy and admiration, and the religious motive for the Crusades was tempered to no small extent by European greed and lust for the treasures of the proud eastern empire. Byzantium was finally captured in 1204 by the Crusaders who established a Norman dynasty there which ruled for more than half a century.

Civilization in Western Europe was at its lowest ebb during the Merovingian period (sixth to eighth century). For with the exception of Ireland, whose monasteries boasted great scholars and splendid crafts based upon the ancient Celtic traditions, every European country was in the throes of readjusting itself to the "barbarian" way of life. Politically this was a period of almost complete anarchy, for the tendency was toward a decentralized, local rule out of which grew the feudal system; socially it was a time of great unrest, for peasants and burghers alike were at the mercy of marauding brigands, and urban life was increasingly reverting to agricultural

and pastoral pursuits. Culturally, this age is marked by the struggle of the classical tradition to survive in the few urban and monastic centers; the gradual yielding of paganism to Christianity and the dominant "barbarian" taste in art-crafts.

Heirs to the vigorous art forms of the Scytho-Sarmatians, with whom they had come in contact in their eastern homeland, the barbarians found among the indigenous peoples of Western Europe art forms akin to their own (the prehistoric art of La Tène, for instance), and it was this similarity which enabled the barbarian art to become so thoroughly and organically assimilated to that of Western Europe at the beginning of the Christian era. Thus when the art of the barbarian invaders reached Ireland by way of the Baltic countries, it was readily received and incorporated into the ancient art of that country, for it appears to stem from the same cultural source, and to share the same esthetic canons. The art of the Celts who had settled in Ireland, for instance, shows the same love of animal forms, stylized almost to the point of abstraction, as that of the tribes who had come under Scytho-Sarmatian influence (Plates 221, 222, 226A), although Celtic art shows a more conspicuous use of abstract, geometric forms and complex interlacing.

The artistic remains of this period—jewelry and metalwork executed with barbaric splendor: earrings, fibulae, crowns studded with precious gems, harness ornaments—point to the complete triumph of the "barbarian" esthetic ideals. A group of weapons and ornaments recovered from a Merovingian tomb, and now in the Metropolitan Museum, illustrates the barbarian love of stylized patterns and bright, pure colors. The year 800, however, marked a turning point in the history as well as the arts of Western Europe. With the ascension of Charlemagne as Emperor, the idea of the Holy Roman Empire was revived, and in its wake followed the revival of the classical canons in art. The age of Charlemagne is often referred to as the Carolingian Renaissance. The Emperor, who had succeeded in uniting the various Frankish tribes and in gaining the support of the Pope, saw himself as the logical successor of the Roman Caesars, heir to the cultural traditions which the ancient Roman world had evolved. From its very beginning, his reign is marked by a systematic effort to recapture the grandeur of Rome.

From every part of the ancient Roman Empire as well as from Byzantium in the East, Charlemagne summoned skilled artisans, brilliant scholars, and accomplished scribes. Workshops were organized where metalworking, ivory carving and manuscript illumination were practiced with marked success; learned monks from Ireland expounded the Gospel and taught the rudiments of classical scholarship; architects from Italy and Byzantium planned imperial palaces and churches on a scale more ambitious than anything attempted since the days of the Roman emperors; gorgeous silks and rare ivories arrived from the Caliph of Baghdad as gifts to the great Frankish monarch. In an incredibly short time, the "barbarian" court became transformed by the amenities of the older, more gracious civilizations.

Although Charlemagne encouraged the growth of Frankish elements, especially in literature, the chief aim of the Carolingian Renaissance was to reassert the

superiority of classical culture. This was accomplished not only by the emperor's systematic importation of workers skilled in the ancient crafts, but also by the fact that his domain included what had been the most Romanized of all the provinces—the country later known as France, where the classical tradition had never been completely obliterated.

The Carolingian Renaissance resulted in a synthesis of the classical and "barbarian" style which showed a strong admixture of Byzantine elements. In architecture this fusion is illustrated by the remains of the palaces built at Ingelsheim and Aix-la-Chapelle, and the basilicas at Fulda and Germigny des Prés—structures whose massive solidity speaks of a desire to emulate Roman grandeur, while a certain forthrightness and crude vigor are expressive of the "barbarian" temperament. In the minor arts, the most brilliant synthesis of these styles is to be found in the jewelry and illuminated manuscripts.

The art of the "barbarians" had been primarily concerned with animal forms, although stylized human figures often participated in the decorative scheme. Carolingian art, on the other hand, taking its cue from classicism, showed a pronounced interest in the human figure—an interest not fully realized, however, until the tenth century. Two famous book covers of the Carolingian period illustrate this synthetic style which emphasizes the beauty of the human form: a gold and jeweled book cover made for Charles the Bald, and now owned by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and another owned by the Morgan Library (Plate 223). The latter is said to be "the most finished specimen of Carolingian goldsmith's work in existence." The figures of the Paris book cover are clearly modeled upon those of the Carolingian miniature paintings, of which the most famous are the illuminations of the Utrecht Psalter; in the Morgan Library book cover, the striving for classical perfection of form is clearly apparent in the figure of the Saviour and those of the angels; the precious stones and pearls which form the incrustation are, however, typical of the barbarian love of color and lavish ornament.

Manuscript illumination was perhaps the greatest of all the Carolingian arts. By the middle of the ninth century, famous monastic schools at Tours, St. Denis and Aix-la-Chapelle were producing work which, although rooted in Hellenistic realism, was wholly northern in its spirited and dramatic use of line and pattern. Instead of the carefully worked-out chiaroscuro, the realistic modeling and local color of Hellenistic painting, the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter show evidence of a pen at once rapid and impressionistic, tense and extraordinarily expressive.

The characteristics of this style, which centered in the school of Reims, have been brilliantly defined by Professor Morey: "This northern mode of composition," he writes, "is not rhythmic, like the Oriental, nor architectonic like the Greek, nor illusionistic like the Latin; it depends for unity not on recurrent accents, nor on symmetry, nor even on the illusion of reality. It is rather dynamic—by which I mean that its unity depends on a vitality independent of real existence, a disembodied force expressed in linear movement, like the sweep of the baroque." The style of Reims

was to exert a far-reaching influence on the sculpture as well as the painting of the succeeding period. Benedictine monks introduced it into England where it inspired such celebrated schools of book illumination as those of Winchester and Canterbury. In Germany, the scriptoria of the famous Abbeys of Reichenau and Echternach added to the nervous vivacity of the Reims style certain stable, hieratic qualities derived from Byzantine painting.

Although a number of fine manuscripts written and illuminated between the ninth and fourteenth century are to be found in our museums, the collections of the Morgan Library and the Walters Art Gallery surpass all others in quality as well as in quantity. One of the most beautiful examples executed in the ninth century by the famous illuminators of Reims is a Gospel-book in the Morgan Library. The text is entirely written in gold, while the four full-page imaginary portraits of the Evangelists are done in an agitated, fluttering manner which recalls the exquisite drawings of the Utrecht Psalter. Another famous manuscript of this period, also in the Morgan Library, the so-called "Golden Latin Gospels," is written in burnished gold on purple-stained vellum. This manuscript, believed to have been executed in the Palace School of Charlemagne, is not illustrated, but the splendor and dignity of the Latin lettering convey admirably the spirit of the age which sought to regain the monumentality of classic art forms. A tenth century Gospel-book in the Walters Art Gallery is a product of the same school; the linear technique of the northern artists "startles the stolid classic figures into a nervous whirlwind of action and tense, excited gestures."

The Romanesque period in France (tenth to end of twelfth century) produced a great many superb examples of book illumination; the dynamic Carolingian style became more disciplined and at the same time bolder in outline and color, more assertive of its own vigor. A Gospel-book of the eleventh century, illuminated at St. Omer in northern France, and now in the Morgan Library, and another illuminated in southern France (ca. 1100), in the Walters Art Gallery, are striking illustrations of this developed style.

The English schools are illustrated by several magnificent examples in the Morgan Library: a leaf from the great Bible in the Winchester Cathedral, containing scenes from the life of David and Samuel (Plate 230), represents the celebrated Winchester school, while a manuscript of the Four Gospels, written and illuminated in the twelfth century, belongs to the equally famous Canterbury school. In the thirteenth century English illumination, which had become somewhat mannered in Winchester and Canterbury, was transformed into a calmer, richer, more complex style which produced such masterpieces as the "Windmill Psalter" in the Morgan Library and the "Tickhill Psalter" in the New York Public Library (Plate 231). Striking features of these thirteenth century manuscripts are the historiated initials and the decorative "grotesques" which overflow into the margins. We have already spoken of the hieratic style which characterized manuscript painting in Germany. A Psalter illuminated at the famous Abbey of Reichenau (Plates 228, 229), and now

owned by the Walters Art Gallery, is especially typical of this German style.

After the death of Charlemagne, the empire which he had welded together rapidly disintegrated; as a reaction to the chaos of feudal rule arose the growing centralization of secular power which produced the dynasty of the Capets in France and that of the Ottonians who ruled over Germany and Lombardy. This period also saw the development of monastic life in France; famous orders, like that of Cluny, built the monasteries which constituted the greater part of Romanesque architecture. One of the chief causes for this tremendous architectural activity was the custom of making pilgrimages to places where sacred relics of saints and martyrs were kept. Formerly pious pilgrims had journeyed to Rome, and the Holy Land. After the tenth century, however, it became customary for pilgrims to visit local shrines in France, Spain and other European countries. It was a pilgrimage of this kind which Chaucer described in his immortal Canterbury Tales.

Among the famous centers of pilgrimage in Europe were those of Santo Domingo de Silos and Santiago de Compostela in Spain; throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, pilgrims traveled southward to these holy places along well-established routes which led through Burgundy and Provence. The monastic orders, particularly the flourishing order of Cluny, were quick to take advantage of the prosperity which followed in the wake of the pilgrims; chapter houses and churches sprang up all along the pilgrim roads, and weary travelers who sought shelter in them brought generous gifts of money and richly wrought objects for ecclesiastic use.

As the wealth of the monasteries increased, new buildings arose; but the architects of this period were also faced with new problems brought about by changing conditions: Charlemagne and his successors had built their churches in the style of the early Christian basilicas, somewhat modified by the architecture of Byzantium; these Carolingian basilicas (Fulda, Germigny des Prés) had dignity and monumentality, but their narrow naves and gloomy aisles no longer sufficed to accommodate the vast crowds of pilgrims that flocked into the church to hear Mass celebrated and view the sacred relics; moreover, the wooden roofs, with which the early churches had been covered, caught fire easily and brought about untold disaster. From the tenth century onward, then, the builders were faced with a three-fold problem: to provide additional space, more light, and safety against fire hazards. The architecture of the next two centuries, called Romanesque (not because it derived from the Roman style, but because it evolved in countries which had been under Roman domination), was chiefly concerned with solving this three-fold problem; a partial solution was provided by the use of the developed ambulatory, by chapels radiating from the side aisles and a system of ribbed vaulting which supplanted the older barrel and groin vaults. Romanesque architecture appears as early as the second half of the tenth century, but develops into its classical form in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two buildings erected by William the Conqueror at Caen, in Normandy, the Abbaye aux Hommes and the Abbaye aux Dames, brilliantly illustrate the application of these new elements, but it was in the south of France that the Romanesque

style found its most eloquent expression; the great monastic churches and abbeys which the Cluniac Order erected in Languedoc and Burgundy became magnificent examples which were followed throughout the rest of Europe. The most striking characteristic of this Romanesque architecture is its use of plastic ornament; this represents a complete synthesis of the Mediterranean and barbarian elements. The human figure was reconstructed in all its dignity, and became the basis of the great ensembles of sculpture which were so conspicuous a feature of religious architecture during this period.

But although the Romanesque sculptors employed the human figure with a truly monumental effect, they transformed it into a decorative symbol, entirely subordinated in its treatment to the architectural scheme. Iconographically as well as stylistically, this Romanesque sculpture is derived from the manuscript illumination of the Carolingian period. The favorite themes interpreted in the great ensembles which were usually found on the church portals or tympanum were the Last Judgment, the Ascension, or Christ in Glory. But the Romanesque sculptors also developed a great love for secular subjects; the life of medieval times is portrayed in a colorful pageant in these sculptured story-books. The months and the seasons are represented by their various tasks—the husbandman plowing and sowing, the vintner gathering his grapes, the tanner, baker and blacksmith plying their trades. Biblical scenes take on a homely flavor; capitals are enriched with scenes of medieval folk playing the rôles of saints and martyrs (Plate 233).

Nothing can be more spirited or alive than these Romanesque sculptures; but, like the figures in the Winchester miniatures, they owe their life not to a faithful realistic rendering, but rather to their restless and dynamic linear quality. Never have sculptors taken greater liberties in handling the human form; even the distortions of Modigliani and Picasso appear conservative beside these bodies writhing and twisting in a frenzy of motion. All the seething social ferment of the times is embodied in the sculptures such as those which enrich the doorways and tympanums of the churches at Moissac, Souillac, Vézelay, and Autun, to name only a few outstanding monuments.

Not only human beings but animals—ferocious and tame, fantastic, grotesque, and familiar—find their way into the decorative scheme of Cluniac sculpture. Many of them have their prototypes in the gorgeous patterned fabrics which had been imported from the Near East during Carolingian times, and highly prized for their richness of design and color; thus we find the heraldic animals of Sasanian Persia, of Syria and Byzantium translated into stone, enlivening the columns and doorways of Romanesque churches and monasteries.

In the wake of pilgrims and new monastic establishments, the Romanesque style traveled into Spain where it flowered in the superb sculpture of Santo Domingo de Silos and Santiago de Compostela; into England, Germany and Italy, where it took various forms owing to local influence, always retaining its tremendous vitality. In France, Romanesque architecture as well as sculpture reached a brilliant climax in

the Abbey Church of St. Denis which Abbot Suger began in 1140 and in the early parts of the famous Chartres Cathedral. Here the intense emotionalism of early Romanesque art has become disciplined; violently contorted bodies and flowing draperies are replaced by figures in gracious repose wearing softly flowing garments. Both Chartres and St. Denis contain all the elements of Gothic art; but their sculpture still forms an organic part of the architectural whole, and it is not until the next period that it succeeds in detaching itself and assumes a more individual rôle.

The secular architecture of this period was the natural result of the feudal system which held sway throughout Europe. The feudal nobles built huge castles for themselves and their retainers, and since the military prestige of the nobility was its main *raison d'être,* the castle became in time a great fortress with towers, battlemented walls, dungeon and drawbridge; situated on a hilltop or mountain, overlooking the valley, it was easily defended against an approaching enemy, while the peasants, whose cottages grew up at the foot of the castle, could take refuge within its great walls. The most famous surviving structure of this kind is the fortress-castle of Carcassonne, in France.

Only the castles, churches and monasteries of Europe can convey the grandeur and scope of the Romanesque period; but at least one museum in America has been able to recapture the spirit of the age. The Cloisters in Fort Tryon Park, New York, forming a branch of the Metropolitan Museum, have, by a brilliant combination of architectural elements, succeeded in reconstructing a complex of buildings which are as impressive in appearance as they are authentic in atmosphere. Columns, capitals, arches, doorways, a chapel, even a whole chapter house were erected, stone by stone and brick by brick, either according to their original plan, or recombined along different lines suggested by a study of related monuments. The result is an architectural ensemble of singular beauty and nobility.

Outstanding among the architectural units at the Cloisters are the Chapter House from the Abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Pontaut (Plate 234), built in the twelfth century, when the Romanesque style had achieved its classic form; the arcades of the twelfth century cloister of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, a famous Benedictine abbey in southern France; the superb carved doorway from Moûtiers-Saint-Jean, a thirteenth century French abbey, and the Romanesque chapel, reconstructed from the architectural remains of the church of Notre-Dame-du-Bourg, at Langon, in the south of France.

Among the Romanesque sculpture and architectural units in our other museums, mention must be made of the superb capitals from Moûtiers-Saint-Jean at the Fogg Museum, in which the figures exhibit the tortuous forms, the garments clinging in concentric folds to the body and fluttering about in animated swirls, and the vigorous animals beloved of Romanesque sculptors (Plate 233); the series of capitals carved into rich ornamental motifs of stylized foliation, from the twelfth century cloister of Notre-Dame-des-Doms at Avignon, also in the Fogg Museum; the solemn, graceful cloister from Saint Genis des Fontaine (eleventh to twelfth century) in the Philadel-

phia Museum; the twelfth century capitals, splendidly carved with human and animal figures, in the Cleveland Museum; the fine, expressive Burgundian statue of Saint Peter in the Rhode Island School of Design; the sculptured Romanesque reliefs from Parthenay in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Collection; the stately French Romanesque Madonna and Child in the Metropolitan Museum; and the head of a king (Plate 232) in the Walters Art Gallery.

The thirteenth century—the greatest century of the medieval era—saw the stabilization of social conditions, the codification of jurisprudence and the solidification of monarchic power. It was an age of great learning and scholarship; famous universities were founded, and scholastic philosophers like Saint Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus attracted students from every part of the civilized world. France became the most cultured country in Europe, and Paris the center from which all art and learning radiated. These social conditions were reflected in art in a more rational and systematic approach to iconography, as well as in greater simplicity and harmony of plastic treatment.

Gothic architecture is characterized by the systematic and functional use of the ribbed vault, the pointed arch and flying buttress, a combination which lent the buildings of this period a lofty vertical appearance that contrasted strongly with the massive horizontality of the preceding Romanesque era. The Cathedral of St. Denis, built by Abbot Suger, marks the triumph of this rationality in architecture.

Another important factor in the spread of the Gothic style was the influence of the Cistercians—a reform order who rejected the elaborate complexity of Romanesque architecture and introduced instead building forms which relied for their effect on structure rather than ornamentation. This was the age of the great Gothic Cathedrals—Notre-Dame-de-Paris; Chartres (which had been begun during the Romanesque period); St. Denis, called the last great Romanesque and first great Gothic monument; Reims; Amiens; the Sainte Chapelle in Paris; and that miracle of architecture—the cathedral of Rouen. Although these buildings still retain the great sculptural schemes which characterized the Romanesque religious architecture, the human figure no longer adheres to the architectural frame; it has become detached and is often free-standing. The great columnar figures of the Chartres Cathedral mark the transition from the Romanesque to the Gothic style; the solemn grace of the figures is not marred by any exaggerated emotionalism; rather are the figures akin to the Greek ideal in their calm beauty.

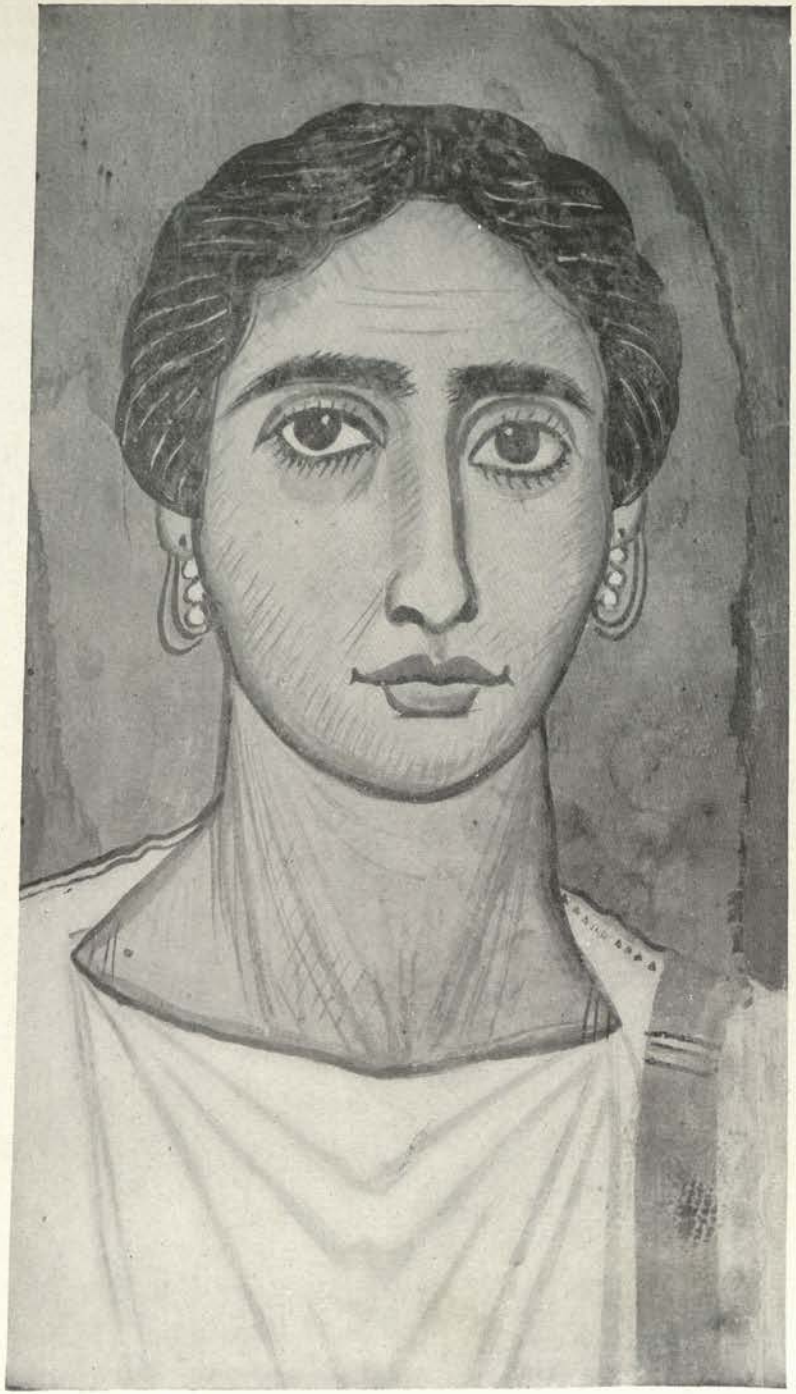
With the reconstruction of the Chartres Cathedral, in 1194, this new sculptural style emerges, creating vast, harmonious iconographic ensembles in which the figures are well delineated and typical of the classical period of Gothic art. The kings, queens and saints of the so-called Royal Portal of the Chartres Cathedral exemplify, moreover, another characteristic of Gothic sculpture: not only are they beautiful; they are youth personified. The *Beau Dieu* of the Amiens Cathedral, perhaps the most beautiful figure of Christ ever conceived, might well serve as a classic example of the sculpture of thirteenth century Gothic art.

Another phenomenon which served to set Gothic art apart from its forerunner was the great awakening of a love of nature, due in no small measure to the teachings of St. Francis, founder of the mendicant Order of Franciscan friars. Instead of the fantastic beasts struggling with each other in mortal combat, and the vigorous but highly stylized plant forms of the Romanesque period we now find a world of lyric, natural beauty: flowers and animals are carved in stone and ivory and painted on walls and parchment not merely for their decorative beauty, but because they symbolize the charity of the Creator toward all creatures and living forms, however humble. The figure of St. Agnes holding a lamb (Plate 245) is characteristic of this spirit of universal love and charity.

During the fourteenth century Gothic sculpture was enriched by one of the most gracious conceptions in art: the figure of the Virgin, who had become the object of a popular cult which continued throughout the medieval period. Innumerable statues of the Virgin were carved by the sculptors of France; none lovelier than the exquisite Virgin and Child from Ile-de-France, now in the Cloisters, New York. Other examples of this favorite subject are a Virgin and Child in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum (Plate 240), and another in the Yale University Art Gallery (Plate 242). A Virgin and Child in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery (Plate 237) illustrates the tendency away from idealism and toward the growing realism which marks the work of the fifteenth century. The drapery in these later figures (Plate 247) shows the deep undercutting by means of which the sculptors sought to reproduce a chiaroscuro effect which eventually led to an artificial mannerism.

Stimulated by contact with the East as a result of the Crusades, the Gothic age produced an untold number of beautiful objects in the minor arts: cloisonné enamels, metalwork, tapestries, woodcarving and stained glass. Among the great treasures of the Cloisters is the superb set of Unicorn Tapestries, one of the greatest achievements of the medieval looms (Plates 248, 249), while the Franco-Flemish tapestry which has as its subject a group of elegant courtiers is one of the prized objects of the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 239).

We have spoken elsewhere of the great tragedy that befell Europe during the fourteenth century—the Black Death which swept the continent, leaving in its path misery and terror. Coupled with this was the social chaos resulting from the Hundred Years War which left both France and England exhausted and impoverished culturally as well as materially. As a reaction to these changed social conditions came the rise of mysticism which directed the attention of artists to the analysis of joy and suffering. Stimulated by the growing freedom of the municipalities and the democratic ideal, individual artists explored secular as well as religious themes; manuscript illumination was taken out of monastic hands and practiced by secular artists who developed it into one of the great arts of the Middle Ages. The portrait and the landscape made its appearance, culminating in the brilliant realistic work of the Van Eycks and their followers in Flanders, France and Germany. Thus the Middle Ages came to an end, having created some of the most significant works of art in all history.



Coptic, First half of 4th Century

Portrait of a Lady. Tempera on Wood

Plate 217. FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Graeco-Egyptian, Second half of 2nd Century

Portrait of a Man. Encaustic on Wood

Plate 218. BROOKLYN MUSEUM, Brooklyn, New York

Coptic, 5th Century

Head of St. Theodore. Textile

Plate 219

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Coptic

Carved Ivory Book Cover

Plate 220

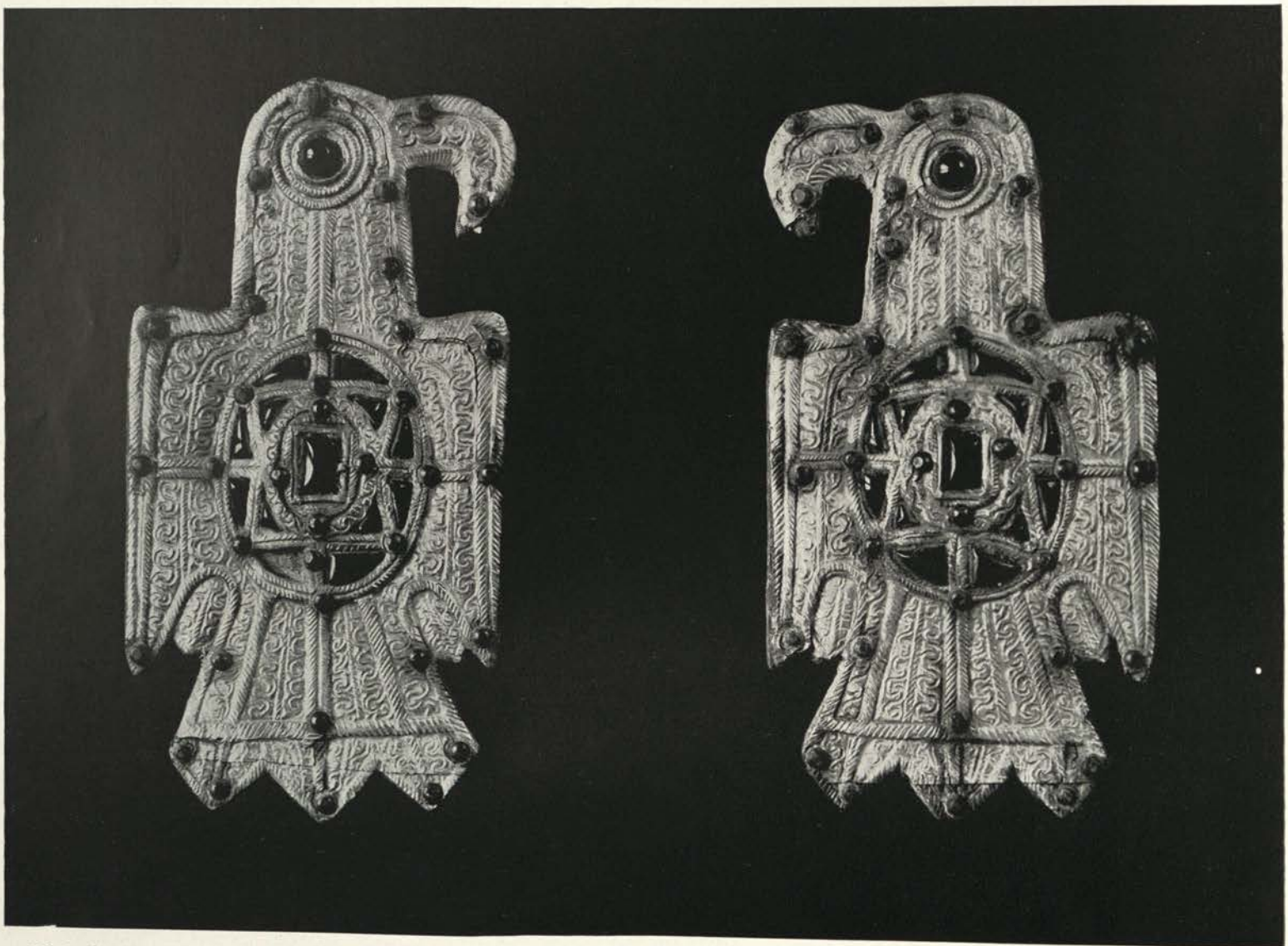
WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Visigothic, Migration Period,
5th–6th Century

Earring and Two Eagle-Shaped Fibulae

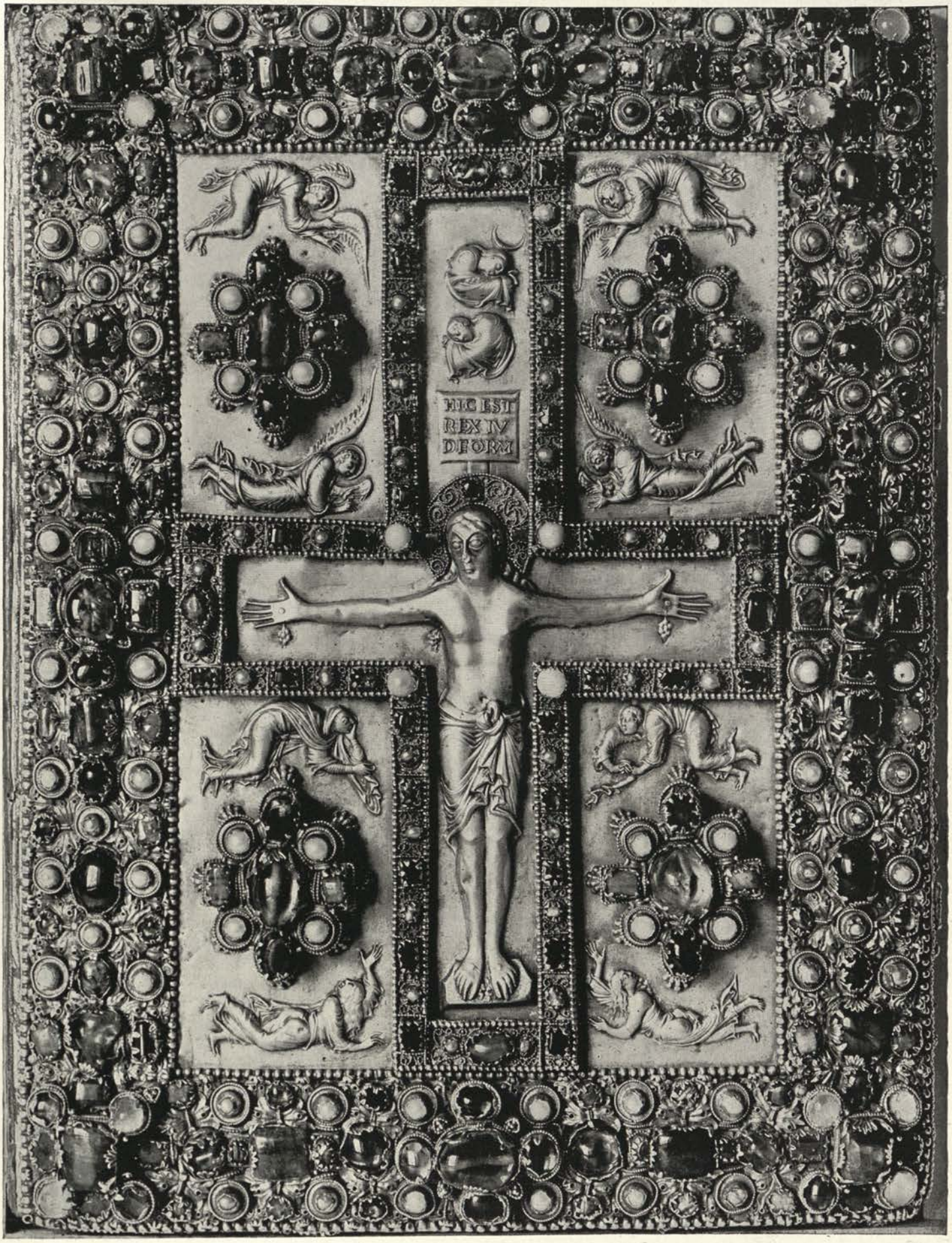
Plate 221. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland*



Visigothic, Migration Period, 5th–7th Century

Pair of Fibulae. Gilt Bronze

Plate 222. DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION, *Washington, D.C.*



French, Carolingian, 9th Century — *Gold and Jewelled Bookcover for the Four Gospels*

Plate 223

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

Byzantine,
10th Century

The Virgin Between
Two Saints

Plate 224

DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

Washington, D.C.

Byzantine, 11th Century

Virgin and Child.
Carved Ivory Plaque

Plate 225

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

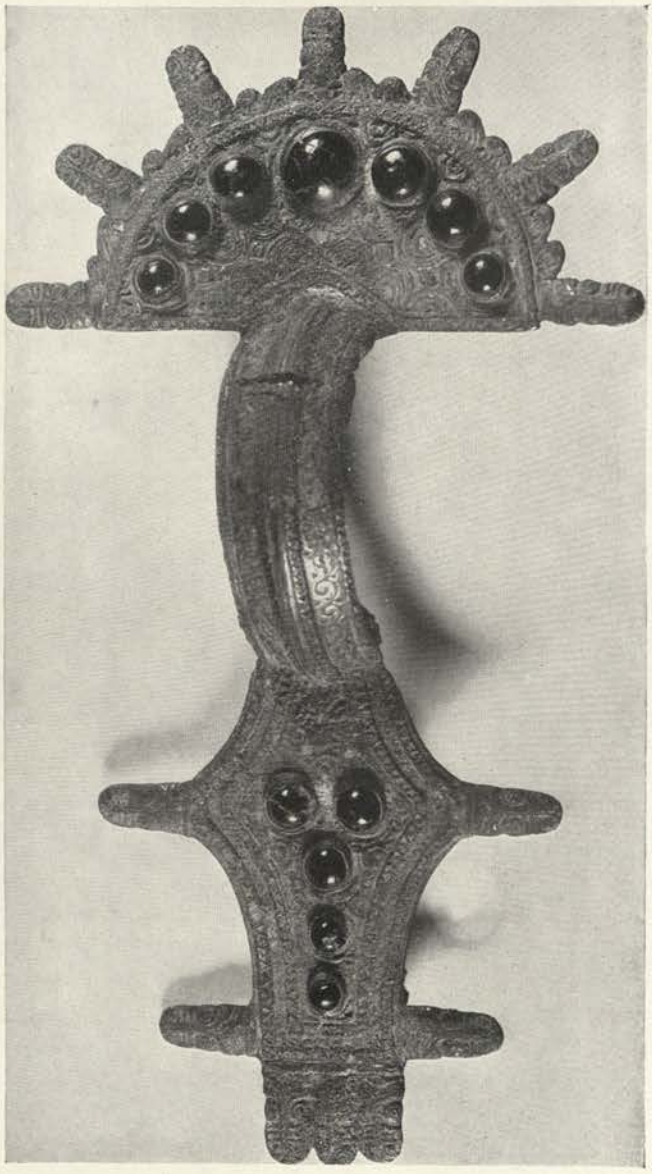
Hispano-Moresque,
10th Century

Carved Ivory Box

Plate 226

HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

New York City



Ostrogoth
1st half of 6th Century

Fibula.
Gilt Silver

Plate 226a

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Byzantine, 11th–12th Century

Carved Ivory Casket

Plate 227

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

German, 11th Century

St. Luke. Illuminated Manuscript Page from a Reichenau Psalter

Plate 228

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

German, 11th Century

St. John. Illuminated Manuscript Page from a Reichenau Psalter

Plate 229

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

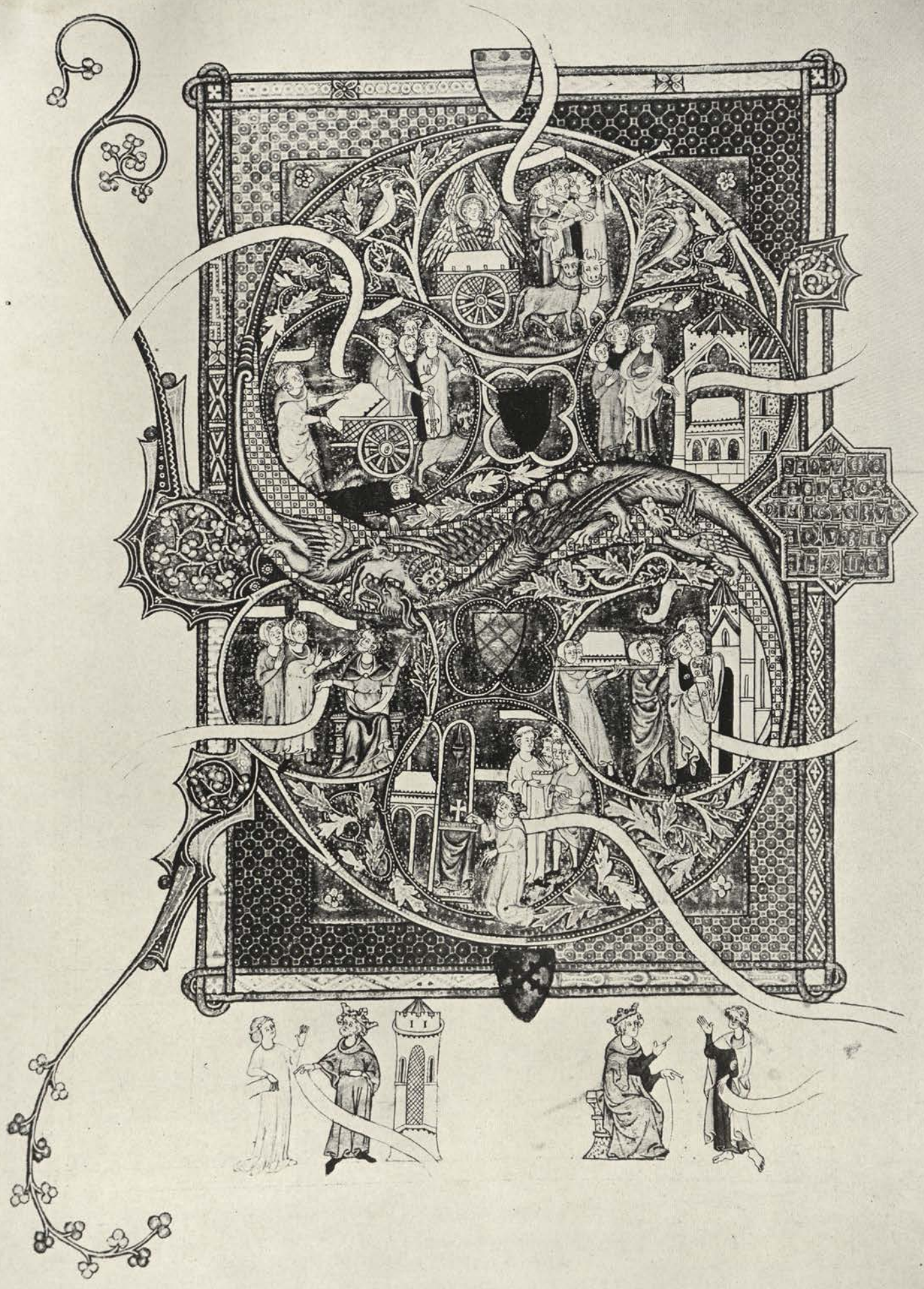
English, 12th Century

Death of Absalom. Detail from a Page of the Winchester Bible

Plate 230

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City



English, ca. 1310

Page from the Tickhill Psalter.
Illuminated Manuscript

Plate 231. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, *New York City*

French, Romanesque 12th Century

Head of a King from the Cathedral of St. Denis

Plate 232

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

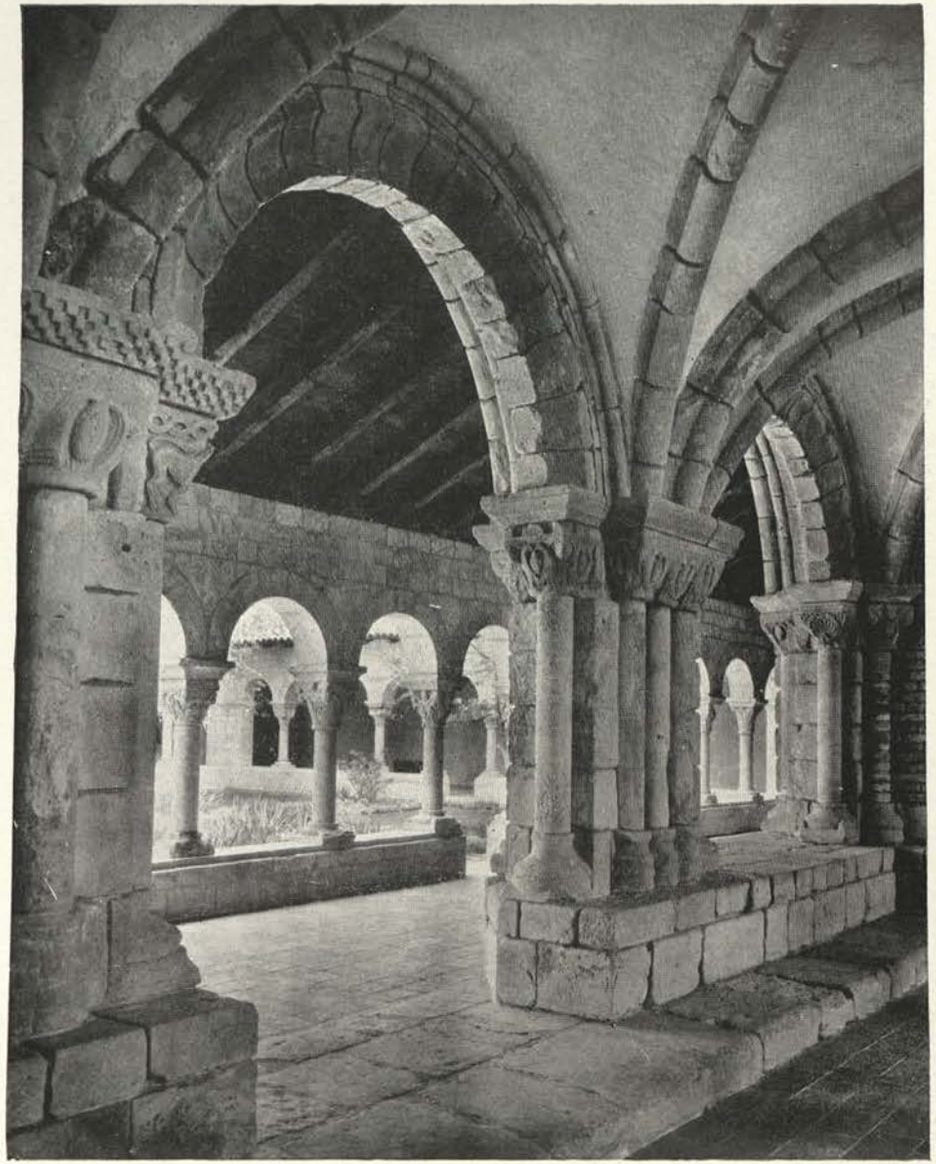
French Romanesque, 12th Century

The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel. Capital from Moutier St. Jean

Plate 233

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts



French, 12th Century

Chapter House from Notre-Dame-de-Pontaut

Plate 234

THE CLOISTERS. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

French, 13th Century

Stained Glass Window from the Cathedral of Sens

Plate 235

M. H. DE YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM

San Francisco, California

German, Rhenish,
2nd Quarter 15th Century

Stained Glass Window from
Boppard, Germany

Plate 236

THE CLOISTERS. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

French, School of Troyes,
ca. 1475

Virgin and
Child. Stone

Plate 237

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Italian, 13th Century — *Madonna and Child with Angels*

Plate 238

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Franco-Flemish, Arras or Tournai, ca. 1435–1440 — *Courtiers and Roses. Tapestry*

Plate 239

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

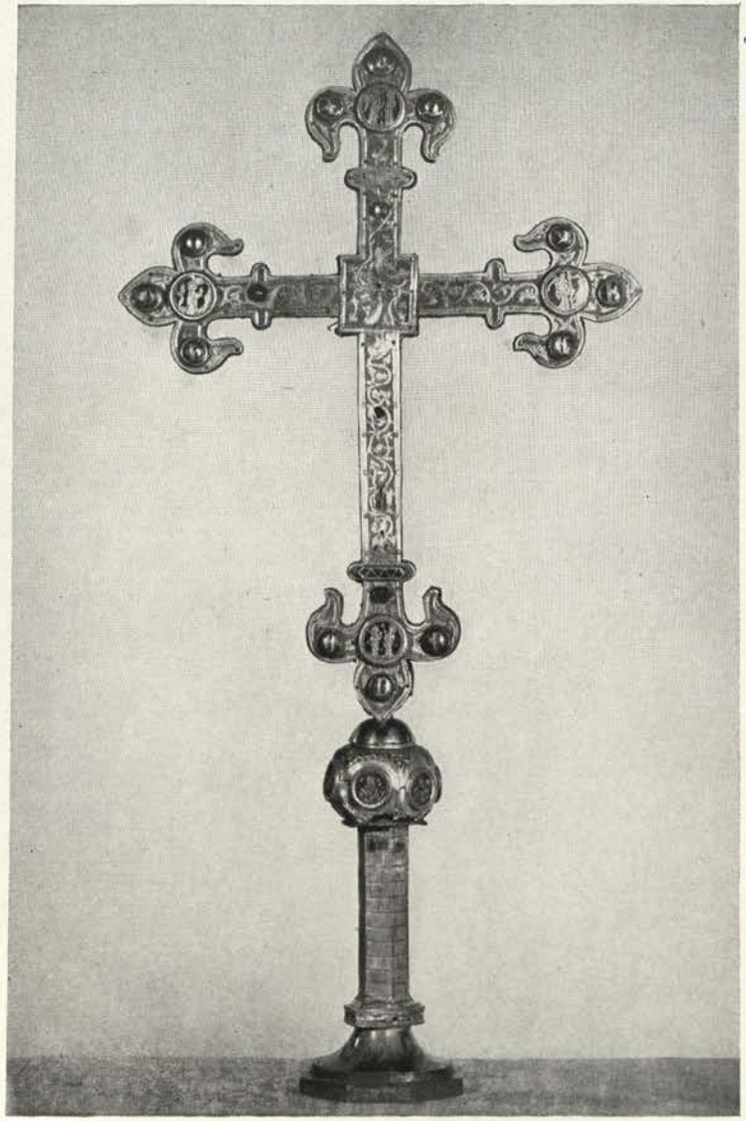
New York City

French, School of Metz, ca. 1340 — *Virgin and Child*

Plate 240

M. H. DE YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM

San Francisco, California



Austrian — *Processional Cross*

Plate 241

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

French, 14th Century — *Virgin and Child*

Plate 242

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut

French,
15th Century

St. Gorgon.
Polychromed
Wood

Plate 243

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

Buffalo, New York

French,
15th Century

Falconer.
Polychromed Wood

Plate 244

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Northampton, Massachusetts

French, Tournai, ca. 1290

Figure of St. Agnes.
Bronze

Plate 245

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

French, Early 14th Century — *Virgin and Child. Marble*

Plate 246

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

French, Early 16th Century

St. Anne Instructing the Virgin. Stone

Plate 247

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

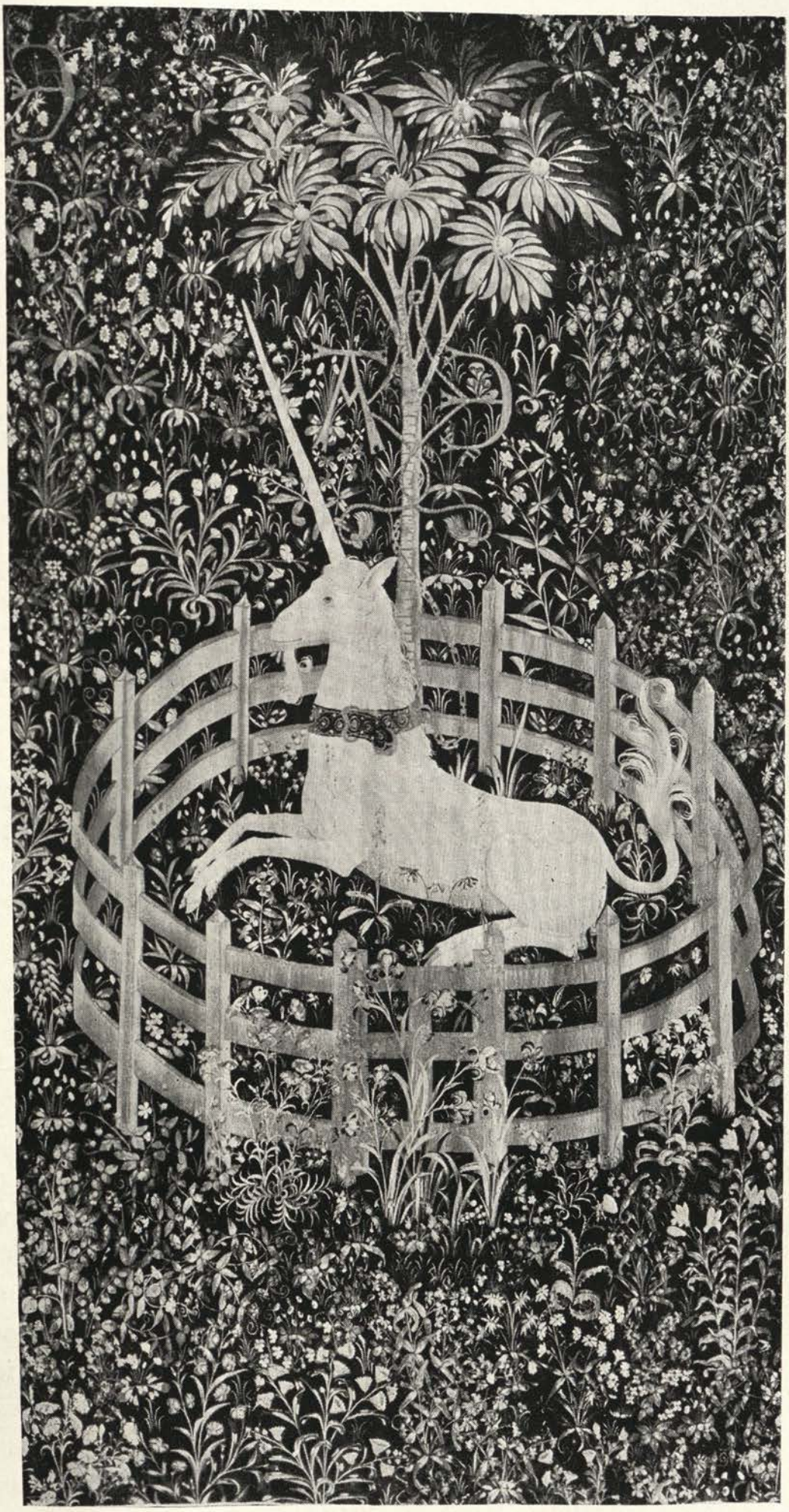
New York City

French or Flemish, Late 15th Century — *The Start of the Unicorn Hunt. Tapestry*

Plate 248

THE CLOISTERS. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



French or Flemish,
Late 15th Century

The Unicorn in Paradise.
Tapestry

Plate 249

THE CLOISTERS. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

IX
Italian School

THE history of painting in Western Europe is generally introduced with the half legendary figure of Cenni di Pepo, called Cimabue. Aside from two or three brief references to him, nothing is known of his life, but he appears in the earliest dawn of the Renaissance as the most significant if not the first of those craftsmen who undertook to soften and render human the figures of saints and martyrs that comprised the *dramatis personae* of Christian art. For at this moment the story of Italian painting is largely concerned with a series of developments in the direction of naturalism: the heavy gold leaf background of Byzantine painting, in which are set the stiff, silhouetted figures of Biblical history, is to drop away, and in its stead a ceiling of sky and a lyric touch at once human and dramatic are to appear.

We recall that the apse decorations in Byzantine churches were done in glittering mosaics portraying these Biblical characters as immutable shapes that embodied divine symbols rather than living mortals. It was an awe-inspiring art, divine, since bereft of all plastic, human values, eminently suited to ecclesiastic and dynastic purposes. Inspired by these models, the iconography of early Christian painting hardened into conventions narrowly prescribed by church hierarchy. Anonymously executed, the painting of this period lacked all individual or personal expression, and since Byzantine craftsmen in large numbers were being imported from the Christian capitals of Constantinople and Asia Minor to decorate the churches of Florence, the contemporaries of Cimabue working during the second half of the thirteenth century were steeped in the same rigorously formalized tradition of Byzantine art.

But another source of inspiration emanated from Assisi, where St. Francis exhorted his townsmen to return to the simple joys and calm ecstasies of the earliest Christians, declaring that there was no need to mortify the body and spirit or to renounce the world of men: man was essentially good, a manifestation of the divine, and since the universe too was the handiwork of God, a joyous identification of one's spirit with all that lived must be implicit in God's will.

Out of this insistence on the right to take pleasure in the present physical life, while anticipating with humble spirit the blessings of the next world, arose the Franciscan Brotherhood, a movement which was to inspire both the new era and its artistic productions. In picture after picture, as if it could not be expressed often

enough, the message of St. Francis is conveyed: a gentleness and a kindly spirit are infused into the old Byzantine iconography, symbolizing a release from ancient constraints and representing, as it were, the first stirring of the Renaissance mind.

Charity and compassion, humility and sweet forbearance are thus written into early Florentine painting. Typical is the work of Cimabue, though there exists but one authenticated painting by his hand, in the Cathedral of Pisa. The one from the Mellon triptych at Washington (painted about 1272), is, like half a dozen others that exist, attributed to Cimabue (Plate 250), which is to say it is among the best of those "primitives" that reveal a touch of naturalness—delicate lines suggesting the curves of the body beneath drapery, a slight inclination of head or shoulders betokening an emotional content, a personal response to the animating message of St. Francis. "This triptych," writes Berenson, "is as surely by Cimabue as scholarship at the present day can ascertain. That being so, a great deal follows that cannot be discussed here. How shall one exaggerate the importance for our better acquaintance of the thirteenth century, of a masterpiece like this, in the greatest style, and perhaps what is even more precious, in marvelous, in almost miraculous preservation? At last we can study the technique and coloring of the panel painting of that great period." If at first these early paintings appear sombre and forbidding to the modern eye, familiarity with them yields keen esthetic enjoyment, particularly to the person who furnishes himself with a background knowledge of the period. America is rich in possessing scores of these Italian "primitives."

The neighboring city-state of Siena, unlike her commercial rival and enemy, Florence, appeared unable to cope with her internal ailments. Buffeted in the struggle between her merchants and despots, she cast down her eyes, and with a kind of sombre intensity brooded over her mystic soul. But after a time, being commercially attached to the East through her port at Pisa, Siena gained a breathing spell of peace when her merchants, thriving on the Levantine trade, gained political ascendancy; and Sienese artists, enjoying an enthusiastic patronage, interpreted the word and spirit of St. Francis with a lavish grandeur that betrayed at the same time their spiritual affinity with Byzantium.

In Siena, Duccio di Buoninsegna (active 1278-1319) was achieving results that were essentially similar to those generally claimed for Cimabue in Florence. The *Rucellai Madonna* in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, has been ascribed to both artists. One finds again elements which mark the inception of a new style: pleasing harmonies are achieved, figures acquire graceful attitudes of devotion, faces are modeled, draperies full of free-flowing lines. But in Sienese painting more than in Florentine, the opulence of color and the elaborate jeweling of heavy gold background are to be seen; if faces have been softened somewhat and sweetened, there lingers nevertheless the unmistakable tradition of flat, stilted figures.

A number of Duccio's works are signed or authenticated, and of these his *Majestà* is the greatest. It seems to have been accounted such by his own contemporaries; so much indeed had the new art become a part of the everyday life of the people and so inspiring an element in their religion, that when the *Majestà* was brought from Duccio's shop to the Cathedral, "a procession walked around the Campo, while all the bells of the city rang out a joyous peal in honor of such a noble picture which was made by Duccio. And all that day was given over to ovations, all the shops were closed and many alms were given to the poor." So wrote a contemporary.

This enormous panel, which along with Giotto's Arena decorations is considered the most important achievement in fourteenth century painting, was begun in 1308 and finished three years later. All the elements of the new style are boldly set forth in this prodigious work which signals the birth of a new era. With consummate skill Duccio elaborated the full iconography of the Virgin "in Majesty," his Madonna serving as the prototype for the Sienese school: tilted head, terse mouth, the nose long and mournful, the eyes aslant. Though the elements of his composition remain on the surface, they are perfectly balanced and in harmonious relationship. Unity is secured through an all-over pattern of line. The tempera colors are keyed low. The flesh tones are thinly overpainted and one notes a greenish undertone that is startling yet curiously beautiful. In softening the Byzantine austerities, Duccio has charged the scenes with an emotional intensity that carries the full impact of drama, as in *The Temptation of Christ* (Plate 252). The altarpiece was sawed up into a number of separate panels several centuries ago; two of these are in the National Gallery in London, two in Washington, and two, including one in the Frick Collection, are in New York. Of Duccio's personal life little is known except that he was brought to court several times for non-payment of debts and avoiding military service. He died in 1319, when his widow Taviana and her seven children are recorded as renouncing all interest in his estate—doubtless because it consisted of nothing but debts.

Giotto (1266-1337) is universally recognized as the "father" of Italian painting, the revolutionary artist who broke with convention and fully instituted the new era of painting expressed in terms of everyday activities. With the precision of genius he mastered the difficult technique of mural painting—applying colors on fresh wet plaster so that they fuse inseparably in drying. Advancing beyond the formal, static patterns of the Byzantine craftsmen and the initial elements of humanization introduced by Cimabue and Duccio, Giotto at a step produced convincing figures capable of full movement in space, caught, as it were, in the act of doing things, of living energetically. By arranging his figures and gestures in an amazing richness of variety, the artist evoked scenes and situations in dramatic narrative sequences that rank him with the great story-tellers of all time. Into simple configurations he infuses

the tender mood of a moment expressive of a whole life story, as in the *Meeting of Joachim and Anna,* or an atmosphere charged with dramatic suspense, as in the *Last Supper.* It is the art of story illustration, full of enchantment yet thoroughly believable. He has not cared to do more in his interpretations of the events surrounding the Passion, or the life of St. Francis, than to express himself in terms of ordinary people, of Florentine men and women as he knows them. At the same time all the freshness of the dawning era, the awakening thoughts struggling for cohesive expression, are caught and set down in his story books whose pages are the walls of the Church of St. Francis or the Arena Chapel in Padua.

The art historian Vasari relates that Cimabue first found the boy Giotto di Bondone in the fields of Vespignano, near Florence, tending the sheep while drawing sketches of them on smooth rocks with bits of slate. The artist presumably took the lad to his studio and taught him the painter's craft. It was to the St. Francis basilica at Assisi, where the gentle brother had preached his joyous message, that Cimabue is said to have brought the young Giotto as pupil-assistant. In the same church Giotto himself is credited with producing later some twenty-eight scenes, portraying with tender, lyric charm the story and spiritual message of St. Francis, largely as told in St. Bonaventura's *Life.*

Having finished the St. Francis murals, Giotto found himself the most famous artist in Italy; churches and cities, bishops and princes clamored for his work: in Rome, at the court of King Robert in Naples, in Verona, Milan and elsewhere. At the height of his powers he was called to decorate the Scrovegni or Arena Chapel in Padua. Bringing to bear all his tremendous mental and physical energies he wrought with his assistants in the brief period of two years a series of some twoscore scenes from the lives of Mary and Christ, comprising the noblest monument of *trecento* art. Here with consummate mastery he displayed at once his finest gift for naturalism and his ability to bring the lives of the saints within the common understanding of the people. Those bits of landscape, mountains and trees, when they appear, are merely decorative and conventionally flat; he has left for his successors the task of developing the use of perspective, light-and-shade, as well as anatomical accuracy of detail. The *Madonna and Child* (Plate 251), though an example of a lesser altarpiece, proclaims a master's touch in the expressive hands of the Virgin, the Child's grasp on the finger, the mobile facial expression, bare enough suggestions of the grand drama set forth in the great frescoes. In these latter, all fourteenth century artists, notably Taddeo and Agnolo Gaddi, the splendid sculptor-painter Orcagna, Bernardo Daddi and Lorenzo Monaco, were to find the source materials and inspirations for their own productions.

At Siena we find Simone Martini (1280-1344), Duccio's ablest pupil and follower, acquiring international repute for work even more exquisite than his master's, more

sumptuously patterned with encrusted gold in every available area of background, drapes, haloes and borders. Throughout his work appears an aristocratic grace and an air of festive joy; Simone has dropped Duccio's meditative melancholy but has elaborated on his wonderful surface pattern and sinuous line. This element of decoration, however delightful it is, hardly equals the subtle suggestive power which in Duccio is secured through simple silhouettes charged with rhythmic movement and subdued emotion. But paintings like the *Annunciation* in the Uffizi Gallery, probably Simone's best known and certainly his most engaging work, typify the Sienese manner which was so eagerly adopted north of the Alps. Simone himself, working for the Popes at Avignon, helped to establish the prestige of Siena abroad, and such famous French "primitives" as the *Parement de Narbonne* owe everything to his inspiration. We cannot know how realistic was that portrait of Laura for which Petrarch praised Simone so stoutly, but how admirably suited was this Italo-Byzantine style to its religious purpose! The polyptych in the Gardner Museum, Boston, is a characteristic example of Martini's work, strongly related throughout to Duccio's *Majestà*. The Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge and the Yale University Gallery own notable examples of Martini's work; a *Madonna and Child* by Sano di Pietro, in the Art Institute of Chicago, follows closely the Madonna type of Simone's *Annunciation,* while panels by Simone's brother-in-law, Lippo Memmi, by Bartolo di Fredi, Lorenzo di Pietro and other Sienese artists are to be found at Boston, Washington, Philadelphia and New York, providing an exceptionally full view of fourteenth century Sienese painting.

The dominant influence of the *Majestà* of Duccio is evident in the work of the Lorenzetti brothers, Ambrogio (ca. 1300-ca. 1348) and Pietro (active ca. 1305-ca. 1348), particularly in the latter's Arezzo series, the *Madonna and Saints*. The altarpiece in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan and the frescoes in the lower church of St. Francis in Assisi continue in the tradition of Giotto's narrative realism, although the decorative richness of draperies and background remain wholly Sienese. The *St. Catherine of Alexandria* (Plate 253) in Washington, a splendid example of early Sienese painting, bears the suggestion of modeling which marks the groping development toward plasticity. Pietro's figure of St. Catherine was accepted as a "type of novel beauty" and imitated by contemporary artists. The school of Rimini, of which the Boston Museum owns an example in fresco, like a dozen minor schools throughout Italy in the fourteenth century (at Verona with the significant work of Altichiero, at Venice with Lorenzo Veneziano, at Modena with Barnaba), typifies the multitudinous activities forming rapid currents which are headed toward the full stream of the early Renaissance.

Stefano di Giovanni (1392-1450), better known as Sassetta, continues the tradition of Sienese painting a century later in the general manner of Simone Martini and the brothers Lorenzetti. His figures are elongated, but aside from this personal

characteristic, his work is a continuation and in a sense a culmination of the Sienese tradition. We find, however, that his compositions are no longer circumscribed by an architectural Gothic framework, as are those of Simone Martini and his contemporaries. Instead, Sassetta's figures move freely in space, though they are themselves possessed of little depth and volume. In his work and in that of his pupil Giovanni di Paolo, one notes about the handling of perspective something which suggests the spatial treatment of contemporary Chinese Sung painting. A great many Sassetta panels, especially of the polyptych commissioned by the *Arte della Lana* for their chapel in the Cathedral of Siena and painted between 1423-1426, are now scattered in Europe and America. Of the seven famous predella panels from an altarpiece depicting episodes from the life of St. Anthony, six are in America. Note the triple scene, a quaint fairy tale of adventure with a happy ending in the *Meeting of St. Anthony and St. Paul* (Plate 255). The utterly delightful *Journey of the Magi,* with its lyrical procession of figures, is in a private American collection.

Giovanni di Paolo (1402-1482) carried Sassetta's quaintness to extravagance, creating the most daring eccentricities in spatial delineation. Outstanding among his works in American museums are the *Virgin of Humility* in Boston, the *Calvary* in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, the remarkable shipwreck in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, and the panels depicting scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist in Chicago (Plate 256).

The Gothic tradition was to persist in Florence throughout the first half of the fifteenth century, a tributary of the early Renaissance: thus the elongated figures in devotional attitudes, the heavy flow of draperies are integral elements of Lorenzo Monaco's compositions. At the same time one finds the Lorenzetti interest in architectural background reflected in the work of Gentile da Fabriano (Yale; National Gallery, Washington) while Masolino's use of modeling and perspective holds a promise of fulfillment to be markedly realized in the work of the Gothic-Renaissance figure, Fra Angelico. The *Entombment* (Plate 259) clearly illustrates the dual qualities, bridging as it were the gap between the two styles. Berenson calls it "a masterpiece, and one which illuminates and clarifies and enlarges our notion of Fra Angelico's artistic personality and adds an important paragraph to the whole history of *quattrocento* art in Italy."

The last of the Gothic painters, as he has been called, Fra Angelico (1387-1455) explored the drama of the miracles and portrayed the ineffable beauty of the kingdom of heaven. His panels are resplendent with celestial visions and testament scenes. Born Guido di Pietro, he entered the Dominican monastery of Fiesole to become Fra Giovanni, but his half-mystic revelations in paint earned him the affectionate "angelic" pseudonym. After several years in Cortona he returned to Fiesole for a period of eighteen years (1418-1436) during which he painted numbers of small

panels, some of which are now in America. It was in the corridors and cells of the convent of San Marco in Florence, renovated by Cosimo de' Medici, that he executed his most important frescoes (1436-1445), eloquent and intensely personal expressions of pious faith. Naïve scenes set forth a childlike vision of heaven as a paradise of dainty azure and lush gold; all is tender grace and tranquil charm while even the gloom of a monastic scene is dispelled by bright dashes of vermilion. In his later work at Rome one notes that he has been studying the new plastic realism launched by Donatello (Plate 334) and Masaccio, but the Gothic anachronisms are charming guests not quite at ease amid the uncloistered current of air and open space introduced into the scene. The important *Crucifixion* and the celebrated, often-reproduced *Annunciation* are in San Marco. In the latter, St. Gabriel and the seated Virgin are in a Renaissance cloister facing the garden of San Marco itself. The smiling background of garden and trees is in perspective; the scene is one of devotional atmosphere in silvery repose as the figures bend and blend with the arches of the cloister. As in the *Entombment,* one notes a powerful use of rhythm, of architectural unity related to the disposition of the figures. If the mood is thoroughly Gothic, the monumentality of the figures suggests an awareness of Renaissance forms and complex groupings.

The fifteenth century in Florence, which roughly covers the period known as the Early Renaissance, witnessed the rise to supreme power of an aristocracy of wealth which was in turn superseded by a single ruling family—the Medici. Beginning with Cosimo de' Medici, all critical opposition was engulfed in feasts of pomp, pageantry, and lavishly patronized art projects. The dictatorship achieved its most glittering splendor in the reign of Lorenzo the Magnificent who frustrated Pope Sixtus' conspiracy against Florence and, in the peaceful years that followed, established his court as the great cultural and intellectual center of Italy.

It was in Florence that the inspiriting impulse from the discovery of the Greek and Roman manuscripts and sculptures was most keenly felt. The fifteenth century Italian peered back through the intervening millennium of medieval Christianity and discovered beyond it a pagan people who had been engaged in a search for truth pursued in a spirit of scientific and objective rather than theological inquiry. And as this pursuit was taken up anew, a renewed emphasis was inevitably laid on man in his relation to the physical world. Touched by the fresh aspect of humanism, the artist naturally attempted to portray the visible world more truthfully, while the masses of people reveled in a glamorous illustrationism which brought the saints vividly and more comprehensibly into their lives. Who, for example, standing before Masaccio's *Tribute Money,* could ever question the miraculous powers of Christ? The Church, while it might voice its general disapproval of the new spirit, could hardly forego the services of this eloquent and persuasive guide to Christian lore.

If Giotto looms as the dominant figure in the dawn of Renaissance painting, Masaccio (1401-1428) is the first great realist appearing in the clear forenoon light of

that "revival," adding to Giotto's naturalism those elements which of necessity had been lacking: the use of light-and-shade; the scientific knowledge of anatomy, the structure of muscle and bone; and finally the mathematics of perspective. Where Giotto has suggested the feeling of space encompassing his figures, Masaccio definitely creates a third dimension in which he places well-proportioned figures who rest their full weight on two firmly supporting legs. Limbs are foreshortened, bodies cast a shadow, while landscape backgrounds recede in space, serving architecturally as settings for the monumental figures in the foreground. His work thus constitutes the full realization of Western ideals of pictorial representation.

Vasari pictures the artist, born Tommaso di Giovanni Guidi, as a careless sort of Bohemian who acquired the nickname "Tommasaccio" (or "sloppy Tom"), from which the first syllable was duly dropped. There is little doubt that Masaccio's contribution to art, of major significance as it is, would have been prodigious had he lived a full life span. But he was dead at the age of twenty-eight, while his "early works" in the Brancacci Chapel, including the *Tribute Money* and the famous nudes of *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve,* carried painting into the brilliant noon of the High Renaissance. The Boston *Profile Portrait* (Plate 266) is similar to that in the National Gallery, Washington, evidence of the new plastic modeling which has here produced a thoroughly "modern" face.

The mood of discovery, a frame of mind thoroughly habitual to the Italian of scientific temperament in the fifteenth century, may be considered an outgrowth of historical developments. The cramped ambulatory of the medieval cloister and the walled-in lanes of the village had finally tumbled out upon wide open landscapes that stretched toward limitless horizons. That eye which man for a thousand years had fixed on heaven was lowered at last and once again he viewed the world bifocally, "in the round" and in perspective. The receding horizons had challenged his stored-up energies, inviting him to venture forth after new experiences and into unknown continents. It was symptomatic of this mood of discovery and a natural corollary of the call to action that a love of movement and an interest in space and aerial perspective should be manifested in painting.

In the work of such adventurers and revolutionaries as Masaccio, Uccello, Castagno, and Piero della Francesca, Italian painting effected a transition from Byzantine splendor to a realism rooted in scientific observation. Ghiberti speaks for them as well when he says, "I have always sought for first principles, as to how nature works in herself and how I may approach her, how the eye knows the varieties of things, how our visual power works, how visual images come about, and in what manner the theory of sculpture and painting should be framed." In such a spirit, and with fanatic zeal Uccello gave himself to the study of the new science of perspective, fascinated by his own feats of foreshortening, striving to create the illusion of movement in his famous battle scenes, decorations for the Medici palace.

Others like Uccello concentrated on the newly conceived problems of anatomical form, light-and-shade, and color values, intent not merely on mastery but on that aspect which distinguishes the Renaissance Italian: the formulation of scientific principles and natural laws, like those set forth in Piero della Francesca's and Leonardo's treatises. Often they found solutions in the related arts, Brunelleschi's architectural work providing the answer to linear perspective, Donatello's studies of anatomy charting the subtle framework of musculature (both artists good friends of Uccello); Ghiberti's famous doors illuminating problems of light-and-shade; while the Van Eycks' color discoveries provided a more fluid and brilliant medium with which to express the new ideas.

Like so many insistent notes in a fugue these separate contributions pursue each other, fading and recurring, then suddenly join voice in such a burst of harmony as the *Youthful David* in the Widener Collection, Elkins Park (Plate 267), painted by that superb experimenter, Andrea del Castagno (ca. 1397-1457). Here we find a synthesis of the artist's concern with plastic realism (Donatello, Masaccio); with dynamic movement which here launches the figure almost out of the shield (Uccello, Signorelli, Pollaiuolo); with brilliant coloring (Veneziano, Piero della Francesca); and with monumentality, which is to culminate in Michelangelo's titanic figures. Painted on a tournament shield, this masterpiece typifies Castagno's virile style of the Tolentino equestrian portrait in the Cathedral of Florence. David on his way to battle (Goliath's head is merely intended to identify the warrior) is Florence's own symbol of victory over political tyranny, while the *Portrait of a Man* in Washington, also attributed to Castagno, like the famous *Pippo Spano* personifies the Machiavellian ideal of strength and dauntless purpose. Castagno's monumental frescoes are to be seen in the museum of Sant' Apollonia. The Frick Collection in New York owns a striking *Resurrection.*

Domenico Veneziano (active ca. 1438-1461) was chiefly a colorist who came down from Venice with a new painting technique that incorporated the Van Eycks' varnish glazes, a medium which facilitated the use of delicate shades of color and light to support the illusion of depth and distance. The profile of the signed *St. Lucy* in the Uffizi altarpiece is accepted as a work of the same hand that produced the famous profile portraits in the Poldi-Pezzoli Museum at Milan, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, the Gardner Museum, Boston, and probably the New York example (Plate 262). The American examples are by some critics assigned to Uccello as well, while all of them owe something to the Masaccio profiles in Washington and Boston (Plate 266).

It is certainly not possible by examining a single figure or head from the brush of an artist to study or even grasp the range of that artist's intellect or genius, if he is also the creator of vast storied frescoes. The sonnets of Shakespeare hardly give us the kaleidoscopic world of his thirty-six plays, but they do reflect something of the enkindling glow of his mind. As with the Masaccio portrait, so the two reproductions

of works by Piero della Francesca (1416?-1492) are only suggestive of the famous Arezzo fresco series; yet we may clearly examine those elements in the artist's style which appear *in extenso* in the great frescoes. Actually, all Piero's work has the impersonal quality of scientific research. We note the elements of Gothic Sienese coloration in the Frick Collection *Saint* (Plate 265) whose spirit is thoroughly anachronistic. Occasionally Piero's portrait studies, as in the famous *Duke Federigo da Montefeltre* in the Uffizi, and the Boston *Portrait of a Lady* (Plate 261), possess a luminous atmosphere and delicate color tone equal to Veneziano's, while the bas-relief quality of some of these bust profiles carries a suggestion of the medallion work of artists like Pisanello (Plate 312). The architectural background and identifiable landscape yield evidence of the mathematical approach to perspective which Piero elaborated in two important treatises written in his later years. The monumental austerity of the *Saint* and the elongated neck and staid severity of the *Lady* suggest they are figure-types, the impersonal apparatus for Piero's scientific quest. Both paintings are revealing footnotes to an engrossing piece of research that he handed on to Melozzo da Forli and Luca Signorelli.

The latter, legend has it, was so dispassionate in his search for truth that with clear dry eyes he sketched the youthful body of his own murdered son for an *Entombment* at Cortona. Under the more direct influence of Antonio Pollaiuolo, Signorelli executed those tremendously powerful frescoes in the Cathedral of Orvieto, utilizing massive configurations of nudes surcharged with movement. In his *Last Judgment,* the *Resurrection,* the *Condemnation of the Sinful,* he evokes with vigorous draughtsmanship an eloquent anatomy and a turbulent realism that later serve to feed the visions of Michelangelo.

With the most agreeable felicity, Fra Filippo Lippi (ca. 1406-1469) summed up the disparate innovations variously carried forth by the experimentalists who had found their inspiration in Masaccio's work. With a gift for facile mastery of compositional problems, he was contented merely to exploit the revolutionary techniques of his predecessors, popularizing their stark realism by casting over it a veil of romantic charm. Borrowing with infinite tact, he incorporated Fra Angelico's warm colors and Piero della Francesca's Umbrian interest in nature to produce a portraiture at once so captivating and so sweetly pious that to the well-to-do Florentine merchants they represented the sum of perfection.

A Carmelite monk who was defrocked for forgery and other irregularities, Fra Filippo appears to have carved himself a scapegrace career which included the abduction of a nun, Lucrezia Buti, who became the mother of his equally renowned son, Filippino Lippi. Robert Browning's oft-quoted poem rightly pictures Filippo as a gay, fractious monk, imbued with the same spirit that characterizes the age—a brazen self-assurance and an impish determination to enjoy the tail-end of callow youth before the discretionary years bring heavier obligations. The *Madonna and*

Child in Washington (Plate 271) is of that family of naturalistic portraits and intimate devotional scenes best exemplified in the Uffizi *Madonna and Child:* pert Virgin Mothers are discovered playing with their offspring in gracious domestic settings. The characters dominate the scene by virtue of a subtle monumentality which the artist achieves by reducing the scale of background elements. These demure facial types are later to be exploited with exotic effect by Verrocchio (Plate 282) and Botticelli (Plate 283).

The *Coronation of the Virgin* which Fra Lippo Lippi began in 1441 and finished, as the mood dictated, some six years later, is a tongue-in-cheek affair, full of genre elements. Into the picture, with characteristic knavery, he is thought to have inserted his own portrait with the words: *is perfect opus:* This one did the job. The saints are half-serious, half-amusing portraits of local shopkeepers and burghers with an air about them of worldliness and human frailty. Where he achieves delicacy and poetic tenderness, as in *The Annunciation* (Plate 270), those qualities likewise bear the impress of humanity rather than heaven. To the elements of romantic charm Fra Filippo has elsewhere added narrative sequence by setting off separate scenes in dramatic profusion on receding planes: the mathematical perspective and space volumes show the fullest realization of the early experiments (Sassetta, Plate 255). The full felicity of his powers may be fairly measured by his most important Prato frescoes, dealing with scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist and St. Stephen. His influence was strong on Francesco Pesellino (whose finest cassone—trousseau chests of young brides—are in the Gardner Museum, Boston), and on that pleasant painter of vast Medician pageantry, Benozzo Gozzoli (1420-1497).

In the work of Ghirlandajo and Botticelli are expressed the culmination and synthesis of those developments which anticipate the full-noon glory of Renaissance art. Such immediate predecessors as the Pollaiuolo, Antonio and Piero, and the group in Verrocchio's workshop, added their unique contributions to the vocabulary of art expression in the final decades of the fifteenth century, elements that were to be caught up and incorporated into the idiom of everyday painting.

Antonio del Pollaiuolo (1429-1498) and Piero (1443-1496) explored the full possibilities of human anatomy as a motive in design and occupied themselves with the esthetics of the human form in motion. By carefully balanced disposition of figures in action, Antonio sought to weave a subtle arrangement of movements into a beautiful decorative pattern. Thus in the famous copper engraving *The Ten Fighting Nudes,* the battle serves merely to set the figures in a striking rhythm of motion. Nearly identical elements are repeated in the simpler drawing of *Fighting Nudes* (Plate 273). By their superb work in bronze and gold, the Pollaiuolo brothers may be said to have raised the metalworker's craft to the status of art, notably in the struggling figures of Hercules and Antaeus (shown in New York in 1939), and the bronze tomb of Pope Sixtus IV. Based largely on classical themes, Antonio's com-

positions involve Olympian protagonists, like Hercules or Apollo, as muscular nudes in violent motion. The *Rape of Deianira* (Plate 278) at New Haven shows the figures in tension as Hercules aims an arrow at the fleeing centaur to rescue his bride. In the background a remarkably clear view of the Arno is to be seen. The picture is haunted by a pagan quality that is to appear clearly defined in the *Primavera* of Botticelli. Piero, the brother of Antonio, executed paintings that are characterized by a certain rigidity and austerity of expression, both clearly evident in the striking profile portrait at the Gardner Museum, Boston (Plate 276).

One of the giants of Renaissance sculpture, Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488) made the most famous equestrian statue, that of Colleoni, in the tradition of Donatello's *Gattamelata* in Padua; superb examples by both sculptors are reproduced (Plates 334, 341). The sensitively modeled head of Verrocchio's *Madonna and Child* in Washington (Plate 282), painted about 1460, is clearly related to the lyric-poetic heads conceived by the younger generation of artists whom he influenced —Lorenzo di Credi (1459-1537), Perugino (1446-1523), Botticelli (1444-1510) and Leonardo. A variant of the Washington *Madonna and Child* almost identical in composition is in the Berlin Museum. Comparing the Berlin example with the one here reproduced, Berenson says of the former, "That is a work of the most exquisite delicacy and precision, almost a jeweler's work. Here, on the contrary, we have a creation that is utterly plastic and monumental."

Lorenzo di Credi's *Self Portrait* (Plate 281), generally considered his masterpiece, is in the tradition of virile Renaissance heads, sternly intellectual and fastidious. The modeling of his *Madonna* (Plate 280) is rich and "buttery," producing a warm surface glow that reminds one of Hogarth's complaisant types.

Domenico Ghirlandajo (1449-1494), with brilliant if uninspired talents, sums up in his work the experimental advances of the fifteenth century painters, adopting like Fra Filippo Lippi an ingratiating narrative style that secures for him the fullest Florentine acclaim. After borrowing something of Verrocchio's style in his early work, he eased his way into an impressive vernacular of his own; with tremendous assurance and unfailing ingenuity he executed a prodigious quantity of frescoes and altarpieces, engaging a host of assistants, including two brothers. If he lacks psychological penetration or emotional conviction, he nevertheless achieves with effortless grace and deft modeling a striking monumentality of figures that are freed in space by a thoroughly scientific use of light and shade. His most notable achievements are the frescoes in Santa Maria Novella and in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinità which demonstrate his preoccupation with decorative elements, recognizable architectural backgrounds, and touches of local genre. His contract with Francesco Sassetti called for illustrated episodes from the life of St. Francis, a task for which the artist visited Santa Croce to study Giotto's version. The portrait of Sassetti (Plate 1), the banking partner of Lorenzo de' Medici and a man of no small influence, shown here

with his son Teodore, is quite similar in composition to the famous *Old Man and Child* in the Louvre, in which a grandchild appears looking up adoringly at a gentle-faced old man with an unsightly deformed nose. The painting from the Bache Collection is a forthright, virile presentation of facts without the gloss of sentiment. More poetic is the Sassetti daughter in the Metropolitan Museum, though Van Marle says of the former: "There emanates from this beautiful painting much more feeling than is generally the case in Ghirlandajo's portraits."

With fabulous sums daily expended by cardinals and princes for ancient manuscripts and their translation, the enormous vogue for the new learning became an absorbing passion. Students and *literati* endeavored to invest their minds in the mood and temper of classical thought, while intellectual circles like the one gathered about Lorenzo de' Medici spoke with nostalgia of the untrammeled pagan life of Greece and Rome, frankly admiring the unspoilt imagination which could create pantheistic gods so nobly proportioned and humanly fallible. The poet Poliziano, addressing his patron Lorenzo, tinkled off charming poetic conceits based on the old mythologies, while musicians and scholars with the aid of visiting artists prepared sumptuous masques and charades for evening entertainments at court. And amid the Greek statuary, the Venuses and Apollos scattered about the gardens of the Medici villa, Botticelli lost himself in romantic reveries, conjuring up snatches of a former existence, of half-remembered memories among votive temples, of barefooted Floras dancing with airy grace.

Alessandro di Mariano dei Filipepi (1444-1510), youngest son of a leather curer, had early been apprenticed to a goldsmith. Il Botticelli, "little Barrel," was a nickname originally applied to his brother Giovanni and extended eventually to include Sandro. The lad was later apprenticed to Fra Filippo Lippi who coached him in the new scientific realism brightened with romantic overtones; while Verrocchio, whose shop he next entered, schooled him to a love of vigorous movement and intricate linear patterns. Subsequently he was introduced to the household of Lorenzo the Magnificent where he assisted with the masques, and worked portrait studies of various members of the Medici family into Adorations and allegories. Notable among the latter is the *Mars and Venus* wherein Giuliano de' Medici and his lovely mistress, Simonetta, wife of Marco Vespucci, are respectably allegorized. Of his straightforward portraiture sensitively rendered, the *Portrait of a Youth* (Plate 285) in Washington, painted about 1483, is a superb instance. Berenson declares it to be "more Botticellian than any other Botticelli in existence. He must have uttered this complete note of his own music just before he was seized by the Savonarola madness, from which he never recovered."

Botticelli's best work is to be seen at the Uffizi. Famous altarpieces like the *Magnificat,* and his biblical illustrations in the Sistine Chapel, reveal a spirituality and suggestiveness that are foreign to the more earthly Fra Filippo but directly

related to the poetry of Verrocchio. The faces are melancholy and sensuous, with an air of other-worldliness that is strangely appealing. In a similar mood is the *Madonna and Child of the Eucharist* (Plate 283) in the Gardner Museum, a masterpiece of exquisite poetry; its reverent angel, smiling enigmatically, tenders the grapes and wheat, symbols of the sacrament. The *Coronation of the Virgin* (Plate 286) and the *Madonna and Child* (Plate 284) both reveal his poetic draughtsmanship. In the former, "none of the familiar angels and cherubs are present to suggest the exultation that lies in the rhythm of Botticelli's line. The rhythm, here, is one of grouping . . . in which the painter's classical sympathies and Christian devotion are both evident." The latter Venturi declares to be "the only example in the art of Sandro presenting the embrace, cheek to cheek, after the tradition founded in Florence through Donatello."

These panels reveal the essence of Botticelli's mysticism, but it is in his paintings of pagan mythology, fancifully re-created without the aid of examples from Greek painting, based largely on his readings and on studies of the ancient statues, that we find a Renaissance mind reinterpreting the spirit of pagan Greece. The allegorical *Primavera* or *Spring,* his greatest masterpiece along with the *Birth of Venus,* shows the figures and limbs of gods, goddesses and graces distorted into a vehement rhythm. The eye does not wander into the painting but remains on the surface. All the material is subordinated to a decorative design as the delicate, tremulous lines are woven into eccentric patterns. A master draughtsman and only incidentally a colorist, the artist was not so much interested in plastic three-dimensional figures as in movement of lines and orchestration of light and dark masses.

So complex a personality, exquisitely sensitive, with its element of neuroticism, was capable of extreme turns. Botticelli had heard the monk Savonarola exhorting the Florentines to turn against the license and villainy of the day. For a brief period the preacher's magic tongue swayed the population, and in a burst of repentance the citizens built a fire into which they heaped their "vanities," including pagan manuscripts and nude paintings. When the monk was seized later by a faction of the mob and burned at the stake for his attacks on both Pope and Church, Botticelli was strongly moved in sympathy against the evils of his day. He painted his *Calumny of Apelles* and a *Pietà,* an allegorical denunciation of hypocrisy and ignorance triumphing over justice and wisdom. Thereafter he laid down his brush and painted no more. In his person and his work he epitomized the culminating forces which were to produce the High Renaissance: its scholarship, its commingling medieval and pagan philosophies, its strange admixture of objective science and melancholy mysticism.

Such solitary waywardness as Botticelli represented in his personality and painting was not an isolated phenomenon. A degree of eccentricity and a bold secularization of themes were logical aspects of humanism. Piero di Cosimo (1462-1521), for example, had read through Ovid's fanciful accounts of primitive man in

his original state, and conjured up an odd neolithic race of creatures struggling with the animal kingdom for the earth's dominion. These literal representations of legend and Greek mythological dramas enacted in an archaic present have all the pungent odor of primitive existence, the embarrassing humor of simian life in the zoo. *The Discovery of Honey* in Worcester, and the famous panels in the Metropolitan Museum belong to this "primitive" series, as well as the Hartford, Connecticut, *Finding of Vulcan* and the Ottawa panel (Plates 277, 279), splendid examples of a recaptured paganism and significant reflections of the Renaissance mind wandering abroad. In this sense "lesser artists like Filippino Lippi and Piero di Cosimo really tell us more about the time spirit than a Leonardo da Vinci."

That resplendent period in Italy known as the High Renaissance extended briefly through the first third of the sixteenth century to witness the production of its noblest masterpieces at the hands of Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Titian and Correggio. Politically, it was the period during which Florence, having succeeded in ousting the Medici and setting up a new republic, was betrayed by the machinations of Clement VII who sent the Spanish Emperor Charles V to subjugate the proud city once again to the tyranny of the Medici.

Earliest of the Renaissance giants, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) occupies the same position as innovator and initiator in the new century that Masaccio and Giotto fulfilled in the fifteenth and fourteenth respectively, bringing the inherent promise of their work to ultimate perfection by a synthesis of scientific knowledge and psychological intuitiveness. Leonardo's full accomplishments defy any mere cataloguing or enumeration; he is a type-figure, a perfect exemplification of the Renaissance ideal of a universal man; he is a genius, a mortal god whose demesne ranges through all art and science. The "father" of half a dozen categories of science, the "inventor" by testimony of sketches and models, of the camera, aeroplane, submarine, and scores of other modern achievements, he is also an accomplished musician and composer with a fine singing voice, an athlete powerfully built and extraordinarily handsome.

The illegitimate son of a notary and a peasant girl named Caterina, Leonardo was early apprenticed to Verrocchio's studio where he appears to have lingered over his studies and experiments for some dozen years. At the age of twenty-nine he wrote Lodovico il Moro, the Duke of Milan, offering his talents as an all-round engineer and mechanic. There he worked on an enormous equestrian monument which was never cast. In Milan he also painted, among other works since lost, the *Madonna of the Rocks* (now in the Louvre) and the *Last Supper* in the refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie. Occupied with various engineering and art enterprises, he moved about from city to city, stared after by the populace as a kind of wizard, sketching and writing in his notebooks: setting down the flight of a bird, a strange face, a leaf, or notes for a long treatise on painting. Cesare Borgia, the infamous despot, hired

him for various projects including military devices, fortifications and the sketching of topographical maps. Later he was in Florence, painting the portrait of Mona Lisa Giocondo. While in Rome Pope Leo X set him to work on various improvements at the Vatican and St. Peter's. Doubtless prompted by a strong distaste for the intrigue and malice within the papal court, Leonardo took up residence in France, where he seems to have had the patronage of Francis I. Here, until his death at the age of sixty-seven, he directed his energies toward the organization of court entertainments and projects in engineering.

Prodigious quantities of description and praise have been lavished on the smile of the *Mona Lisa* and on the almost hysterical dramatic intensity of the *Last Supper.* Briefly stated, Leonardo achieved a synthesis of form and content by means of flawless technical perfection. Not only is his formal composition unified, but figures are also integrated by means of color, light-and-shade, and movement itself, all contributing to a dramatic moment and a psychologic truth that are profoundly eloquent.

Forever absorbed as he was in countless experiments, Leonardo devoted but a minor portion of his time and energy to painting, so that with a number of paintings lost (an unfinished St. Jerome was discovered not many years ago in the possession of a shoemaker) there are only the three named undisputed masterpieces to show for his untiring activities. Few even of his sketches are in America, though the broadest evidence of his majestic intellect is to be found in his notebooks, which have been reproduced and published.

With Leonardo's death the great Florentine tradition of painting stemming from Giotto has borne its noblest fruits and is already declining to lesser glories; thereafter the central activity shifts to Rome, with Raphael and Michelangelo, and to the delayed harvest of Venice's Indian Summer. As Giotto may be said to have dominated rather than influenced the styles of his contemporaries and followers, so the Renaissance titans, by their formidable achievements and personality, only dimmed, while warming, the efforts of artists who might have cast a brilliant light of their own. Typical of these latter (Boltraffio, Ambrogio da Predis) is Bernardino Luini, the Milanese artist who succumbed to the spell of Leonardo. Though he shows little ability to compose or to handle perspective, individual figures in panels and frescoes possess a sweet serenity, while the treatment of colors is hardly excelled. The *Portrait of a Lady* (Plate 324), painted about 1515, bears the full weight of Leonardo's smiling prototypes.

The career of Fra Bartolommeo (1475-1517) was touched by intimate association with the monk, Savonarola, whose fiery prophecies anticipated the subjugation of Florence following the expulsion of the Medici. Though Fra Bartolommeo's importance rests largely on the fact that he exerted a strong influence on young Raphael, his imposing altarpieces, bright with classic overtones and glowing colors, have long merited the most ardent praise of critics.

Andrea del Sarto (1486-1531) is the first of the Florentine masters whose work carries strong evidence of the baroque flamboyance which will mark the full "decline" of Italian art. Andrea was considered in his own day the "perfect painter" who produced the most impressive frescoes and panels lit with gorgeous color. His individual use of warm shadows and subtle color harmonies lent distinction to the soft loveliness of his figures and their sweet gravity of mien. But despite a deft brush and infallible good taste, his work lacks spiritual intensity. In addition to his fresco series representing incidents from the life of John the Baptist, in the Scalzo, his best known works include the *Birth of the Virgin* in the Church of the Annunziata, the *Madonna of the Harpies* in the Uffizi, and the *Enthroned Madonna* in Berlin. The stories of his beautiful but faithless wife Lucrezia have been recounted through the years, from Vasari to Robert Browning. Her likeness, the same heavy-lidded indolence, may be seen, as in most of his Virgins, in the *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John* (Plate 289). Painted about 1528, it is called by Berenson "a most characteristic work of Andrea del Sarto's maturity." But one notes his poses have become stereotyped rather than expressive of an attitude or an idea; his art has become facile. In short, he rarely lapses from impeccable taste and form, and so delights, but never transports us. His return from France, where Francis I had called him, was marked by a succession of triumphs, including an invitation to Rome from Leo X. Andrea's own character appears to have lacked integrity even as did his art, for he appropriated to his own uses the money entrusted to him by Francis for the purchase of certain art works. At forty-five he was dead of the plague, his work continued by his pupil Pontormo.

The realistic portraitists Pontormo and Bronzino continued to work in Florence after Andrea's decline, but with the betrayal of that noble city and her loss of liberty the efforts of her artists could only reflect the melancholy afterglow of a magnificent sunset.

The sweet province of Umbria had welcomed and nourished visiting artists like Fra Angelico at Cortona as she fed the native genius of Raphael among her sleepy hilltowns and villages overlooking languid stretches of softly rolling verdure. Her pleasant airs and soft graces had been fondly admired by her first master, genial Gentile da Fabriano (1360-1427), who captured the spell of this native landscape in his Gothic pageantry and added the warmth of her touch to the cold Sienese decorativeness which he borrowed for his panels from Lorenzetti.

Pietro Perugino (1446-1523), the greatest Umbrian master before Raphael, represents an antithesis to the violence of Pollaiuolo and the turbulence of his own Umbrian predecessor, Luca Signorelli. In its balanced repose, its gentle grace and warmth of color, his work constitutes the clearest foretaste of Raphael's genius, though it often lacks the Florentine vigor of draughtsmanship that he should have learned as a pupil of Verrocchio. Perugino's art breathes an air of pious serenity induced by the simplest of symmetrical compositions, formal in arrangement and

almost severely parsimonious. No struggle or hint of ugliness is to be found in his religious tableaux; especially in his landscapes, wherever they are introduced as background, one is invited into fields opening on the pleasantest of prospects that delight the eye and refresh the spirit. Figures do not crowd into the scenes; the few that appear seem to make room for the tranquil spaces of earth and sky which, like sentient presences, calm the protagonists of the drama who readily fall in, as it were, with the placid mood of nature. Perugino's integrity as an artist succumbed to the tremendous pressure of countless commissions secured for his "factory" staff of assistants by an international reputation. He resorted to empty formulas rather than fresh conceptions, and earned from Michelangelo the scornful epithet "blockhead" for his indolent self-imitations. Justly famous are his *Certosa Madonna* in London, the Leningrad *Crucifixion* and his magnificent decorations for the merchants' exchange of Perugia, the Cambio where Raphael came to assist him as pupil. Venturi says of the Washington *Madonna and Child* (Plate 290), a work of Perugino's best period, showing a typical oval face and soft, lustrous hair, apparently done before the stock Madonnas occur with such devastating frequency: "This is a work of about 1500 when the love of physical grace and sentimental sweetness found perfect expression in a continuous and caressing modeling and impeccable execution . . . ; feminine beauty adorned with melancholy grace . . . finds in this work one of its highest expressions."

Working with Perugino when he was invited to decorate part of the Sistine Chapel, was the splendid colorist Pintoricchio (1454-1513), a delightful decorator who did not, however, approach his partner and master in originality and breadth of conception. The *Portrait of a Youth* (Plate 288) "may be classified among the finest productions from the brush of Pintoricchio"; an affectionate study of a young man, it lacks the grand idealization of Renaissance portraiture.

In Raphael (1483-1520) are to be found the graciousness and charm of the Renaissance allied to impressive intellectual content. The perfection of form and technique achieved by Leonardo is retained in Raphael's work, with the difference that Leonardo's austerity is now supplanted by a soft grace; colors are luminous, sensuously combined, while his compositions, their theme and masterly presentation, are carefully planned and elaborated with an eye to ingratiating effects.

The son of a second-rate artist-poet of Urbino, Raffaello Santi was sent to Perugia to acquire the painting trade from its foremost practitioner, Perugino. Four years later, in 1504, he returned home determined to pursue his studies at the traditional art center, Florence. With a letter of recommendation addressed to the Gonfaloniere, he made his way there and promptly set to work studying the cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo and the altarpieces of Fra Bartolommeo and Pollaiuolo, making innumerable drawings and sketches. Open to every influence, he absorbed and re-echoed everything that was gracious and effective in the work of his masters,

adding to the soft decorative qualities of his earlier Umbrian work, including the balance and restraint of Perugino, the intellectual breadth of Florence with its strong tinge of pagan antiquity. During his four-year stay in Florence, from the age of twenty-one to twenty-five, Raphael painted most of his Madonnas, with their softly rounded forms and appealing faces—the most beloved Virgins in all art. The *Cowper Madonna* in the Widener Collection at Elkins Park is of this period, as well as the *Colonna Madonna* altarpiece which he painted (about 1505) for the convent of Sant' Antonio in Perugia, and which now hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The *Pietà* in the Gardner Museum, Boston, and the *Agony in the Garden* (Plate 293), once owned by Queen Christina of Sweden, are panels from the predella of the same altarpiece.

Probably through the influence of Donato Bramante, architect for the new cathedral of St. Peter's, Raphael was called to Rome by Pope Julius II in 1508, where he immediately became the favorite of the Papal Court. With a large group of assistants he was commissioned to do the monumental fresco decorations for the *Stanza della Segnatura,* a room in the Vatican where the Pope's signature and seal are affixed to documents. Raphael's full youthful intellectual vigor and genius were engaged in bringing to life allegorical figures representing abstractions; with astounding inventiveness and a gift for story-telling which equaled Giotto's he created animated scenes illustrating the spirit and content of the four great bodies of knowledge: Theology, Philosophy, Justice and Poetry.

By this time a coterie of intellectuals had sprung up around the idolized youth, joining his little army of assistants who seriously discussed art and poetry and those branches of learning which had been personified in the *Stanza della Segnatura* and other rooms in the Vatican. Pagan myth and Christian sentiment were fused in proportions which a literary and liberal papacy deemed in perfect taste. Orders for altarpieces and portraits now poured in, keeping Raphael's "factory" busy, the master providing the hallmark of his own preliminary sketch and the final touching up before the merchandise left the studio. There was a sweetness and light, a kind of thoughtful sentimentality, which informed every painting. Nothing was labored or strained in his work; everything flowed spontaneously, fed by a gifted imagination and guided by an intuition that was supremely sure of itself.

Ranking with his most important work, that in the *Stanza della Segnatura,* are the cartoons, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which Raphael designed for the Vatican tapestries. Executed in the workshop of Peter van Aelst in Brussels, these tapestries consist of historical scenes from the lives of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Stephen and other saints of the Christian Church.

After the death of Bramante who led the Raphaelite group in open enmity against the Michelangelo faction, Raphael was appointed architect to St. Peter's, and later prefect of antiquities in Rome. It was an aspiration of the Holy City to recapture once more the glories of ancient Rome, and Raphael was encouraged in his

plans to preserve and restore the ancient ruins. The work came to a halt with his untimely death at the age of thirty-seven.

The coterie which had grown around the "divine" Raphael developed after his death into a cult which lasted some four hundred years. Later generations of artists continued to draw their inspiration from the classic perfection of his forms, and such masters as Poussin and Ingres acknowledged his work as the fountain-head of classic design.

Aside from his great frescoes, five paintings have popularly served to exemplify Raphael's qualities as a Renaissance master: *Pope Leo X with Two Cardinals; The Madonna of the Chair,* shown in the United States with the Italian Masterpieces Exhibition in 1939; the *Alba Madonna,* which hangs in the National Gallery of Art in Washington (Plate 294); the famed *Sistine Madonna,* done for San Sisto in Piacenza, and his final work, the *Transfiguration.* Four of these are religious paintings; the fifth, *Pope Leo X with Two Cardinals,* is a group portrait which demonstrates that Raphael could set down with startling vigor and precision a shrewd psychological study of character. His *Portrait of Count Tommaso Inghirami* in the Gardner Museum (Plate 292) takes its place with the finest of portraits. *Giuliano de' Medici* (Plate 291), an uncompromising study of the third son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, is, wrote Vasari, executed "with a perfection not excelled elsewhere in grace of coloring." Venturi, who groups this picture in the Bache Collection with the portrait of the courtier *Castiglione* in the Louvre, and the *Cardinal* of the Prado, adds, "Apart from the pleasure the artist experienced in the richness of the garments, his attention was concentrated on the ruthless realistic construction of the face—and the more it is brought into evidence, the more delicate are the passages of light-and-shade." The *Alba Madonna,* one of the first Madonnas done in Rome after the Florentine series, was purchased from the Hermitage, as was the masterpiece *St. George and the Dragon* (Plate 296), brought to Henry VII of England by Raphael's friend Balthasar Castiglione, and later added to the collection of Charles I. The *Bindo Altoviti* (Plate 295), a sensitive character study of a young Florentine banker, shows Raphael's masterly modeling at its purest. More than any other, Raphael served to inspire later artists and to perpetuate the academic tradition, the "grand style," of which Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote, "Beauty and simplicity have so great a share in the composition of the great style that he who has acquired them has little else to learn."

Unlike Raphael, Michelangelo (1475-1564) was destined to spend a good deal of his unhappy life shifting from one city to another, a prey to the whims of tyrannical patrons and the vicissitudes of turbulent political and social change. Despite the limitations imposed upon him, however, in the matter of working materials and conditions, his is the supreme artistic achievement of the Renaissance. Second son of a magistrate of Caprese, Michelangelo Buonarroti was brought into

the shop of the Ghirlandajo brothers by his friend Granacci; shortly afterward he entered the Academy of Donatello's pupil, Giovanni Bertoldo, in the famous Medici gardens of classical sculpture near San Marco. Here also was Lorenzo di Credi, and that Torrigiano who, taking affront at Michelangelo's acrid criticisms, struck him a blow on the nose that disfigured his face for life.

Impressed by young Michelangelo, Lorenzo the Magnificent brought him into the Medici household as a guest, where the members of the Platonic Academy, Poliziano and Pico della Mirandola, among others, held forth. Here the boy learned to love the Old Testament with its Hebraic burdens of lament; to comprehend the perfect Republic of Plato, so strikingly different from that of Florence; and to admire Dante with all his wisdom, his fiery judgments of hell; while in the city he often listened with bated breath to the zealous preacher Savonarola, fulminating against the vices and corruptions of the age. To young Michelangelo the perfections and promise of the time, the tyranny and generosity of his benefactors, the challenge of the disinherited masses, the beauties and calumnies that Botticelli had fed on and decried, the scientific mysteries that absorbed Leonardo, were paradoxical elements of a disordered world. At eighteen he was, in a sense, already old, while before him lay seventy years of heart-rending struggle to convey his visions and emotions, prophetic revelations of the embattled human spirit in all its triumphs and defections.

With the death of Lorenzo, his son Piero was driven from Florence and a new Republic was established. Michelangelo returned to his father's home to work on a *Hercules,* then came to Florence where a beautiful sleeping *Cupid* took shape under his hands. It was sold as an antique to a connoisseur whose amazement when he discovered the truth was so genuine that Michelangelo was shortly invited to Rome. The *Pietà* which he now executed for the French ambassador placed Michelangelo beyond all rivalry in the realm of sculpture. The Virgin, eternally young, holds the weary, drooping body of her divine Child once again in her arms. Her expression as she bends over the mortal remains is one of sorrow inconsolable, yet sublime. The composition bears the impress of Michelangelo's readings of Dante; it reflects the burden of sorrows from the Hebraic scriptures, and the solemnity of Savonarola's incantations, calling on man to give heed lest he fall beyond the pale of grace.

The French ambassador paid Michelangelo four hundred and fifty ducats, a small fortune which the artist promptly sent home to his family of five brothers. This process was to become routine. He himself began to live a squalid, miserly existence; dressed in old clothes, he often managed the day on a single meal of stale bread, wine and cheese, falling into bed exhausted at the end of the day. In 1501 he returned to Florence where, among other work, he took a Carrara marble block spoiled by a local sculptor and shaped it into a colossal *David.* In 1504 the statue was unveiled before the astonished populace, a symbol of Florentine vigor and courage, and an admonition to the ruling despots.

Called to Rome by Julius II, Michelangelo was commissioned to erect a monu-

ment to Julius in St. Peter's. The artist did a series of sketches for the most magnificent sculptured tomb the world had known—a mausoleum three stories high, with scores of statues—muses, symbolic figures, apostles, saints, cherubim. He then hastened to the Carrara quarry where he labored for eight months. Load after load of marble was dropped behind the piazza of St. Peter's. At last the sculptor came home to find that the whole plan had been abandoned. Bramante, the friend of Raphael, had evidently weaned the Pope from his original plan. Denied admittance to the court, Michelangelo fled to Florence in a rage. It was but the beginning of a protracted struggle with patrons, whispering enemies and his own pride. For forty years this tragedy of the Julius tomb was to plague the sculptor. "Every day," cried Michelangelo, "I am stoned as though I had crucified Christ. My youth has been lost, bound hand and foot to this tomb." Five contracts were to be written, broken, altered, before the work at long last was done, largely by assistants.

Finally reconciled, Michelangelo returned to Rome, where, for all his protests that he was a sculptor and not a painter, he was ordered to decorate the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel. Michelangelo set to work on a series of superb drawings (two of which are now in the Metropolitan Museum, Plate 274). There were five or six assistants to help him—not the scores Raphael commandeered; but their brushwork, including that of Granacci, he found too timid for his purposes. Closing the chapel against them all he set to work alone with two or three color grinders and plasterers. High aloft on the scaffold, away from curious eyes, he lay on his back and reached for the ceiling with his brush; modifying plans to embody new inspirations, altering sketches to suit the architectural design of the chapel, progressing slowly, racked in body and soul, he labored alone, covering with superb frescoes some ten thousand square feet of ceiling. In 1512 the work was finished, and all Rome flocked to see the most tremendous piece of art, the narrative of the Creation, the Fall of Man, the Flood, and interspersed among these, the figures of sibyls, and prophets predicting the destiny and redemption of man. No description is adequate to the sight of these titanic figures which possess the plasticity of sculpture, rhythmic, bursting with vitality. They move beyond Giotto's naturalism into a sort of supernaturalism, some seven hundred and fifty figures, most of them ten to eighteen feet in height.

The Sistine Chapel completed, Michelangelo returned to his work on Julius' tomb. He executed three figures, the immense *Moses* and two chained *Captive Slaves*. On Julius' death the Medici Pope Leo X asked the sculptor to erect a monument to him at San Lorenzo in Florence. For four years Michelangelo labored in the Carrara quarries when Leo changed his mind and decided on a new sacristy. The sculptor's thoughts were hardly adjusted to the new plans when suddenly Leo died. Now another Medici Pope, Clement VII, demanded that Michelangelo build the Laurentian library adjacent to San Lorenzo. But suddenly Rome was sacked by Charles V of Spain.

The Florentines seized this opportunity to drive their overlords, the Medici,

out of Florence. The people's government which was now established naturally considered appointing Michelangelo as Governor of Fortifications, for his ability was unchallenged. But he had been a protégé of the hated Medici family and his loyalty to the despots was well known. Could the artist be trusted to remain loyal to the Republic as well? This was the doubt that echoed in the minds of the people, and Michelangelo suddenly recalled the fate of Savonarola. Suspicion might even lead to murder. In a panic, he fled to Venice. Finally he returned to help the cause of the Republic, but Florence was betrayed by one of her generals and the people's battle was lost. The Medici were back again, freedom was dead, and Michelangelo was saved from a traitor's death by the Pope's pardon.

Between 1520-1534 he was at work again on the Medici chapel, completing those four magnificent statues: *Day, Night, Dawn, Twilight,* symbols of the flux and transition of eternal time. With Clement's death, the Farnese Pope Paul III stopped all sculptural work and literally held the artist prisoner in the Sistine Chapel where he commanded him to paint a *Last Judgment.* For eight years Michelangelo worked, and when he was done there were three hundred figures and heads in an enormous fresco reminiscent of Dante's *Inferno.*

At the age of sixty, chastened now and mellow, Michelangelo seems to have fallen deeply and tenderly in love with Vittoria Colonna, a forty-four-year-old widow, the foremost literary personality of the day. (Her portrait by Bronzino hangs in the San Diego Museum.) Their friendship of the mind is a noble story of the human spirit in communion, while their philosophical love poems are testimony of rare sentiments, mutually inspired. With Vittoria's death twelve years later, the light seems to have gone from Michelangelo's life. His thoughts turned to death and he gave his time to pious reflection. For the next twenty years he continued to work on a series of splendid drawings, cherishing the beauty and friendship of the youthful Tommaso Cavalieri, to whom he wrote sonnets of tender affection. In 1564, the year that Shakespeare was born, he died.

Where Michelangelo is the supreme draughtsman, the greatest master of line, where Titian is the unequaled colorist and Raphael the genius of composition *par excellence* in Italian art, Correggio (1494-1534) borrows something of Leonardo's witchery of light-and-shade, bringing all his ingenuity to bear in order to exhaust its full possibilities for creating startling baroque effects.

Almost nothing is known of this last great master of the High Renaissance beyond the fact that he was born Antonio Allegri in Correggio, that he married Girolamo Merlini and, toward his thirtieth year, removed to Parma where he was commissioned to execute several large decorative frescoes. There are records of payment for additional panels but there are no references to any direct contact with the artists whose work influenced him, nor is there any mention of his having at any time visited Rome.

His early *Madonna with St. Francis* (1515) is in the tradition of Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks,* Raphael's *Sistine Madonna,* and Titian's *Madonna of the Pesaro Family,* but already the emphasis is notably on agitated movement and animation. In the *Sistine Madonna,* Raphael has secured the illusion of soaring motion by means of rising clouds above a solid earthly balustrade, whereas Correggio has the whole scene of his *Madonna with St. Francis* in motion, including the throne itself which is animated by darting angel heads or *putti,* woven about it.

Correggio's decorative frescoes for the church of St. John the Evangelist in Parma are hardly equal to the great decorations in the Vatican and Sistine Chapel done by Raphael and Michelangelo but they possess those qualities of style, the daring distortions for decorative effect, the violent anatomical twists, the strange foreshortening of figures, which served as models for the great decorative styles of the seventeenth century by way of the Carracci and Caravaggio. A rapturous light full of warm sentiment illuminates Correggio's compositions with dazzling effect. Carrying a bit further the manner of Mantegna's decorations for the Gonzaga, he painted in the cupolas of Parma *Assumptions of Mary,* and *Christ in Ascension* surrounded by saints and swarming angels, so that they are at once highly decorative and in normal proportion as seen from below. In his latter work the main subject is actually subordinated to the all-important interest in decoration and in headlong movement through space.

Some of the most vigorous and at the same time the most sensual mythological and allegorical scenes painted during the Renaissance were done by Correggio. The *Leda* (Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin), the *Danaë* (Borghese Gallery, Rome), the *Ganymede and Io* (Vienna Museum), are exotic nudes full of soft grace; for Correggio they have earned the titles "Satyr" and "Faun" of Renaissance artists, revealing as they do the lascivious smile of a wanton age. They are creatures who inhabit a world devoid of struggle, reflection or sordid reality. In Correggio's art is to be found no pang of universal woe, no foretaste of sorrow ineluctable. In an era so recently awakened to mundane joys, still fraught with helpless misery and privation, so burdened with the horror of nameless diseases and the endless death knell of plagues, the work of Correggio voices an insistent note of lyric joy in a world of vibrant sunlight. The *Four Saints* (Plate 313) in New York shows his glowing surfaces, the subtle modeling and delicate color tones carried to the verge of sentimentality.

The lesser schools of painting in Northern Italy, dwarfed by the magnificent stature of Venetian painting, were nevertheless productive of some of the most appealing early Renaissance creations. Parma witnessed the work of Correggio. Verona in the fifteenth century reaped the fruits of creative activities at the hands of its foremost masters, Altichiero (ca. 1330-1395) and Pisanello (1385-1455). The latter, universally recognized as the greatest medalist in Europe, was influenced in

his painting by Gentile da Fabriano; he combined the quaint naturalistic elements of the droll fairy tale with the courtly chivalry of Gothic pageantry. The fine precision of lyric and plastic modeling in the *Portrait of a Lady* (Plate 312), "the finest pre-Bellini and pre-Antonello portrait of North Italy that has ever come to light," shows the hand of the great medalist at work. The Lady reminds one of Santayana's heroine, a "human orchid." Offner adds, "The dainty majesty of this fragile little person is the final flowering of a luxurious and sophisticated society." Altichiero did most of his work in Padua which, with Verona, is closely linked to the art beginnings of Venice. For it was in Padua, the ancient university city, that Francesco Squarcione ran his *bottega* in the mid-fifteenth century. A Latin scholar and classical enthusiast, he ignored Giotto's medieval frescoes, training assistants like Mantegna in scientific observation and strict adherence to original architectural and sculptural sources, setting them to copying bas-reliefs or reproducing the surface qualities of marbles with an exactitude amounting to pedantry.

Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), in turn the strongest influence on early Venetian painting, is a kind of antiquarian who seeks not merely to recapture the spirit of ancient Rome but to revive the idiom of its visual expression. The themes of his early works are classic, the elements archaic, painted with brittle hardness; while his Roman figures partake of the carved quality of Roman architecture, both being restored with equal durability. The figures preserve their embalmed antiquity, their monumental grandeur, their classic garb and psychology. In this respect Mantegna is an archeologist of Roman life. His version of a battle scene, *The Battle of the Sea Gods* (Plate 272), demonstrates the antiquarian's interest in mythology rather than Pollaiuolo's or Uccello's concern with anatomy and movement. His finest approach to re-creating the classic style and its ideal of beauty is his drawing of *Judith* in the Uffizi; another study of the same subject in Elkins Park (Plate 297), done about 1495, Berenson considers "one of the masterpieces of Mantegna, through intensity of highly finished execution, linear beauty and dignity." What irony that it should once have been a prized possession of Charles I of England! Painted about the same year was the majestic *Tarquin and the Cumaean Sibyl* (Plate 298) showing the prophetess offering the legendary Roman king nine books of prophecies for which she demanded three hundred gold pieces. When he refused to purchase them, she burned all but three of the books for which he soon agreed to pay the original price. Here the artist discards color scheme for monochrome, relying solely on vigorous rhythms and classic motives to recapture the sober dignity and discipline of Roman character. The same vigorous rhythms are used with singular effect in the Fogg drawing (Plate 301).

Mantegna's religious altarpieces include his most famous panels done for San Zeno Maggiore at Verona and the *Victory Madonna,* now in the Louvre. Though not entirely by his hand, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Plate 299) in New York is similar in style to the San Zeno predella panels now in Paris. The tight surface is

to soften later, after his visit to Rome, when he produces Madonnas overcast with spiritual fervor (Plate 300). Mantegna's monumental achievement remains the secular decorations, the most important in the fifteenth century, done in the *Sala degli Sposi* at the court of Duke Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua. Aside from the *Triumph of Caesar* he painted a family portrait group on the wall, touching off in these type-figures the essential culture and airs of the Gonzaga era. Included also is a memorable ceiling decorated with startling baroque effects which achieve an illusion of reality by means of the most daring foreshortening, a technique that is to be fully exploited by Correggio at Parma.

If artists like Mantegna, Carlo Crivelli, Cosimo Tura seek to emphasize as it were the mineral base of their paints, the advent of Antonella de Messina, a revolutionary realist and the finest draughtsman of his day, marked the introduction in Venice (no one is certain whence) of the Van Eyck oil technique which happily offset this perdurable style of bas-relief surfaces. If Carlo Crivelli (ca. 1450-ca. 1493) has carried this style, in masterpieces like the New York *Virgin and Child* (Plate 306) to the ultimate quality of solid gemwork, the fluid medium of the Flemish realists is to yield a new brilliance and subtlety to flesh tones and *plein-air* effects.

The Venetian school of painting, the most brilliant in the Western world, properly begins with the Bellini family, comprising Jacopo, his two sons, Gentile and Giovanni, and his son-in-law Andrea Mantegna. As to the city-state itself, this "jewel casket of the world" was the trading mart between Europe and the East, insolently rich and isolated, a glittering foil to the beleaguered city of Florence whose churches echoed the grim exhortations of Savonarola while her freedom was sold out by her own trusted leaders. The Queen of the Adriatic was embarked on a fabulous career of commerce and luxury, as proud of her campaniles and marble palaces, her alleys of goldsmith *bottegas* and money-changers, her fleets of sailing vessels bearing cargoes of jewels, broideries, fine silks, rugs, pottery, ivory and wine, as of her holy relics and her gorgeous Byzantine churches. The Doge's palace with the hall of the Great Council was adorned by the foremost artists of Padua and Verona. The Venetian oligarchy, an outgrowth of earlier democratic government, deprived the great mass of citizens of political freedom, but defended its rule by pointing to sumptuous public works and a general atmosphere of luxury. "Every art and trade in Venice, down to the very sausage makers, was erected into a guild. They were self-supporting, self-governing bodies . . . carefully fostered by the state which saw in them an outlet for the political activities of the people." Generations of Venetian noblemen had accumulated family fortunes and traditions of graciousness. Simple rites were converted to elaborate ceremonies, while ceremonies were raised to the rank of state occasions; births were attended by several hundred godparents with gifts exchanged by all; funerals were sumptuous triumphal processions. For the well-to-do, life was a round of parties, pageants, state functions. Periodically the Doge

organized an elaborate procession to one of the city's churches; the state competed with Church ceremony and gained the popular favor: the mystic marriage of Venice to the Adriatic annually set the pace for all fashionable carnivals. As to painting, frescoed walls would flake and burn to nothing in the salt sea air; wooden panels would easily warp and crack in the moisture. Canvas, on the other hand, was reliable, durable, easily shipped as an article of trade, while the new oil technique would here do justice to the luster of a Venetian sunset or the iridescence of the Adriatic. As to subject matter, "Religion in Venetian art," says Symonds, "was a matter of parade, an adjunct to the costly life of the Republic." How then should they paint their Madonnas but as Venetian ladies, decked out in handsome gowns; and how portray their visions of the sacred stories but as luxurious local ceremonies?

Jacopo Bellini (ca. 1400-1470), the first native Venetian master, studied with Gentile da Fabriano, later settling at Padua where Mantegna met and married his daughter Vittoria. The University City was patted on the head and admired in an indulgent way by the wealthy Venetians; theoretical problems or experiments, Greek manuscripts, thinkers, scholars and revolutionaries were bowed out of Venice into disputatious Padua or intellectual Florence while Venice herself remained comfortably free from the stress of ideas.

Few of Jacopo Bellini's works are extant aside from the Uffizi and Milan *Madonnas*. By far the most significant of his works are the two precious notebooks of sketches (now at the Louvre and National Gallery, London) made during his rambles over Italy. As though the artist were uncertain where to begin in this dawn of Venetian painting, these notebooks reveal a mind fascinated by an assortment of pagan myth and secular phenomena, streets, stables and animals, mountains and ancient statues, satyrs and medallions. The *Profile Portrait of a Boy* (Plate 303) is Jacopo's only known portrait, "as simple and direct as his best Madonnas," reflecting both the curious and antique turn of the artist's mind.

Gentile Bellini (1429-1507) continues his father's secular descriptive interests. Called to Constantinople to serve the victorious Sultan Mahomet II (Bellini's portrait study of the Islamic potentate hangs in the National Gallery, London), he brought back the utterly delightful *Turkish Artist* (Plate 302) which the great Persian painter Bihzad is believed to have copied (Plate 98). Gentile's *Corpus Christi Procession* (Venetian Academy) is illustrative of his faithful recordings of contemporary life and scenes in Venice, an outdoor realism which was to be continued by Carpaccio and glorified by Veronese.

Save for a few unimportant notations, Carpaccio (active 1478-1522) made no impress on the records of his contemporaries, but the series of paintings he left are eloquent testimony to his sensitive eye and hand and mark him the candid camera chronicler of his age. The trade circles, national groups, and fraternal orders who built themselves handsome meeting-houses, selecting a patron saint, organizing a musical band and designing their own banners and costumes, called on Carpaccio to do much

of their wall decorations. Among the best of these are the delightful stories of St. George and St. Jerome in the School of St. George of the Slavonians. Into these legends Carpaccio has inserted local architecture and Venetian folk, added as if to give credence to the world of make-believe, heaping on verifiable details of architectural settings to lend accuracy to the fairy tales, adding homelier touches as the scene lays heavier tax on the credulities. Thus the deliciously charming *Dream of St. Ursula,* one of the most famous in the Academia series, is set in an everyday Venetian bedroom. Carpaccio's use of color to bind together these scenes compact of realism and festive fairylands is a Venetian note that will recur with greater volume in the near future. In the *Woman Reading* (Plate 311), probably part of a larger painting in which the Virgin and Child were shown, we have a clear example of Carpaccio's realism, shot through with a romantic note derived from the receding landscape.

The greatest master of Venetian painting before Giorgione, Giovanni Bellini (ca. 1430-1516) dedicated his brush to religious themes, with a certain early dependence on the harsh style of Mantegna. Very slowly he developed those personal elements of style, the interest in the moods of nature, the warmth of color, the poetic cast of the compositions which were to be heightened and intensified by his pupils Giorgione and Titian. Most popular are Giovanni's half-length Madonnas, idealized Venetian women in no sense intimately attached to their children but rather grouped in a formal hieratic way. The mood of Antonello's objective realism is here sustained, for we are offered the mother and child theme without the religious connotation, and stripped of all sentimental by-play. These are pleasant women bearing strong family resemblances to each other, guarding their offspring; but unlike Antonello, Giovanni invests this balanced prose with the purer tones of a finely turned lyric. America possesses a fine collection of Bellini's Madonnas (Plate 308), many hardly inferior to his great altarpieces of the Church of the Frari and the *Madonna of the Trees* in the Venetian Academy. His finest portrait, the *Doge Loredano* at London, is a superb study in realism warmly overcast with delicate tints and soft modeling. The *Condottiere* (Plate 309) is harder and more austere, a straightforward presentation of character stated in the clearest terms. The *St. Francis* (Plate 304) is the earliest example in Italian painting bearing "a design of such magnitude given over so entirely to landscape." "Here," continues Berenson, "we have a world we shall not readily exhaust, and even when its own mood—solemn, sober, meditative—no longer appeals to our consciousness, our spirit still can roam therein at leisure, entertained as in the best favored regions of the world. . . . Here we find a free man communing with his Ideal, and in surroundings completely humanized, humanized to the point of a certain noble homeliness. The Saint need not retire to the wilderness to find his God. He can find him close to the haunts of man."

Through his work, his teaching and associations, Giovanni's is the most per-

vasive influence in Venice up to the time of his death. In his latest work, *The Feast of the Gods* (Plate 305), may be seen the wanton pastoralism of Giorgione. Professor Mather catalogues the physical suggestiveness of the various by-plays in the scene and adds: "With these frank indecorums and obviously erotic appeals, the whole picture has a strange solemnity. . . . It is at once Venetian and local, and of no place or time. . . . The scene is so fair, so out of all our measurements and expectations, that there is a pang in looking at it. It might blur out in a dream and never come back in this semblance." These are words which might serve to describe the scenes produced by Venice's next great master, Giorgione.

From the birthplace which supplied his surname Giorgione da Castelfranco arrived in Venice where he appears to have studied in Giovanni Bellini's studio. There are today between six and sixty canvases (depending on the opinion of critics) to show for his brief career which ended at the age of thirty-three. Comparable with Leonardo's innovations in Florence were those made in Venice by this first of modern art revolutionaries; for to his initial influence are traceable those developments in treatment of form and light contributed successively by Titian, Tintoretto, El Greco and ultimately the leaders of the Modern movement in art.

In Venice the painting craft had almost from the beginning been considered primarily an adjunct to pageantry and to such colorful state functions as it might profitably be employed. The Council Hall, the Merchants' Hall and the scuole (fraternal orders) bid for emblazoned decorations in competition with the Church.

Beginning with the work of Giorgione the accent is lifted from Church and state and transferred to the intimate and personal. In respect of this personal note, operating influences are suggested as discernible in Giorgione's work. An element of reaction to—or perhaps a refinement on—the sophistication and venality of Venetian society had appeared in Sannazaro's "Arcadia" which was everywhere quoted. Here the bucolic "Idyls" and "Georgics" of Theocritus and Virgil were woven into dreamy fantasies of pastoral love. In Giorgione's work a note of nostalgic longing for the enchanting fields and meadows which filled his childhood recollections of Castelfranco, so unlike the lagoons, the Venetian gondolas and garish pageants, may be recognized. His *Pastoral Symphony* or *Fête Champêtre* ushered in a vogue for scenes of handsomely dressed Venetian gallants in green fields, languorously strumming on lyres to the sober delight of nude female companions. Like Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* it is both a romantic vision of a carefree existence and an expression of a highly personal emotion, a lyric-poetic state of mind. Form is secured by means of warm color, the atmosphere and shadows are strongly tinted with it; while the entire color pattern of mass and spatial accent is rendered with rhythmic force. The *Madonna Enthroned with St. George and St. Francis* is a rare instance of the religious theme in his work, though even here a dreamy and romantic mood is culled out of a triangular pattern imposed on restful horizontals and verticals. *Three Philosophers* (Vienna Gallery) lays significant stress on landscape detail in fore- and background.

The so-called *Gypsy Madonna* or *Stormy Landscape,* his finest work, presents a romantic never-never land of mystery and charm where the incidental figures of a nude mother and nursing child are seated on the grass opposite a soldier who appears quite irrelevantly in the foreground, standing guard. The *Sleeping Venus* (Dresden Gallery), his best known work, represents a startling nude outstretched on a green meadow, asleep. There is no element of myth or legend in the scene. The remarkable *Concert* is often attributed to Giorgione with certain passages ascribed to Titian. The *Christ Carrying the Cross* in the Gardner Museum, Boston, is also attributed to the same artist, as is the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Plate 314) in the National Gallery, Washington. Giorgionesque the latter is, for it breathes the magical wonder of a holy Arcadia; its light glimmers through a porcelain surface, a poignant visual counterpart of Keats' "Eve of St. Agnes." It is a product of the same romantic mood, the same mind idly hovering through the "charmed magic casements" of daydreams.

Giorgione's revolutionary innovations in subject matter and style were brought to monumental fruition by the fluent brushwork of Titian (1477-1576) who in an astonishing career of ninety-nine years paralleled in his color work the supreme draughtsmanship of his Florentine contemporary, Michelangelo. Clearly evident in the work of both men are the elements of the Baroque style which will be caught up and carried to equally great heights by Rubens and Rembrandt in the following century.

Born about 1477 in Pieve di Cadore, Tiziano Vecellio came early to Venice where he is believed to have studied with Giovanni Bellini. More important, the records mention his work with Giorgione, both executing on the façade of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (the Hall of the German Merchants) fresco decorations which were ultimately eroded by the damp sea air. In 1513 Titian wrote to the Council of Ten offering to do a large battle scene without charge in exchange for a sinecure at the Fondaco. The license was protested by Giovanni Bellini on grounds of prior ownership, but upon the latter's death shortly afterward, the patent was granted to Titian who painted his most important historical picture (subsequently destroyed by fire), the *Battle of Cadore,* begun in 1513 and completed, after a series of threats over the delay, some twenty-five years later.

With the death of Giorgione and Bellini the art demand in Venice was logically served by Titian whose magnificent productions were now sought by popes, cardinals, kings and courtiers, merchants and scuole as well as private citizens, all calling for a prodigious variety of subject matter and treatment. Among his earlier works the Giorgionesque *Sacred and Profane Love* (Borghese Gallery, Rome) shows the influence of his former partner in its romantically posed problem and its decided interest in nature. That influence may still be traced in the early *Madonna of the Cherries* and the famous *Assumption* done for the Santa Maria dei Frari (the opening gun of the Venetian High Renaissance), in his *Madonna of the Pesaro Family* and the

Madonna Ascending the Steps. The Madonnas were followed by powerful canvases depicting Man engaged in heroic conflict, Michelangelesque giants in dramatic scenes.

Titian is the supreme *painter* of the Renaissance as Rubens is to be foremost in the seventeenth century. Frankly concerned with the financial as well as esthetic considerations of his profession, the artist bent his enormous energies to gratify all patrons: Duke Alphonso of Ferrara (whose portrait is in the Metropolitan Museum) and his wife Lucrezia Borgia; Duke Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua and his mother, Isabella d'Este; the Duke of Alba; the Duchess of Urbino; the Farnese family of Rome, including Pope Paul III; Francis I of France; Titian's press agent, the literary scandalmonger, Pietro Aretino (in the Frick Collection); the Medici in Florence, and most noteworthy, Emperor Charles V who showered honors (Knight of the Golden Spur, Count of the Palatinate) commissions, pensions and praise on his portraitist. For Titian was ready enough to do for his ill-featured sitters what nature had perforce neglected. The brilliant layers of transparent oil glaze, superimposed on each other, created a dazzling riot of color in which was set the figure of the immortalized subject.

Nudes in the guise of mythological figures, and allegorical scenes were produced for duke and cardinal in great profusion, each a magnificent affirmation that Titian was the unexcelled colorist, as Michelangelo was the greatest draughtsman. The *Venus of Urbino* (Uffizi); *Venus and the Lute Player* (Plate 317); the *Danaë and Amor* done for the Farnese; the gorgeously colored and dynamically constructed *Rape of Europa* (Plate 318) in the Gardner Museum; the *Allegory* (Plate 315) in the National Gallery, Washington, are among his many masterpieces.

The last twenty-five years of his life Titian spent in the Biri Grande Quarter of Venice, living like a lord, entertaining the fashionable and intellectual, host to visiting wealth and royalty, including Henry III of France. In 1525 he had married his mistress Cecilia who died in 1530, leaving him four children of whom Lavinia, his favorite, is to be seen frequently in his canvases. In 1576 the dreaded plague broke through Venice and Titian succumbed to it.

For the greater part of the century which his career spanned, Titian embodied, in his person and his work, the entire Venetian Renaissance; everything else created in Venice must ultimately be judged by the touchstone of his masterpieces. Yet on occasion so close to his achievement is that of his successors, Lorenzo Lotto, Palma Vecchio and Moroni, that the latter's masterpiece, *Titian's Schoolmaster* (Plate 325) bears that title because for many years it was attributed to Titian. Moroni merits ranking with the great portraitists, some of his finest works being at the Uffizi, the Louvre, in Worcester and in Philadelphia.

"The draughtsmanship of Michelangelo and the color of Titian"—with these words sprawled across his studio wall, Tintoretto, the "Thunderbolt" of energy as his friends referred to both his person and his work, set out to synthesize the best

features of the two Renaissance gods—and actually succeeded to an astonishing degree, contributing his own vast library of pictorial dramas, original and "in translation." Beginning with the early decorations for his own parish church, Santa Maria dell' Orto, which he offered to do merely for the cost of the materials, we find throughout his work the same devotion to dramatic scenes, stirring spectacles which are caught fast at a climactic moment, charged with significance, keyed to operatic sonority. The sun is engineered for brilliant highlights that dramatize imperious gestures and impassioned twisting limbs and forms, forever reacting to fateful destinies. There is no rest to be found in Tintoretto's work, no relaxation on horizontals, but the surge and violence of intersecting diagonals and spirals, soaring or swooping or circling bodies of saints or gods, engaged in aerial feats that override the forces of gravity with Olympian grace. His compositions thus necessitate the most adept disposition of figures to secure balance in space-volume as well as aerially, while answering to some demand of the linear design. At the same time his light and dark orchestration functions as a unifying pattern.

Il Tintoretto, son of a *tintore* or dyer of cloths, had lasted but a brief week at Titian's studio whence he had been sent packing, owing perhaps to some clash in temperaments. Thereafter he is self-taught, using a studio of his own, shaping wax and clay figures dressed in bits of colored cloth, or importing casts of Michelangelo's sculptures, lighting tapers to study the flickering lights and shadows on figures and cloths.

Asked to enter a sketch for a competition to decorate the Scuola di San Rocco, he outbid his four rivals on the appointed day by simply unveiling the completed work on the ceiling. The ensuing dispute was terminated by the happy expedient of Tintoretto's appointment as official decorator of the Scuola which remains today a shrine of his somewhat faded work. Laboring over vast compositions whose virtuosity and vitality overwhelmed the spectator, in the time others required to sketch out a preliminary study, he had completed the final brush strokes in color. "He can paint more in two days than I can hope to finish in two years," lamented a fellow artist. Canvases of fifty and seventy feet containing scores of figures in tumultuous movement are electrified by flashes of light; the *Marriage at Cana* in Santa Maria della Salute, the *Crucifixion* at San Rocco, the final *Paradise* at the ducal palace are crowded with multitudes in motion, the last named containing over five hundred figures. Where Titian's scenes are sumptuous pageants, Tintoretto paints articulated dramas; but he lacks the former's grand classicism and organ richness of paint, while in the measure that his compositions use *dramatis personae* they are often empty of lyric emotion. Altogether, his range is staggering, including history, mythology, allegory, religious scenes and portraits, most of them touched with and evoking the reality of direct experience. Ruskin placed Tintoretto beside Dante and Michelangelo, though modern criticism recognizes that he often loses the unity of his large compositions and merely paints well in isolated phrases.

The original and dramatic use which Tintoretto made of light was, to him who carefully observed the fascinating play of sunlight on rolling waters and restless lagoons, suggested clearly enough in everyday sights. In his canvases lights flicker and shoot boldly across scenes to lend fresh meaning and interpretation to hackneyed themes. In the Hartford *Hercules and Antaeus* (Plate 320), a version of the great Pollaiuolo sculpture previously referred to, the monumental figures create a powerful sense of tension and movement as the light plays excitedly on the struggle. These are precisely the elements which will be driven to sensational and sentimental extremes by the mannerists a century later. But his intuitive recognition that the details necessary to miniaturist art are superfluous and even disastrous to large canvases created for distant inspection, his attempt to convey a general impression, working in swift certain strokes which carry the flash and glitter of light, render his work an important source, in large measure through El Greco, of modern Impressionism. The *Venetian Senator* (Plate 319) is a splendid isolated example of Tintoretto's sober and virile portraiture. The death of this last great master may be said to mark the end of the Venetian Renaissance.

Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) inherited the tradition of colorful spectacles and gay decorations from his predecessors at Verona, Altichiero and Pisanello, but his work links him with Venice where he spent his adult years. In his own limited sphere Veronese is unsurpassed as a painter. "If ever I have time," he wrote, "I want to paint a sumptuous banquet in a magnificent hall, showing the Virgin, Christ and St. Joseph. They will be waited on by the most brilliant retinue of angels offering them the most delightful food, with splendid fruit in great dishes of gold and silver; while other angels hand them precious wines in transparent crystal glasses and gilded goblets." As a matter of fact Veronese spent the major portion of his lifetime painting precisely such scenes in Venice. Omitting the martyrdoms, the mortifications and asceticisms of Biblical history, Veronese devotes his brush to marriages, feasts, suppers and patrician ceremonies held partly under canopies on open terraces. Here the Virgin, Christ and his disciples have become Venetian aristocrats dining and wining in sumptuous splendor. *The Marriage at Cana* (Louvre), *The Supper at Emmaus* (Louvre), *The Feast at the House of Levi* (Venice) all present stately characters attending regal functions, dressed in ermine, gold brocade, gleaming satins and vermilion velvets. Balconies and porticoes of white marble palaces extend across the backgrounds; orderly groups of patricians in resplendent costumes sit down to banquet tables; bands of musicians come forward to play their Oriental tunes; while here and there dwarfs and buffoons skip about, provoking modest laughter. The sun itself is made to revel in these feasts, dancing from burnished gold to crystal goblets, off silken canopies onto broidered banners and jeweled costumes. Tintoretto had displayed the coruscating fire of his poetic frenzy in dramatic spectacles; Veronese,

lacking poetry, contented himself with costumed fêtes. Venice was never to attain to any materialistic glory greater than when Veronese invited his Biblical characters to the city, raised them to patrician status and set them all to enjoying Venetian luxuries. It was no more than any Venetian would wish to offer by way of reward to a long-suffering but most deserving holy family. Recently New England artists have transferred the locale of the Passion to Connecticut and New Hampshire farms. Veronese had brought the Biblical characters a greater distance when he set the events, like *The Finding of Moses* (Plate 323), in aristocratic Venice. It is in these scenes, rather than the mythologies, that his imagination is stirred in homage to the gaudy Queen of the Adriatic.

For a century afterward decorations are largely inspired by the work of Veronese and his contemporaries. Thus Tiepolo's theatrical ceilings and wall decorations (Scuola del Carmine) are graceful combinations of Tintoretto's operatics and Veronese's scenic designs (Plate 323). Canaletto's brilliant views of Venice's canals and lagoons (Plates 327, 328, 329), Guardi's palace ruins, and street panoramas (Plate 326), Longhi's domestic and social genre are impressive paintings, but the products of a new style only generically related to the Venetian Renaissance.

In an attempt like Tintoretto's to combine the best of various artists in order to restore the earlier glories of Italian painting, the eclectics essayed a thousand recipes to compound a super-art. Academies like that of Vasari in Florence and more especially the Carracci in Bologna, attempted to analyze and extract the desirable elements and to instill the concepts and techniques into both their own work and that of their students. Their ablest pupil was Domenichino, whose mythologies served as models for Poussin's, while Annibale Carracci's charming landscapes directly inspired Claude as well. But the painting of the Bolognese eclectics no longer represents an emotional response to an inspiring vision or a noble theme; it is rather concerned with technical virtuosity or mere representation, extracting formal virtues out of the past, mechanically joining and exhibiting them.

The present account of the Italian school may suitably be concluded with mention of Michelangelo Caravaggio who led his rival group in violent opposition to the idealism and classicism of the Raphaelite academicians. Insisting on a vigorous naturalism, Caravaggio belongs to the class of proletarian painters concerned with the lives of the disinherited, the laborers and gambling dens (Plate 330). His work at Rome inspired Ribera, while his realism and luminism, born of his insistence on reproducing the actual vision and scene, anticipate the work of Courbet and Manet. Thus the traditions of Western painting, whether in Spain with Ribera, Velasquez, El Greco; in France with Poussin, Ingres, Manet; in England with Reynolds, and Constable; in Flanders with Massys, Rubens, Van Dyck, all have their tap roots in the soil of Italian art.

Cimabue (Cenni di Pepo), ca. 1240–1302 *Apostle*

Plate 250

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Giotto di Bondone, 1266–1337

Madonna and Child

Plate 251

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Duccio di Buoninsegna, active 1278–1319

The Temptation of Christ

Plate 252

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Pietro Lorenzetti, active ca. 1305–1348 *St. Catherine of Alexandria*

Plate 253

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Domenico Veneziano, active ca. 1438–1461 *Madonna and Child*

Plate 254

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

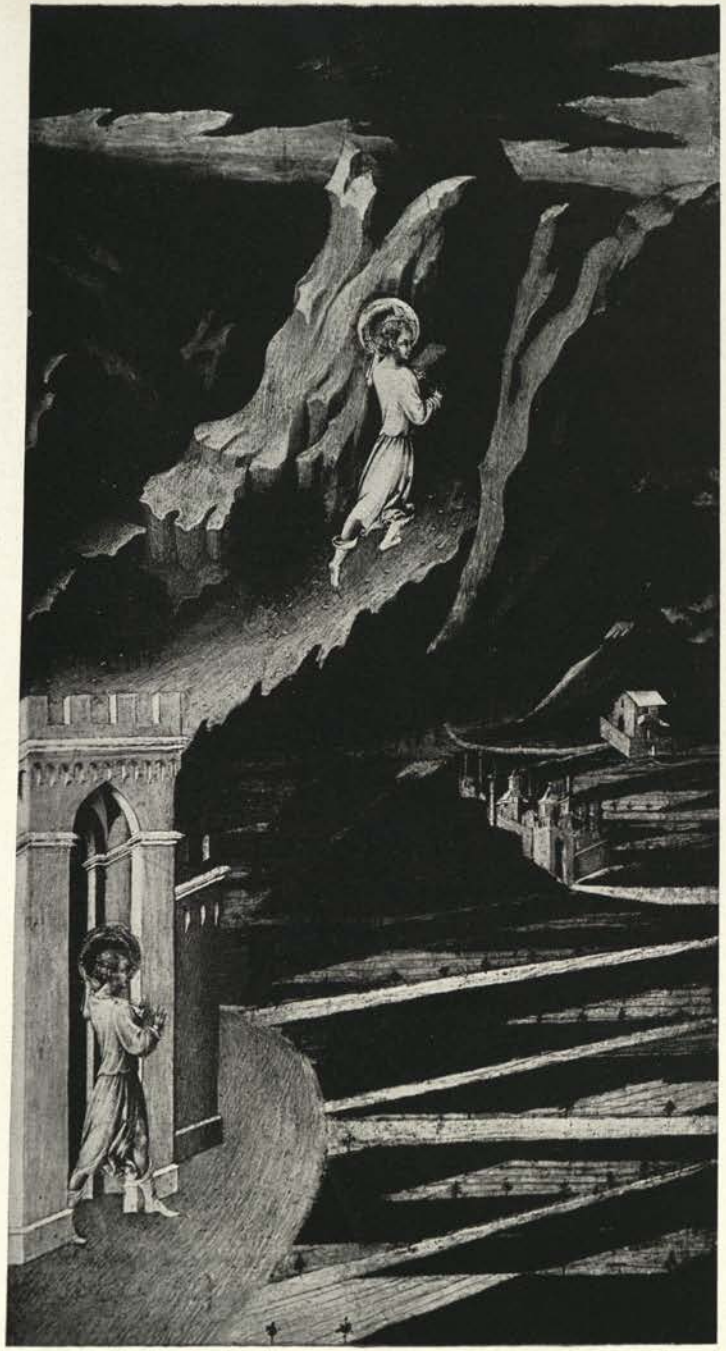
Washington, D.C.

Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni), 1392–1450 — *Meeting of St. Anthony and St. Paul*

Plate 255

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Giovanni di Paolo,
1402–1482

The Baptist in the Wilderness

Plate 256

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Giovanni di Paolo

The Virgin of Humility

Plate 257

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Simone Martini, 1280–1344

The Madonna and Child with Saints Paul, Lucy, Catherine, John the Baptist

Plate 258

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro), 1387–1455

The Entombment

Plate 259

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro) — *The Death and Assumption of the Virgin*

Plate 260

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Piero della Francesca
1416?–1492

Portrait of a Lady

Plate 261

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Domenico Veneziano — *Profile Portrait of a Girl*

Plate 262

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Luca Signorelli, 1441–1523

Madonna and Child

Plate 263

BACHE COLLECTION

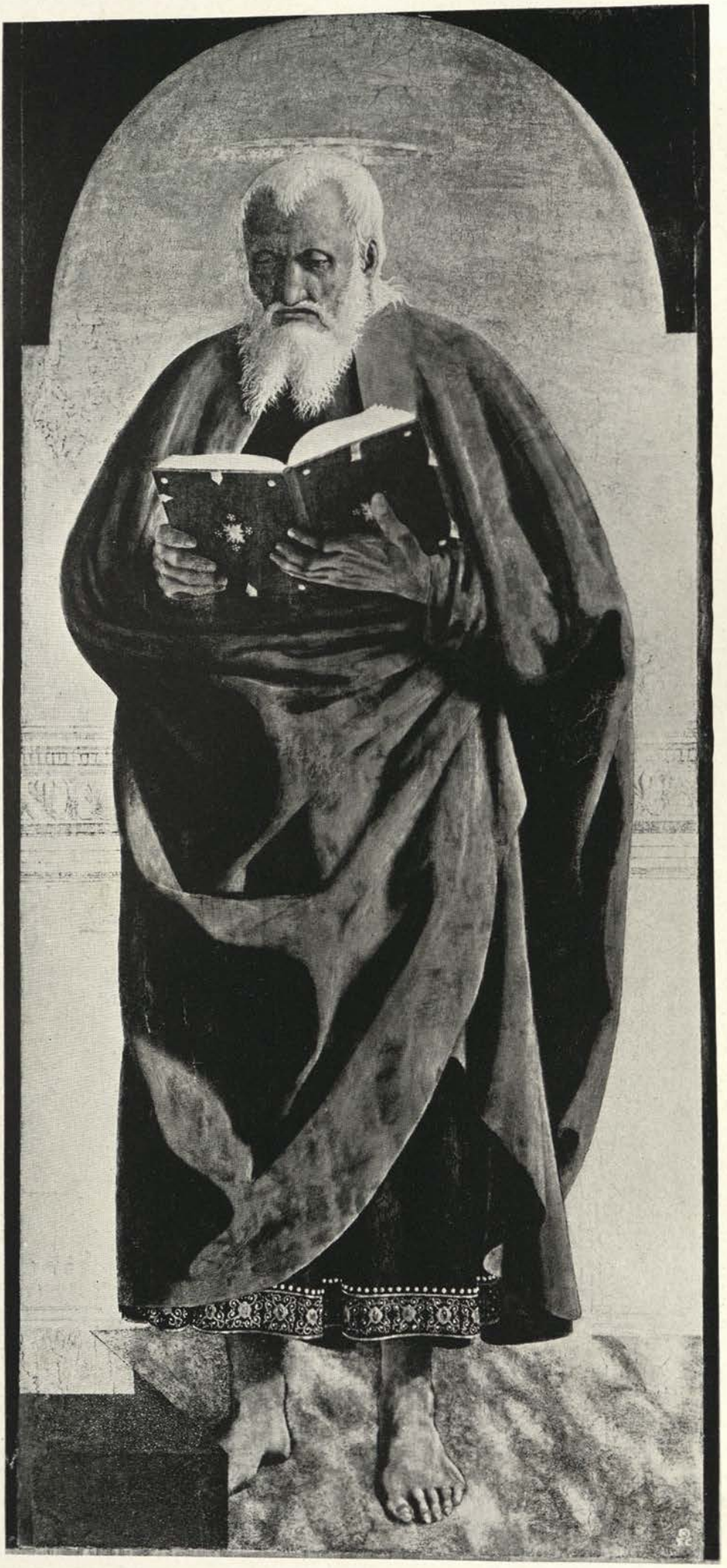
New York City

Luca Signorelli *Portrait of a Boy*

Plate 264

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



Piero della Francesca *Figure of a Saint*

Plate 265

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Masaccio, 1401–1428

Young Man in a Scarlet Turban

Plate 266

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Andrea del Castagno, ca. 1397–1457

The Youthful David

Plate 267

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Filippino Lippi, ca. 1457–1504 — *Madonna and Child*

Plate 268

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Fra Bartolommeo, 1475–1517 *Madonna and Child with a Kneeling Angel. Drawing*

Plate 269. FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Fra Filippo Lippi, ca. 1406?–1469

Plate 270. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, *Washington, D.C.*

The Annunciation

Fra Filippo Lippi *Madonna and Child*

Plate 271

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Andrea Mantegna, 1431–1506

The Battle of the Sea Gods. Engraving

Plate 272

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY PRINT COLLECTION

Middletown, Connecticut

Antonio del Pollaiuolo, 1429–1498 — *Fighting Nudes. Drawing*

Plate 273

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

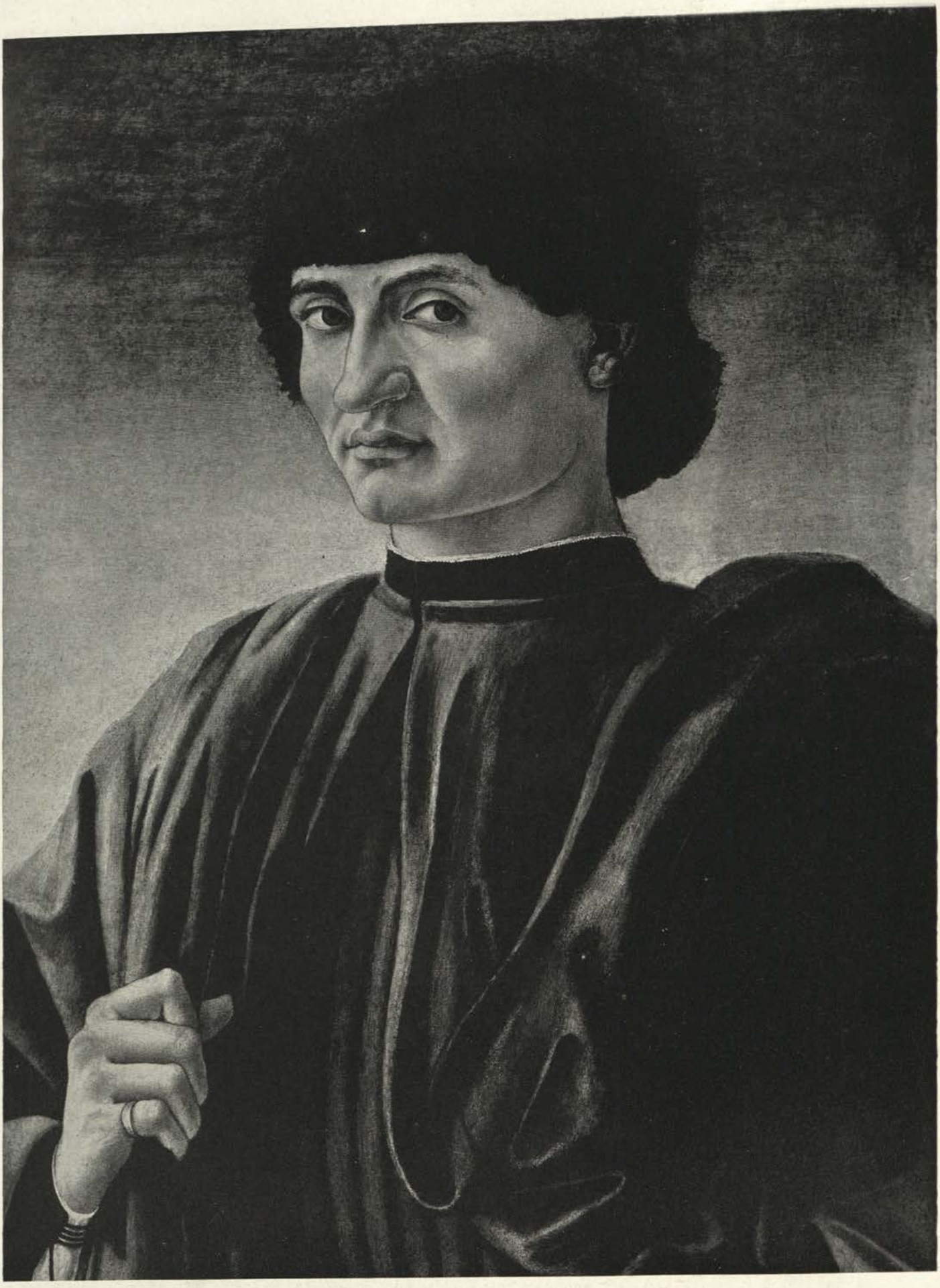
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Michaelangelo Buonarroti, 1475–1564 — *Study for Delphic Sybil. Drawing*

Plate 274

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Antonio del Pollaiuolo — *Portrait of a Man*

Plate 275

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Piero del Pollaiuolo, 1443–1496 *Portrait of a Young Lady*

Plate 276

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Piero di Cosimo, 1462–1521 *The Finding of Vulcan*

Plate 277. WADSWORTH ATHENEUM, *Hartford, Connecticut*

Antonio del Pollaiuolo *Rape of Deianira*

Plate 278. YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY, *New Haven, Connecticut*

Piero di Cosimo

Vulcan and Aeolus as the Teachers of Mankind

Plate 279

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Ottawa, Canada

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

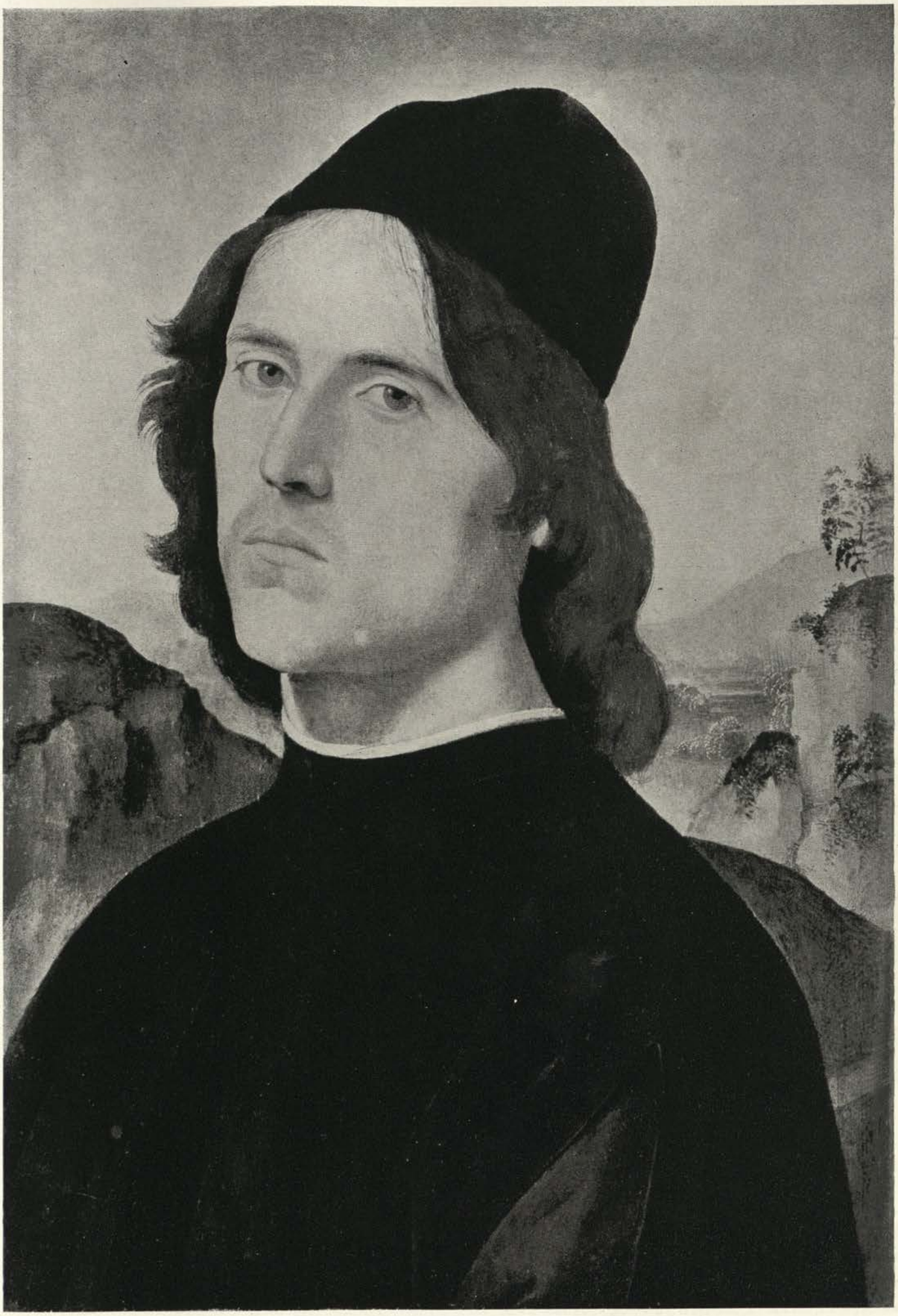
Lorenzo di Credi, 1459–1537

Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John

Plate 280

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri



Lorenzo di Credi — *Self Portrait at the Age of Thirty-three*

Plate 281

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Andrea del Verrocchio, 1435–1488

Madonna and Child

Plate 282

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Sandro Botticelli, 1444–1510 — *The Madonna and the Child of the Eucharist*

Plate 283

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Sandro Botticelli — *Madonna and Child*

Plate 284

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Sandro Botticelli *Portrait of a Youth*

Plate 285

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Sandro Botticelli — *Coronation of the Virgin*

Plate 286. BACHE COLLECTION, *New York City*

Sandro Botticelli — *Adoration of the Magi*

Plate 287. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, *Washington, D.C.*

Bernardino Pintoricchio, 1454–1513 *Portrait of a Youth*

Plate 288

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Andrea del Sarto, 1486–1531 — *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John*

Plate 289

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Perugino (Pietro Vannucci), 1446–1523 *Madonna and Child*

Plate 290

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Raphael Sanzio, 1483–1520

Giuliano de' Medici

Plate 291

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Raphael Sanzio — *Count Tommaso Inghirami*

Plate 292

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Raphael Sanzio

The Agony in the Garden

Plate 293

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

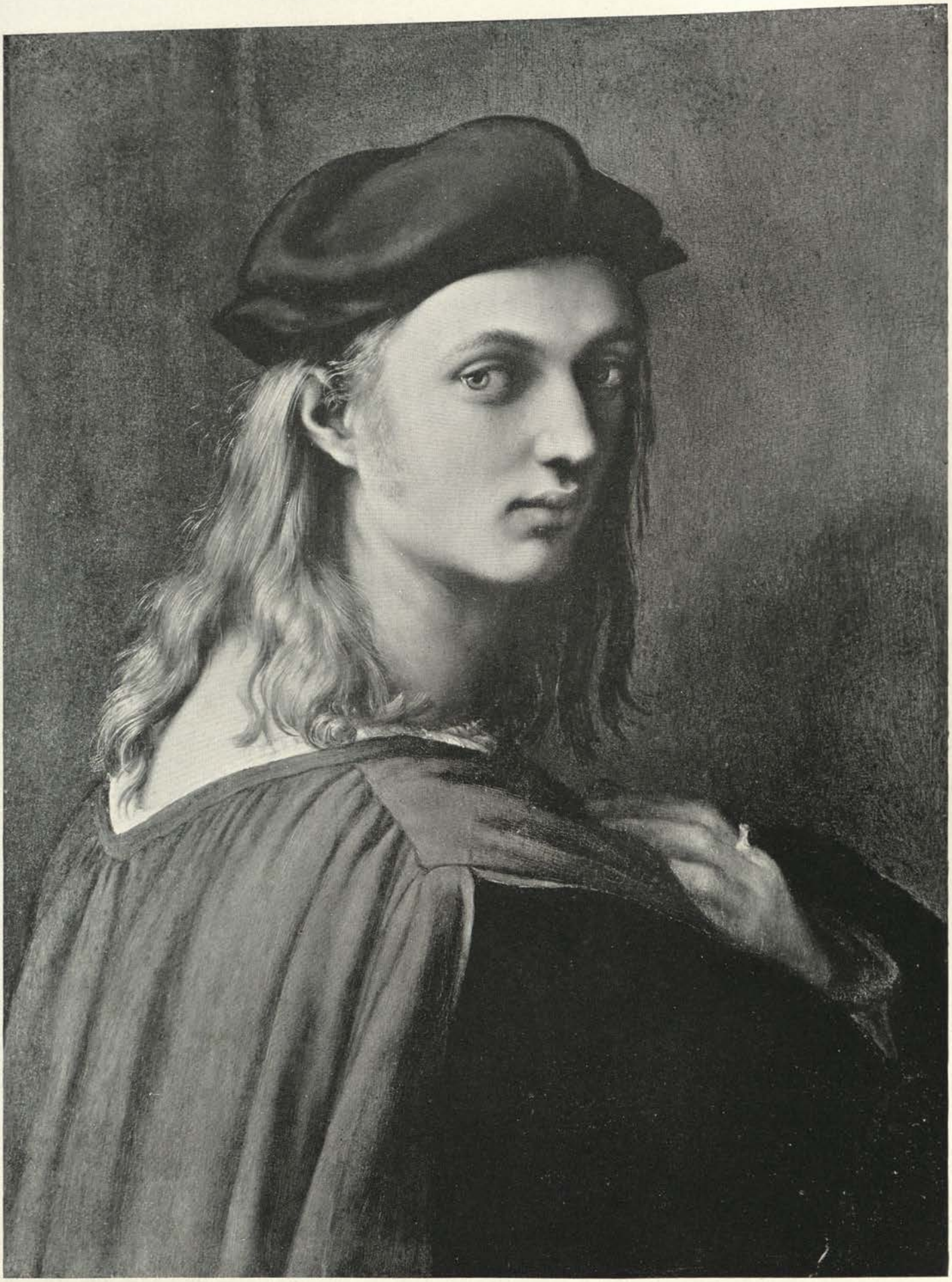
New York City

Raphael Sanzio — *Alba Madonna*

Plate 294

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

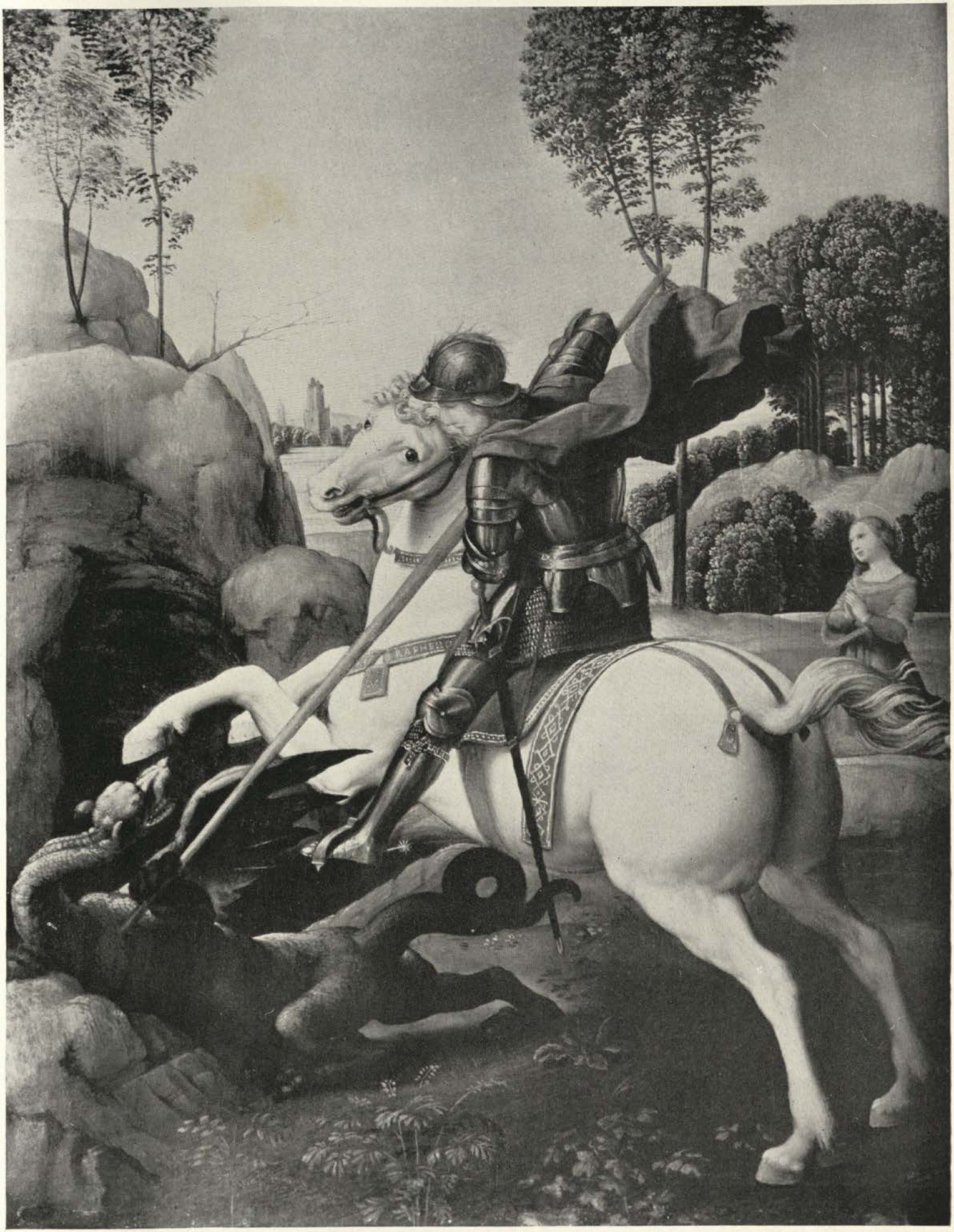


Raphael Sanzio *Portrait of Bindo Altoviti*

Plate 295

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Raphael Sanzio — *St. George and the Dragon*

Plate 296

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

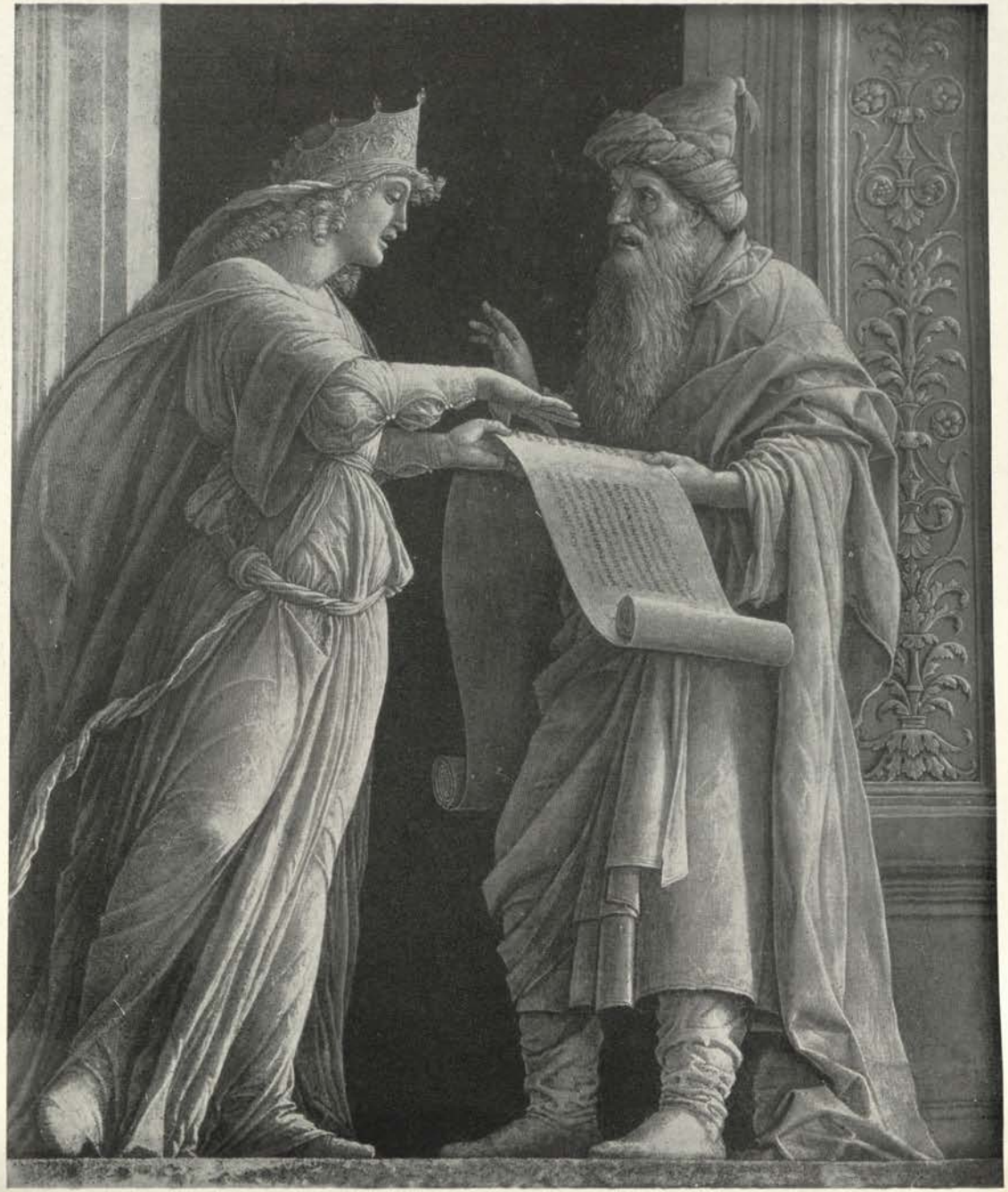
Washington, D.C.

Andrea Mantegna — *Judith*

Plate 297

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania



Andrea Mantegna — *Tarquin and the Cumaean Sibyl*

Plate 298

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio

Andrea Mantegna — *Adoration of the Shepherds*

Plate 299

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Andrea Mantegna — *Madonna and Child*

Plate 300

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Andrea Mantegna

Seven Apostles Watching the Ascension of Christ. Drawing

Plate 301

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Gentile Bellini, 1429–1507 *A Turkish Artist*

Plate 302

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Jacopo Bellini, ca. 1400–1470 *Profile Portrait of a Boy*

Plate 303

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Giovanni Bellini, ca. 1430–1516

St. Francis in Ecstasy

Plate 304

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Giovanni Bellini — *The Feast of the Gods*

Plate 305

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Carlo Crivelli, ca. 1450–ca. 1493 — *Madonna and Child*

Plate 306
BACHE COLLECTION
New York City

Bartolommeo Vivarini, ca. 1431–1499 — *Adoration of the Magi*

Plate 307
FRICK COLLECTION
New York City

Giovanni Bellini — *Madonna and Child in a Landscape*

Plate 308

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Giovanni Bellini *Portrait of a Condottiere*

Plate 309

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Bartolommeo Veneto, active 1502–1530

Portrait of a Gentleman

Plate 310

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Vittore Carpaccio, active 1478–1522 — *A Woman Reading*

Plate 311

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

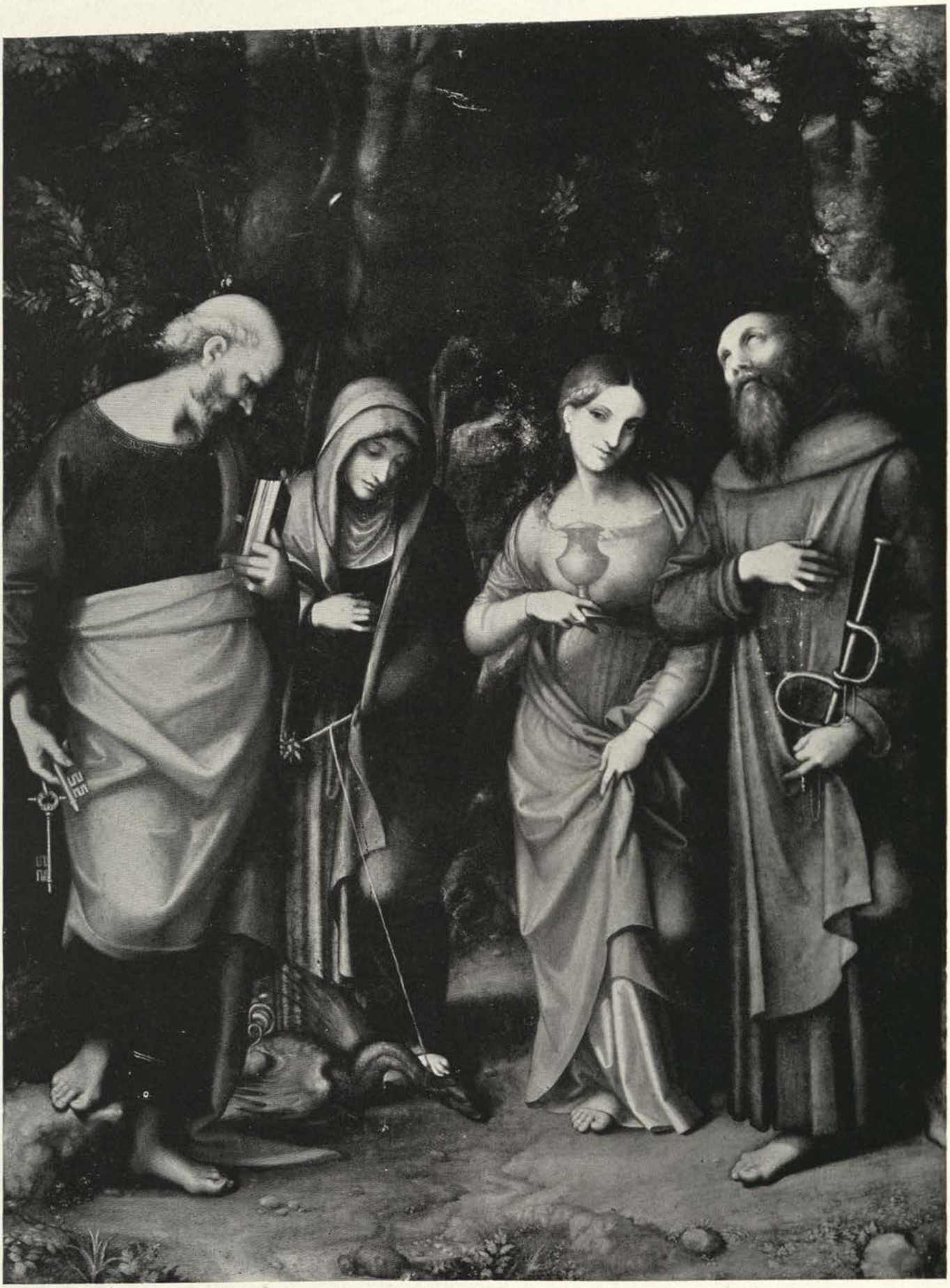
Washington, D.C.

Pisanello (Antonio Pisano), ca. 1385–1455 *Portrait of a Lady*

Plate 312

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Correggio (Antonio Allegri), 1494–1534 *Four Saints*

Plate 313

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarelli), 1478–1510 — *Adoration of the Shepherds*

Plate 314

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

ROYAL LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE SOCIETY

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), 1477–1576 *Allegory (Alfonso d'Este and Laura Diante?)*

Plate 315

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) — *Man in a Red Cap*

Plate 316

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio) — *Venus and the Lute Player*

Plate 317

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio)

The Rape of Europa

Plate 318

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti), 1518–1592 — *Venetian Senator*

Plate 319

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti) *Hercules and Antaeus*

Plate 320. WADSWORTH ATHENEUM, *Hartford, Connecticut*

Paolo Veronese (Paolo Calieri),
1528–1588

Creation of Eve

Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti)

Venus and Mars, with Three Graces in a Landscape

Plates 321 and 322. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, *Chicago, Illinois*

Paolo Veronese (Paolo Calieri) *The Finding of Moses*

Plate 323

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

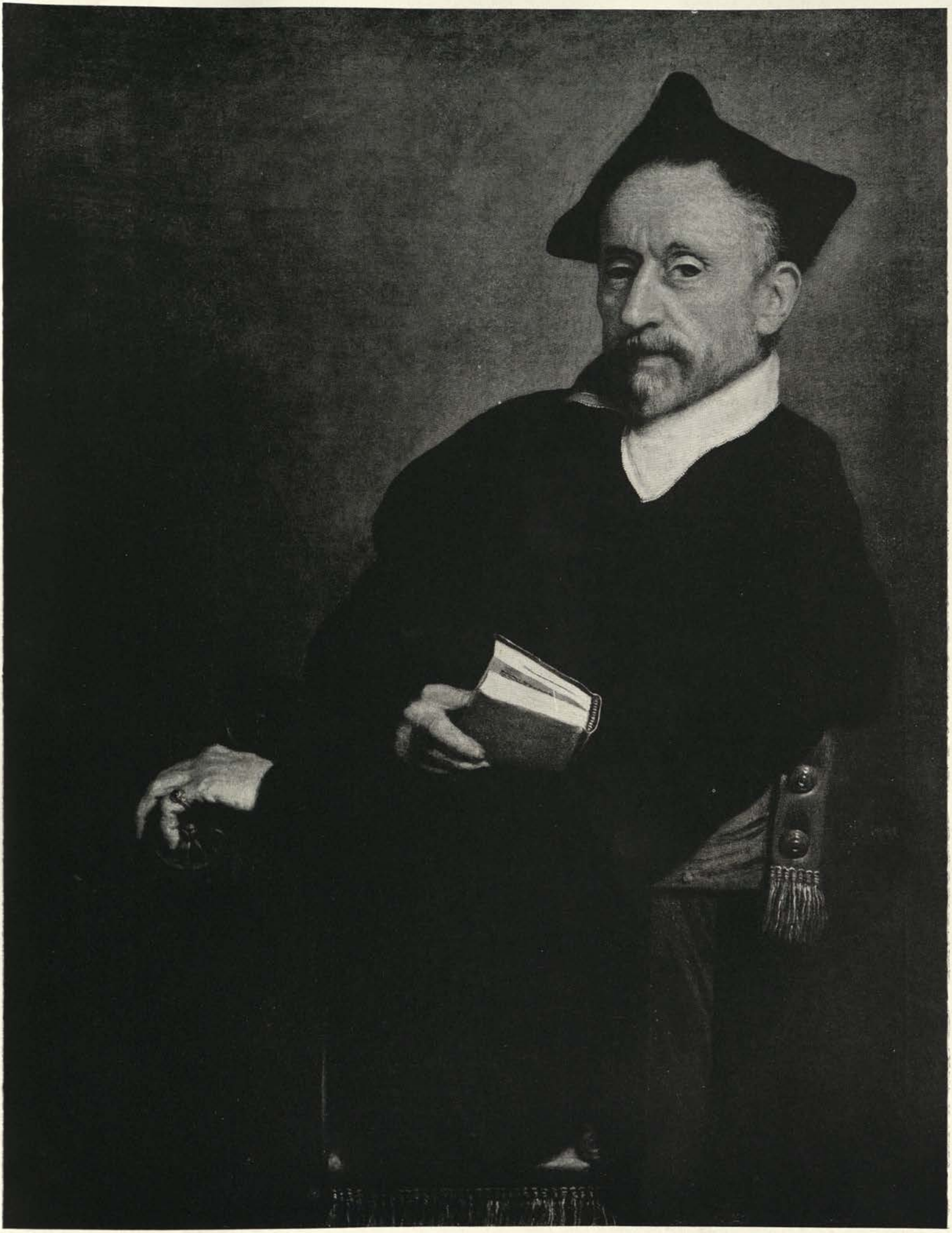
Bernardino Luini, ca. 1475–ca. 1531

Portrait of a Lady

Plate 324

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Giovanni Battista Moroni, ca. 1520–1578

"Titian's Schoolmaster"

Plate 325

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Francesco Guardi, 1712–1793

Campo San Zanipolo

Plate 326

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

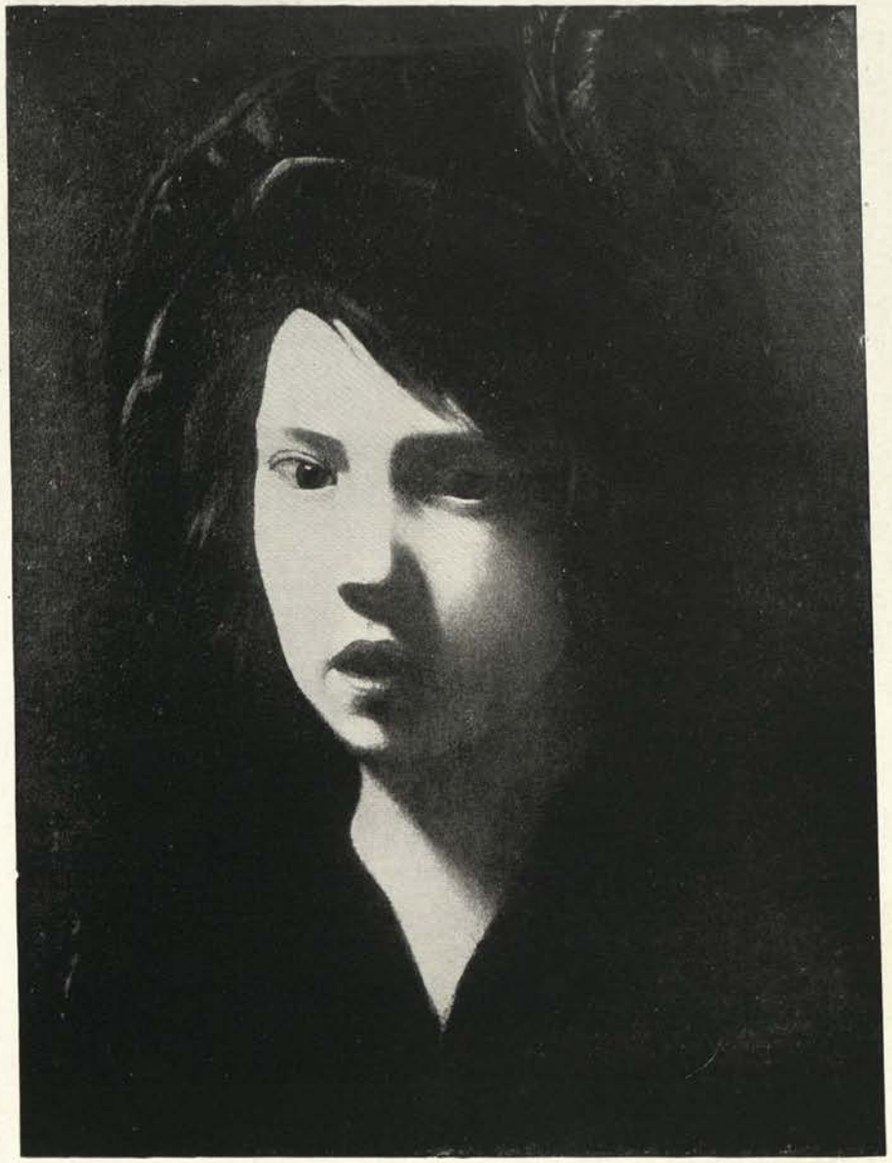
Canaletto (Antonio da Canale) *The Arsenal at Venice*

Canaletto (Antonio da Canale) *The Piazetta*

Plates 327 and 328. NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, *Ottawa, Canada*

Canaletto (Antonio da Canale) 1699–1768 *Bacino di San Marco*

Plate 329. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Boston, Massachusetts*



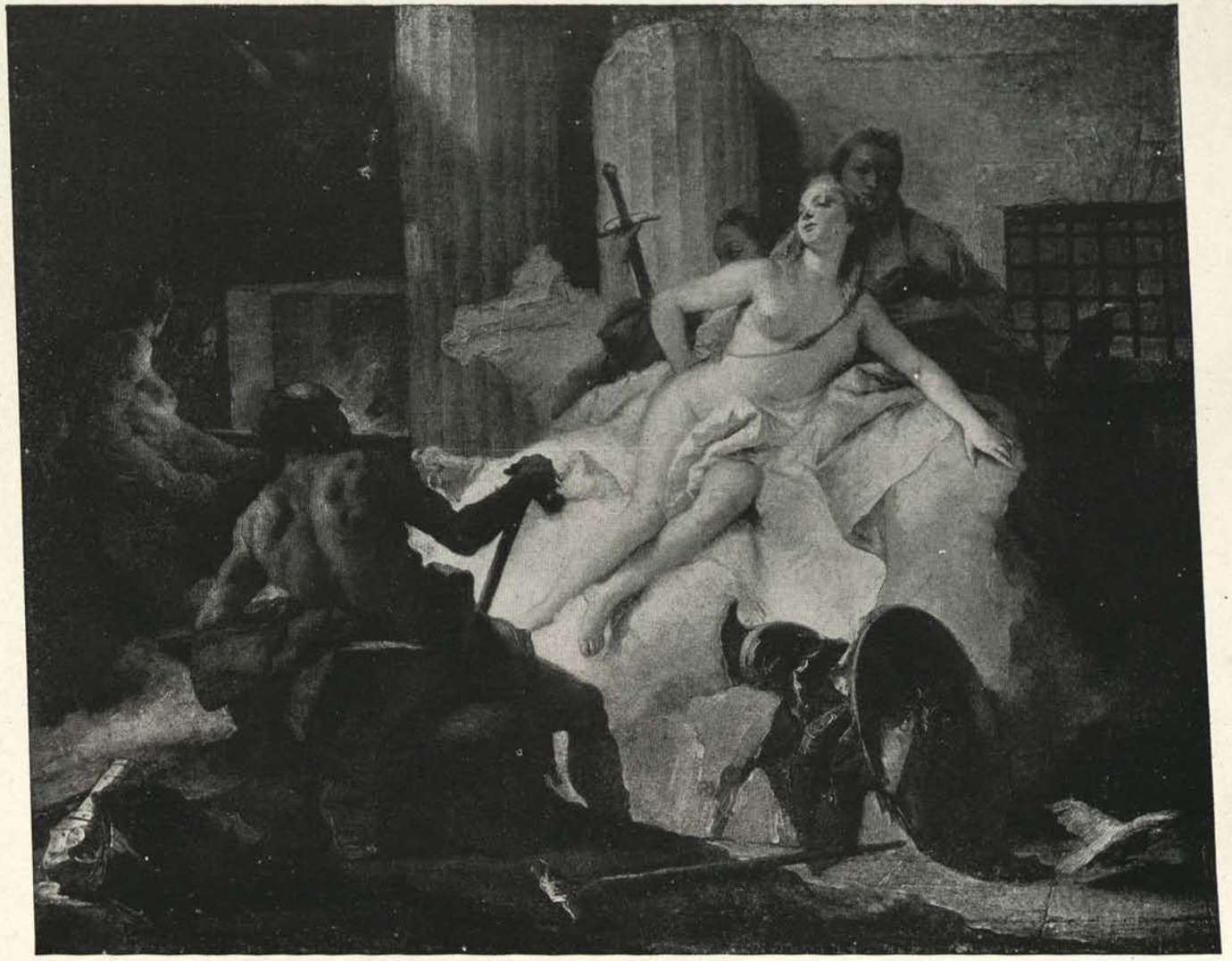
Michelangelo Caravaggio, ca. 1560–1609

Head of a Boy

Plate 330

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

Hartford, Connecticut



Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, 1696–1770

Venus and Vulcan

Plate 331

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Benvenuto Cellini, 1500–1571 — *Bindo Altoviti. Bronze*

Plate 332

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Antonio Rossellino, 1427–1478 — *St. John the Baptist. Marble*

Plate 333

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Donatello (Donato Bardi), 1386–1468 — *St. John the Baptist. Terra Cotta*

Plate 334

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Andrea della Robbia, 1435–1525 — *The Virgin in Adoration. Terra Cotta*

Plate 335

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Luca della Robbia, 1400–1482

Madonna and Child. Terra Cotta

Plate 336

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Giovanni della Robbia, 1469–1529 — *Bust of the Young Christ. Terra Cotta*

Plate 337

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Desiderio da Settignano, 1428–1464 *Isotta da Rimini. Marble*

Plate 338

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Jacopo Sansovino, 1486?–1570 — *Bacchus and a Young Faun. Bronze*

Plate 339

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Giovanni Bologna (Jean de Boulogne), ca. 1525–1608 — *Mercury. Bronze*

Plate 340

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D. C.

Andrea del Verrocchio, 1435–1488

David with the Head of Goliath.
Terra Cotta

Plate 341

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

X
Flemish School

PRODIGY of nations, Flanders in the fourteenth century embarked on a career of vast industrial trade and unabashed prosperity which soon gained her the envy of the world. Free industrial and commercial towns in the region today called Belgium witnessed the rise of a powerful bourgeoisie, manufacturers and merchants who set up a system of guilds to insure the ablest production at fairest prices. Conscious of its obligations as well as powers, this prosperous new class ordered the erection of great Guild Halls constructed in the Gothic style; market places and belfry towers at Ypres, Bruges, Ghent rose amid solid masses of masonry whose graceful architectural ornament helped to proclaim the civic pride and affluence of the enterprising burghers.

The Flemish artists, though they looked to France for models of their great cathedrals, relied wholly on their own vision as they labored lovingly over the perfectly finished jewel-like miniature illustrations with which they embellished the manuscripts for royalty and merchant princes. Here the Northern spirit expressed itself intimately in a refreshing naturalism born of an open-hearted acceptance of the material world: the local countryside in all its seasons and aspects, the native folk busy at their chores or festivals, the nobles taking their luxurious ease or pursuing their pleasures. It is an innocent realism that combines a startling literalness with an astonishing perfection of technique to make Flemish painting at once the most readily comprehensible and delightful of medieval arts. Of these manuscripts the most famous monument is the *Très Riches Heures,* executed by Pol de Limbourg and his brothers for the Duc de Berry. From such manuscript illumination to painting on panels in tempera required little more than the shift to larger painting areas and the enlargement of design, though Flanders reduced the magniloquence of Italian frescoed forms which were keyed to the idealistic conception of man as a godlike creature, and devoted herself instead to homely expressions of everyday native life, supported by a documentation of the most detailed minutiae.

Michelangelo was critical of these matter-of-fact panels replete with accidental figures and fanciful details, so utterly different from the sweeping designs of the architectonic Italian murals: "They paint in Flanders only to deceive the external eye, things that gladden you and of which you cannot speak ill, and saints and prophets. Their painting is of stuffs—bricks and mortar, the grass of the fields, the shadows of trees, and bridges and rivers, which they call landscapes, and little figures here and

there," but "without reasonableness or art," and "without care in selecting and rejecting." Nevertheless, it was Flanders in the end that was to save art from the sheer empty formalism of design to which the Italian school finally declined, and bring it back to earthly realities.

In short, if Flemish drawing and composition appear slight beside the sweep and grandeur of Italian painting, there is instead a remarkable force and clarity of color and an incredible fidelity of brushwork devoted to details of texture and minutiae of landscape never hitherto attempted. Yet while the form of Flemish primitive painting is generally plastic, executed with forthright realism, the theme and atmosphere remain spiritual. Figures in allegories and legends of Biblical lore are rendered palpable in breathing flesh and blood; to the artist the sturdy texture of Flemish cloths or the silken brocades of the Orient serve as ideal accessories for his scenes commonly arranged within the local landscape. But the mood evoked in the compositions is invariably one of pious contemplation, the chastened spirit of the Gothic cloister. With unfailing felicity the Flemish painter of the fifteenth century secured "an interplay of complementary and harmonious colors . . . giving forth the resonance of the polyphonic music in which Flemish composers of the Middle Ages excelled."

It was the brothers Jan and Hubert van Eyck who brought oil painting to such flawless perfection that their followers could at best sustain but certainly not surpass their achievement. If the brothers did not discover oil painting, as Vasari has reported, they certainly rediscovered or improved its use, substituting certain oils for the usual egg base to secure a transparent enamel-like surface that has traditionally invoked comparison with glowing gems. Little is known of the Van Eycks, especially of Hubert, the Elder. Jan (1390?-1441) was born at Maaseyck, worked in Ghent, The Hague, and between 1425-1428 in Lille as court painter to Philip the Good of Burgundy, his offices as stewart and court realist putting us in mind of Velasquez with whom he takes his place among the very great portraitists. Where Jan, as in London's famous *Arnolfini and His Wife,* employs a wonderfully accurate eye and hand to observe and record the objective world with photographic verisimilitude, Hubert's touch everywhere betrays that compression of meaning, that heightened emotion, which transmute his realism into the purest of narrative poetry. The famous *Adoration of the Lamb* at St. Bavon in Ghent, long accounted the greatest single document of Flemish art, was begun by Hubert and finished in 1432 by Jan. Besides Jan's famous *Arnolfini,* there is at Bruges the portrait of his wife *Margaret,* while America owns *The Annunciation* (Plate 342) in Washington, a miracle of fascinating detail. Says Dr. de Tolney: "If one studies this composition—the dimly lit church interior, the motionless figures with their stiff gestures and doll-like faces . . . it seems to be a world on which neither the past nor the future has any hold, where the flow of time is indeed suspended. This is a reality freed from time. We are witnessing the perfect

peace spoken of by the mystics." Hubert's famous *Chancellor Rolin* is in the Louvre; two panels, a *Crucifixion* (Plates 343-344) and a *Last Judgment,* are in New York; while Jan's well-known *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata* is in Philadelphia. The Gothic elements in the crucifixion, "more elaborate and populous than any Calvary previously made north of the Alps," are full of interest; the broad pageantry, the colorful costumes and architectural background are combined with suggestions of the open-air drama of the miracle plays.

The style of Petrus Christus (ca. 1410-1473) suggests that he may have studied under Jan van Eyck. There is even stronger reason to support the belief that Petrus visited Italy where he introduced the Van Eyck method, teaching it to Antonello da Messina. Of the few paintings definitely ascribed to Christus, the most important, *St. Eligius,* is in the Philip Lehman Collection, New York. The *Carthusian Monk* (Plate 353) is an unforgettably vivid exposition of human features, ranking in importance with the *St. Jerome* in Detroit.

Of Robert Campin (1378-1444) who is now identified with the anonymous Maître de Flémalle, nothing is known with certainty. He appears to have worked in Tournai, rendering religious themes with the quaintness of local genre. The *Princess of the House of Savoy* (Plate 346) at Dumbarton Oaks, presents the wife of the Duke of Milan who entered a nunnery upon her husband's death. Its plastic solidity suggests Campin's work as a sculptor as well as painter. *The Mérode Altarpiece* in Brussels, the *Virgin and Child* in the Frankfort Museum and a version of the *Virgin of Salamanca* in the Metropolitan Museum, are among other paintings attributed to Campin.

Campin's pupil, according to extant records, was Roger van der Weyden, also called Rogier de la Pasture (1400-1464), whose widely popular works exerted a tremendous influence on his contemporaries and followers throughout the fifteenth century. Inventor of a great many types and motives, Roger caught the popular imagination by his ability to dramatize emotion in a gesture, the droop of a garment, the juxtaposition of figures and background, fused by a melodic use of linear rhythms. Among his most important works are the *Seven Sacraments* in Antwerp, and the *Descent from the Cross* at the Escorial in Madrid, both clearly suggesting the strong hold that medieval mysticism retained on his mind. Better than any other he suggests and interprets with profound sincerity the poignant drama of the religious themes. A certain tidiness of execution and a meagreness of color characterize his work. *The Virgin and St. John* (Plate 345) and a *Crucifixion* in Philadelphia are both considered among Van der Weyden's most distinguished paintings; of the popular *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin* (Plates 349, 350) there are several copies (Munich, Leningrad), the one in Boston being generally considered the finest and doubtless the original. The *Portrait of a Lady* (Plate 352) in Washington is perhaps the most famous Flemish portrait in America, while the *Man with a Turban* (Plate 351), said to be a

portrait of Philip the Good, surely equals it as ingenuous Chaucerian portraiture, warm and rooted to the good soil of Flanders, yet with an indefinable air of elegance. The *Madonna and Child* in Chicago (Plate 356) is a choice example of the conventional Bruges Madonna type: demure oval face, high round forehead and rosebud lips. Roger's final works, including the sharply characterized *Francesco d'Este* (Plate 357), indicate that he had some contact with Italy.

To Roger's studio in Brussels came Dirk Bouts (ca. 1420-1475), a native of Haarlem whose characteristic Dutch love of nature appeared in his works, earning for him the title of founder of the Dutch school of painting. The influence of Van der Weyden is strong in both *The Justice of the Emperor Otho* in Brussels and the *Last Supper* in Louvain, among Bouts' finest works. His *Portrait of a Man* (Plate 355) in the Metropolitan Museum has the same wholesome honesty and direct appeal of the *Man with a Turban,* though one notes that Bouts himself is matter of fact, his eye clear and cold, his observation clinical. The face in the portrait is not so much a likeness as a "tracing" that catches the very breath and pulse of the original. *Moses Before the Burning Bush* (Plate 347), formerly attributed to Van Eyck, consists of a double scene covering a sequence in time, wherein Jehovah reveals himself to Moses in the burning bush, counseling: "Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

Hugo van der Goes (1435?-1482), if not a pupil of Van der Weyden, certainly reflects his influence. One of the great masters of Flemish painting, Hugo achieved by means of daring use of light-and-shade the most dramatic realism of all early Flemish art, despite the ever-present accent on medieval atmosphere. The essential elements of both these qualities are clearly contrasted in the double-portrait (Plate 359) in Baltimore, the realistically presented Donor, a portrait study, sharply setting off St. John, rendered in appropriate spirit. "Just in this technical capacity to evoke the sense of mass," says Professor Mather, "Hugo at his best seems to me superior to all the other late Gothic painters of the North and not far behind such great Italian contemporaries as Piero della Francesca and Signorelli. . . . Hugo seems a great genius and a consummate technician, undertaking problems for which the time was not ripe, at once aided and ultimately undone by the intensity of his emotions." Roger Fry insists, however, that Van der Goes "has no idea of relations in space."

Hans Memling (ca. 1430-1474) is among the most ingratiating of Flemish primitives; although the charge of monotony attaches to his works, like those of his Italian contemporary Perugino they are possessed of a tranquil spirituality which seldom fails to cast its own spell upon the observer, while his portraits of local Flemish burghers as Donors evidence a superb draughtsmanship. Throughout his work one notes that the Gothic qualities of earlier Flemish art have been softened; the "beauty of holiness" and a host of Madonnas mildly contemplative, tenderly sentimental, preoccupy his brush. As the culminating figure of late Gothic painting he added a

splendor and radiance to the Van Eyck technique which was not to be surpassed. Among his masterpieces are the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* at the Hospital of St. John in Bruges (another treatment of the theme is in the Metropolitan Museum); the gemlike reliquary called *The Shrine of St. Ursula,* and the popular *Martin van Nieuwenhove.* The *Portrait of a Lady* (Plate 354) and the *Madonna and Child with Angels* (Plate 360) are typical of his compositional types, the latter incidentally affording the customary opportunity for the representation of rich textiles. The angels, of course, are offering the heavenly music of the spheres.

Like Bouts, Gerard David (ca. 1460-1523) was born in Holland whence he left for the busy art center, Bruges. Here he followed closely the style of Hans Memling, continuing the stock religious compositions always executed with brilliant finish. David takes Memling's "beauty of holiness" off its pedestal and converts it to mere kindliness. The impress of humanity, intimate yet reserved and decorous, is upon his Madonnas and saints. His *Madonna and Saints* in the Rouen Museum and the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* in the National Gallery, London, are among his best known works. A famous *Pietà,* among others in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, and a *Nativity* (Plate 361) in Washington, are typical not only of David but of all fifteenth century painting in Bruges: an art that, as we have seen, was based on "a simple unquestioning and uncritical pietism which allowed even their conceptions of transcendent realities to keep a homelike quality and a child-like literalness."

During the sixteenth century the active centers of arts and industry shifted from Bruges to the "Chicago of Flanders," Antwerp, a bustling city teeming with the excitement of activity and the rising fortunes of men who were caught up in the exuberance of broadening horizons, of new ideas that struggled for expression. Quentin Massys (1466?-1530) represents the dimming of Gothic traditions in a brighter light of idealism carried over the Alps from Italy by travelers and returning artists. "Without radically departing from traditional methods, he vivified them by a new color, by more energetic compositional forms, by a new and more sensitive feeling, and finally, by the assimilation of all that could be drawn from contemporary Italy without violating the Flemish genius." In Massys' portrait work one notes a psychological penetration, an intellectuality which is an inherent consequence of his associations with some of the great Renaissance minds, Sir Thomas More, Holbein, Erasmus, Dürer. The Louvre owns his *Banker and His Wife,* while his *Holy Kinship* is in Brussels. In addition to several works which are in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, and an *Adoration* in the Metropolitan Museum, a masterpiece of portraiture by his hand, the *Man with a Pink* (Plate 358), is at the Art Institute of Chicago, while the Worcester Art Museum possesses the well-known *Rest on the Flight.*

Occasional elements of the grotesque which are to be found in some of the

panels by Quentin Massys derive from the example of that genius of caricature and diablerie, Jerome Bosch, who with Pieter Breughel is credited with laying the foundations of genre painting. At home in the medieval world of fantasy, he conjures up out of his antique imagination grotesque creatures, virulent types that seem to personify the ludicrous or vicious in human nature. The scenes they enact in *Lust* (Escorial) or the *Temptation of St. Anthony* (Lisbon) are at once medieval fables and modern allegories, their trenchant drama generally softened by being set in the mildest of landscape backgrounds. A Dutchman whose prolific brush won him enormous popularity in Spain as well as Flanders, Bosch developed a new figure-type for artists who required a vitriolic vocabulary to articulate the popular emotions arising with the Reformation. The vogue for these folklorish monsters out of miracle plays and travelers' tales has persisted unabated ever since; nightmare creatures out of the Middle Ages, they are re-echoed in works of Goya, and in others like Orozco of our own day. Bosch's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* in Madrid is in the style and mood of the famous *Christ Taken Captive* at San Diego (Plate 362). Christ, a figure of mild innocence, is surrounded by the professional cruelty of the law, the crafty mockers, reactionary defenders of the status quo. Milder and humorously quaint is his *Adoration of the Kings* in the Metropolitan Museum.

Joachim Patinir (1485-1524) is among the earliest painters to subordinate figures and anecdotes to landscape. It was inevitable that the ever-present fields of Flanders should one day absorb the interest of an artist to the exclusion or subordination of the human element. The *Rest on the Flight* (Plate 367), now in Minneapolis, is among Patinir's most charming landscapes. The central characters are almost incidental to the grove of sycamores; the miraculous stream gushes from the rock to refresh the fleeing refugees; a field of wheat has sprouted full grown to deceive the marauding soldiers in the background; while the broken column at the left suggests the fallen idols of Egypt. Despite these details the artist's interest is absorbed in movement, disposition of masses, and elements evoking romantic overtones in the landscape.

Joos van Cleve (active 1507-1540) and Antonio Moro (ca. 1517-1576) are among the outstanding Flemish portraitists, both employed for a time in Tudor London where Moro painted the grim features of Mary Tudor. Joos van Cleve demonstrates the influence of Quentin Massys' Italian sources in the virile figures of the *Young Man* (Plate 365), and *Francis I* (Plate 364); Moro's honest directness of style is apparent in his *Margaretta of Parma* (Plate 363): the natural daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The dress she wears is an overpainting on an earlier costume, apparently added at her behest about the year 1570 because she wished to see herself attired in the latest fashion. A similar picture is in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin.

Continuing the tradition of solidly constructed portraits and religious themes, Bernard van Orley, who was court painter to Margaret of Austria, borrowed heavily and unhappily of the new Latin style, noticeably in his *Rest on the Flight* (Plate

366), as did Mabuse, Pourbus and others, at the expense of purely Flemish characteristics. But while certain of the Flemish painters absorbed more and more of Italian style, other Northern artists clung to the native portraiture, the romantic landscape of Patinir and the naturalistic genre scenes of Bosch.

An artist almost unique in the history of painting, Pieter Breughel the Elder (ca. 1525-1569) has set down some of the profoundest observations on human nature and society both in his magnificent landscapes, the series of months, and in the most delightful of genre paintings, those scenes of native peasants at work and play among the harvest fields of Flanders. Pieter the Droll his countrymen called him; quaintness, diablerie, allegory and pungent satire mingle in his canvases as they do in Tyl Eulenspiegel, in Grimm's tales or in Rabelais; but even in his scenes of roistering peasants at a Kermis or wedding, or of toiling harvesters who have crammed their maws with food and lie sprawling sottishly in a bit of shade out of the noonday sun, he reflects on man's rôle in nature's scheme of things and the part both play in the drama of existence. His primary interest lies in commonplace things close to the native soil, so that his wanderings down through Italy have left no trace of influence on his work, except for his recollections of the Alps, which he "swallowed whole." Entirely original in technique and approach to subject matter, his landscapes are thoroughly modern in conception and treatment, while his color harmonies and use of rhythm are always masterful. The bold carmine and deep blues of *The Wedding Dance* (Plate 369) at Detroit and the sun-drenched yellows and earthy browns of *The Harvesters* (Plate 370) in the Metropolitan Museum greet us with a freshness little dimmed after four hundred years. A commentary on moral irresponsibility acted out upon the broad expanse of nature herself is to be had in *The Unfaithful Shepherd* (Plate 368) at Philadelphia. The complementary *Faithful Shepherd* at his post, slain by the wolf, is at Princeton.

In Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) we encounter an artist whose prodigal creativeness, vast capacity for work and unflagging zest for life have earned him rank among the titans of history. At the age of twenty-three, having served an apprenticeship in Antwerp, he visited Italy where he undertook a thorough study of Florentine, Roman and Venetian painting. The four decades that followed witnessed his development as one of the foremost humanists of Europe, and since Titian's death the most famous artist of the age: an accomplished scholar, a splendid horseman, a student of seven languages, secretary to Spain's Privy Council, Knight of the Golden Spur, ambassador to kings and companion to princes. He was twice married; on the second occasion, at the age of fifty-three, to a famous beauty of sixteen; his dress mirrored the height of courtly fashion while his fortunes procured for him a lordly estate. At sixty his *Self Portrait* is that of a gallant cavalier whose attitude is full of grace,

whose bearing is aristocratic though genial, a commanding figure accustomed to royal presences. As head of an enormous studio he labored tirelessly to satisfy the demands of a continent, adored by students and patrons, respected abroad as a citizen of the world.

During the half century after Breughel's death Flemish art had languished in duplications or pale imitations of the Italian manner. Utilizing the full color range of a rich Venetian palette, Rubens seized upon every province of knowledge and, leaning heavily on his native Flemish idiom, decorated prodigious canvases with the broad pageantry of history, allegory, mythology and Biblical traditions, restoring Flemish art to a position of pre-eminence. Set in poetic landscapes, his dramas teem with saints and holy families (Plate 372); gods and goddesses (Plate 373), nymphs, satyrs and maenads act out their mythologies while historical personages re-enact their fateful rôles with the Baroque rhetoric and gesture of operatic spectacle (Plate 374). As models of the protagonists, Rubens took his own wife (Plate 375), the local Antwerp types, village characters, whose graceful limbs and soft sunlit bodies he transported into a charmed world. He has left a prodigious quantity of magnificent paintings in the Baroque style to which whole schools in succeeding generations have looked for guidance and inspiration, catching the pulsation of light and color in a manner that, two centuries later, Renoir was to emulate.

As the foremost exponent of the Baroque, his art is characterized by impetuous movement spiraling across the scene, by exciting splashes of color, an excess of ornamentation, and the use of full-blown figures thoroughly idealized; but he is ever in command of the endless procession that sweeps within view, never at a loss to dispose them in magnificently orchestrated designs on well-set stages that are suffused with a dominant color-light enriched by a host of complementary color harmonies. Like Whitman, he embraces the pageant of life, singing man's uniqueness and universality, his godliness and animality in free verse forms that swell and flow inexhaustibly onward like nature's own superabundance. A mere catalogue of the works entirely by his own hand or designed for his assistants, would require a separate volume. Most famous perhaps are his great classical allegories, a series of twenty-one canvases in the gallery of the Luxembourg Palace depicting the highlights of Marie de' Medici's life.

His *Judgment of Paris, Rape of the Sabine Women* and *Triumph of Seilenus* in the National Gallery, London, *Diana Returning from the Chase* in Dresden, the *Last Judgment* in Munich, *Helena Fourment and Her Children* in the Louvre are typical masterpieces. Examples of his portraiture, the splendid gentleman and art patron, the *Earl of Arundel* (Plate 371), as well as mythological and allegorical subjects, are reproduced from Boston, Hartford, and New York, indicative of several phases of his stylistic development.

The splendid talents of Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678) are dimmed only in the

full light of Rubens' genius, for this younger contemporary displays the latter's own gifts for Baroque decoration in countless scenes familiar to Breughel's wedding feasters and Hals' convivial topers. Jordaens' characters are possessed of the same staggering capacities for food and drink; the simplest of domestic feasts or family songfests is glorified on the grand scale of Rubens' canvases, crowded with a super race of human beings glowing with ruddy life as they disport themselves about the tables heaped with nature's own abundance. It is all done in a manner that measures up to Jordaens' own unstinted zest for life, with the result that his painting is at the other end of the pole from exquisite or precious: flesh tends to looseness, nudity to gross nakedness, color to mere ostentation. In short, he lacks the superior taste and gift for composition that distinguish Rubens' work.

Up to the time of Sir Anthony van Dyck's second visit to London, he showed every indication of equaling the achievements of Rubens. Certainly his portraiture, even in the early work, ranked with that of his contemporary. Born at Antwerp (1599-1641) into a prosperous silk merchant's family of twelve children, he became the youngest member of St. Luke's Guild of painters when he was barely nineteen. The double portrait of *Jan Wildens and His Wife* at Detroit and the separate portraits of Frans Snyders and his wife at the Frick Collection are straightforward, lucid studies of two of Rubens' outstanding assistants and their wives, authored when Van Dyck was still in his early twenties. Again, an astonishing *Betrayal of Christ* (Madrid), a mature composition charged with dramatic elements that are original and freshly conceived, points to a career potentially as promising as that of Rubens. Of his capacities none is surer than Van Dyck himself. One may detect it in the *Self Portrait* at the Bache Collection, painted about 1620, which betrays the sensuous mouth, the delicate chin and effeminate grace. A slender youth, indolent and luxurious by nature, arrogant and nervously sensitive, he was to embark on a career of amorous indulgence that, aided by disease, would bring him to an untimely death at forty-two. To such a nature as his the easy choice of portraiture for which his talents were more readily suited, and which could rapidly sweep him within the precious social environment normal to his instincts, was inevitable. The year of his *Self Portrait* found him in Italy, after an initial sojourn at the court of James I. A tour of the great cities—Rome, Venice, Genoa in particular—secured for him, with the aid of the Earl of Arundel (Plate 371), the rich patronage of Italy's first families. In Genoa the Brignole-Sala, the Spinola, and the Grimaldi-Cattaneo families, many of whom may be seen at Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, received Van Dyck handsomely. Singly and in groups he proceeded to set them down, calmly, with utter refinement, investing his subjects with the nobility and grace of their exalted social rank. The sumptuous decorative elements, the fine silks and laces, the satins and rich stuff of the draperies, all breathe an air of distinction and elegance calculated to mirror the pride of an ancient aristocracy. If there is little body beneath the accoutrements, if Van Dyck

has succumbed to the neat expedient of subordinating character study to the stately pose of glorified fashion plates, the total effect is nevertheless often sumptuous and occasionally breathtaking. Happily, Van Dyck's finer sensibilities sometimes imposed their own will on his general indifference, resulting in canvases like the *Cardinal Bentivoglio* painted at Rome (now in the Pitti Palace), like *The Marchesa Grimaldi* (Plate 377) in Elkins Park, and rare masterpieces of portraiture which maintain a neat balance between socialization of type-figure and an individualization of features and pose which are instinct with human warmth. The Marchesa nobly embodies her pride of rank and family fortune; her poise, at once regal and eloquent of decorum, carries the accent of Southern gentility and graciousness in a land where these blossoms were cultivated as a tradition.

After five years Van Dyck returned to Antwerp and for a time allowed his earlier and more vigorous dramatic inspiration enough sway to produce perhaps his finest native Flemish portraits and religious canvases. But London and the court milieu, the acclaim of sophisticated if frivolous admirers weaned him irresistibly and in 1632 he was back in London as official painter to Charles I. Dubbed Knight within three short months and allowed for his greater convenience both a handsome town and country house, Van Dyck was promptly immersed in a life of revelry and dissipation. As a friend was to say of him, "He always went magnificently Drest, has a numerous and gallant equipage and kept so noble a table in his Appartment that few Princes were more visited or better serv'd." Hopeful parents and eager dowagers, gay fops and their feminine counterparts now clamored for Sir Anthony's brushwork. Socially lionized, he had only the mornings during which he worked feverishly. His evenings were filled with sumptuous banquets and the company of gay courtiers. His nocturnal hours were given over to the company of fair ladies. By the end of the decade, hastened by a disease then diagnosed as the gout, a disintegration as pathetic as it was rapid had cut him off.

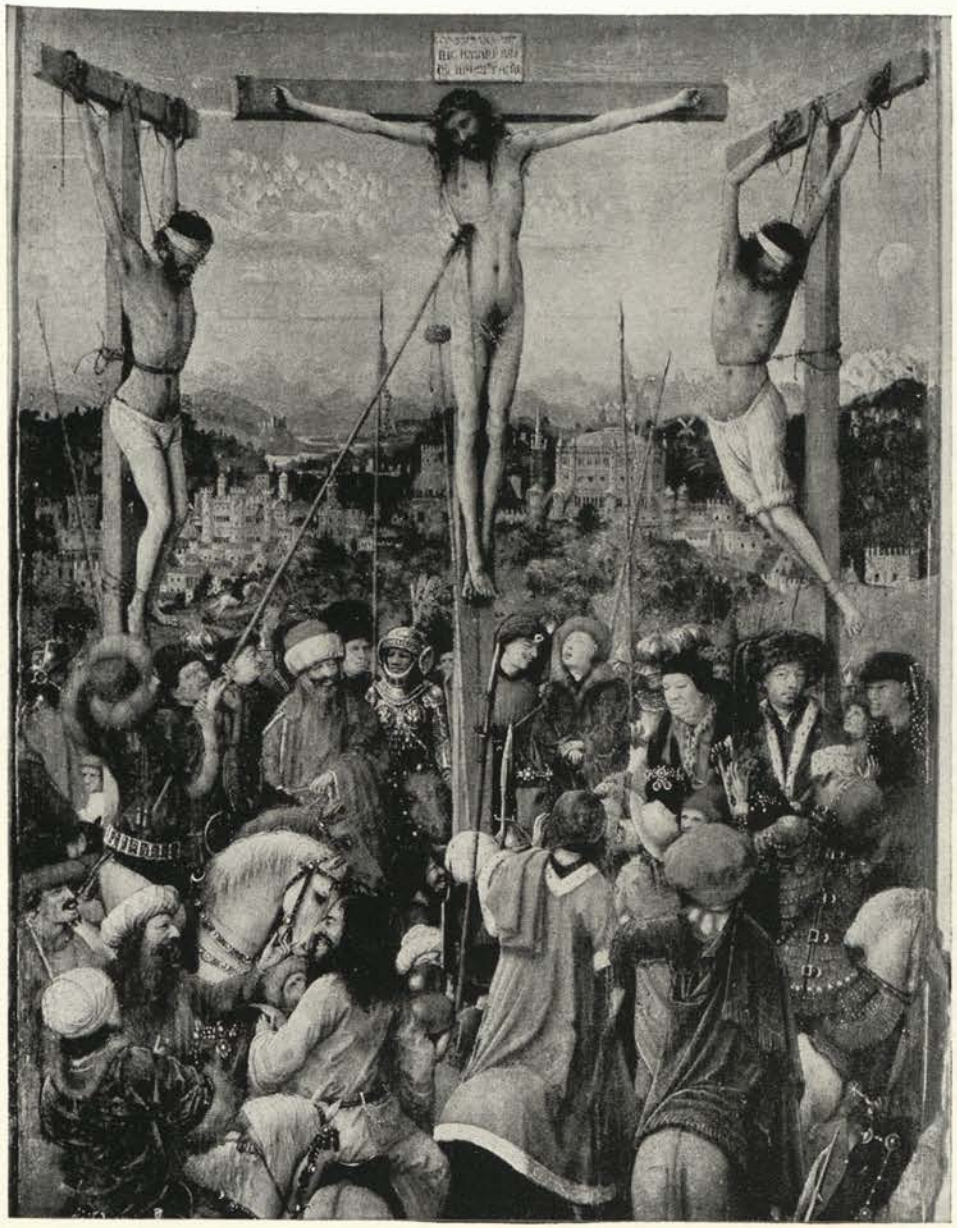
His portrait of *Queen Henrietta Maria* (Plate 378), the "morally empty and mischief-making" wife of Charles I, who fled to France when her husband was beheaded, is one of the better of many portraits of the ill-starred royal family. The liquid pearls set off an irresponsible countenance, while as always the costume is a splendid harmony of brilliant blue and gray tones. Like the famous *Sir John Suckling* in the Frick Collection, the *Earl of Warwick* (Plate 376) and the *James, Duke of Lenox* in the Metropolitan Museum, it has a sumptuous elegance, and marks the style of salon portraiture which was to become dominant in England and colonial America. Roger Fry summarily dismisses Van Dyck with "His pictures are the last perfection of furniture for the drawing rooms of the great." If this is true of the great mass of Van Dyck's portraiture, the artist is still accorded the saving grace of a limited number of masterpieces, while his influence, with that of Rubens, on the entire continent is likely to sustain the memory of his faltering genius.

Jan van Eyck, 1390?–1441 *The Annunciation*

Plate 342

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Hubert van Eyck, 1370?–1426 *The Crucifixion. Detail*

Plate 343

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Hubert van Eyck *The Crucifixion. Detail*

Plate 344

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Roger van der Weyden,
1400–1464

The Virgin and St. John

Plate 345

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

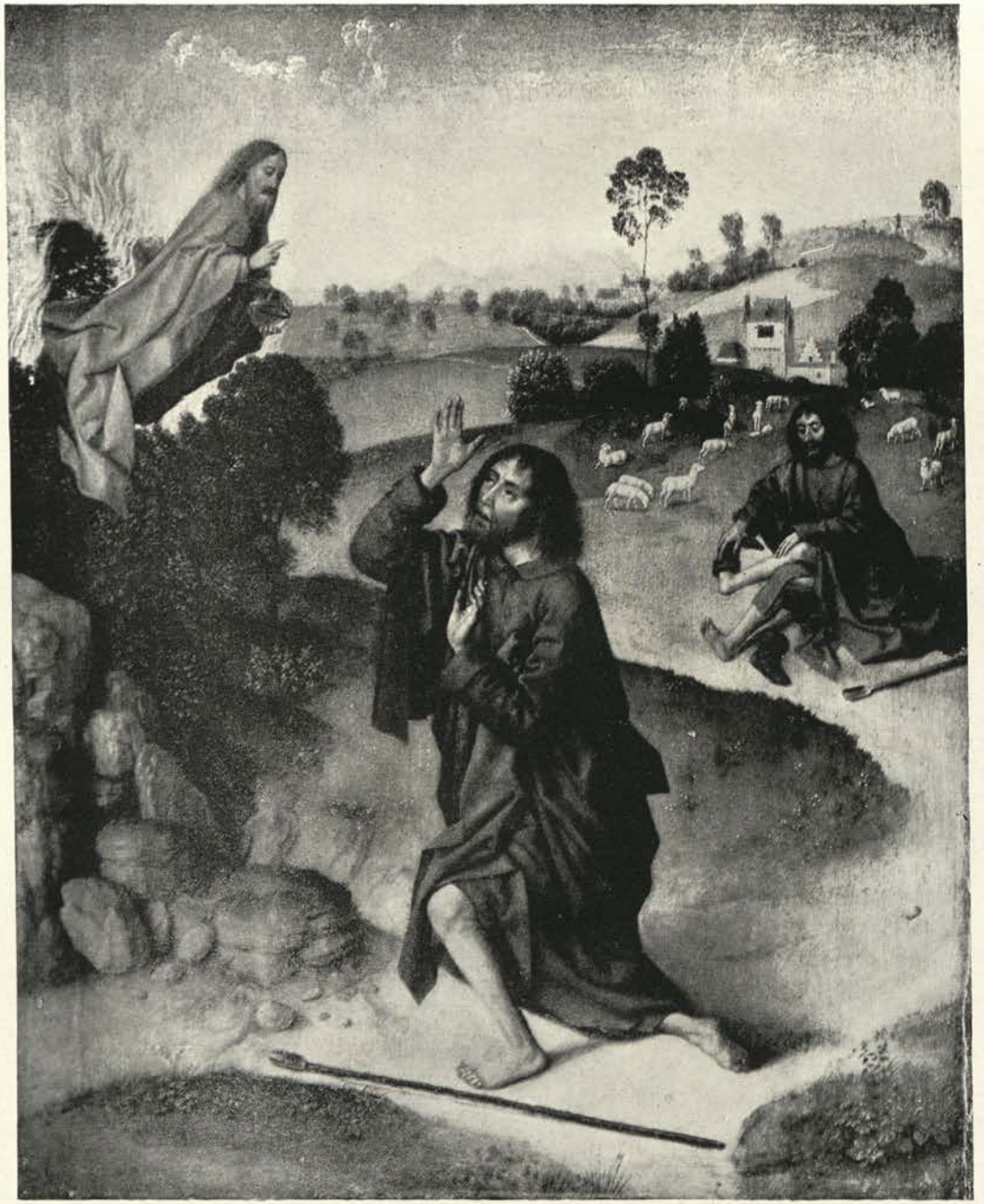
Robert Campin,
1378–1444

Portrait of a Princess of the House of Savoy

Plate 346

DUMBARTON OAKS COLLECTION

Washington, D.C.



Dirk Bouts, ca. 1420–1475 — *Moses Before the Burning Bush*

Plate 347

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dirk Bouts — *Portrait of a Man. Silver Point Drawing*

Plate 348

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

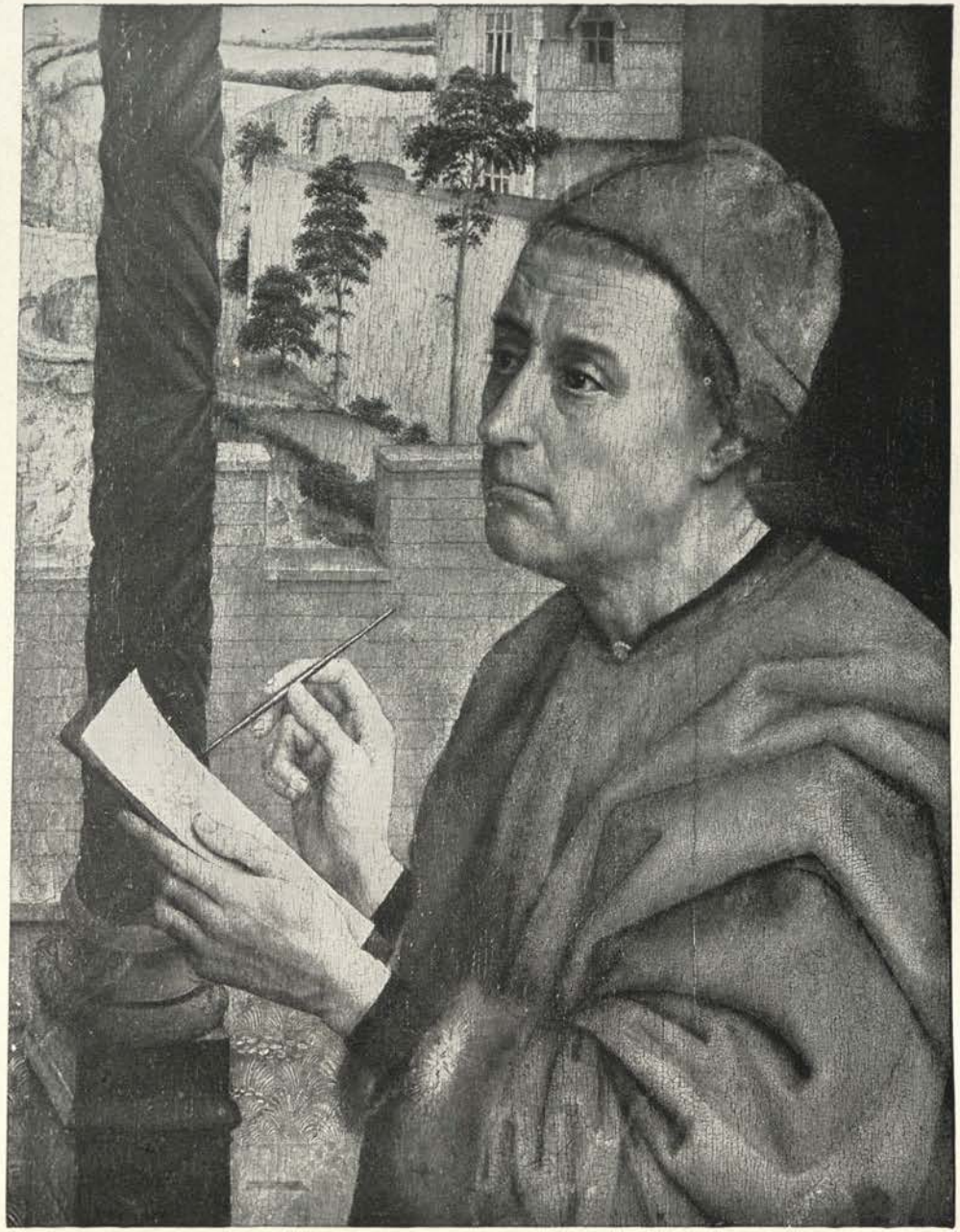
Northampton, Massachusetts

Roger van der Weyden — *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin. Detail*

Plate 349

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

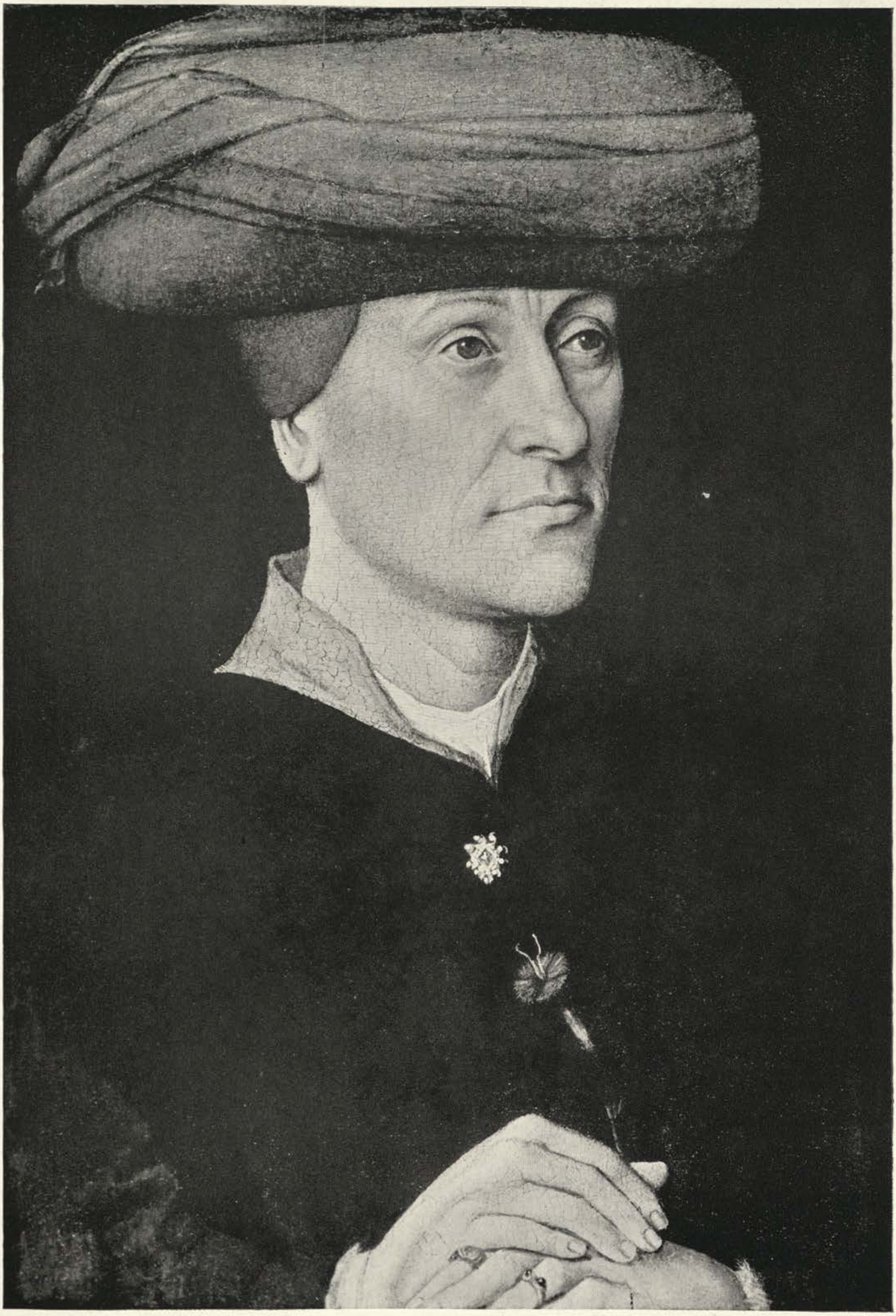


Roger van der Weyden — *St. Luke Drawing the Virgin. Detail*

Plate 350

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Roger van der Weyden — *Man with a Turban*

Plate 351

BACHE COLLECTION

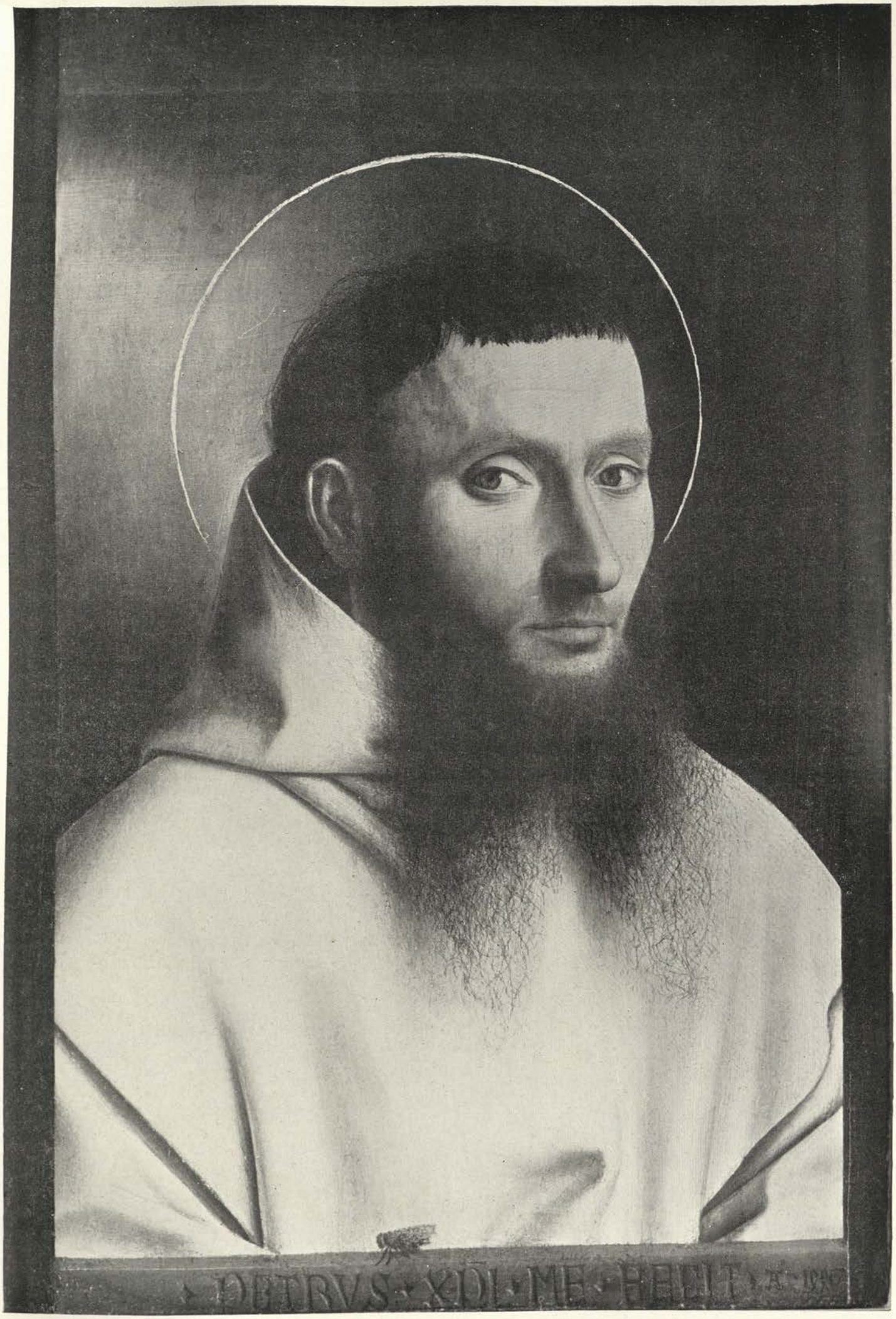
New York City

Roger van der Weyden — *Portrait of a Lady*

Plate 352

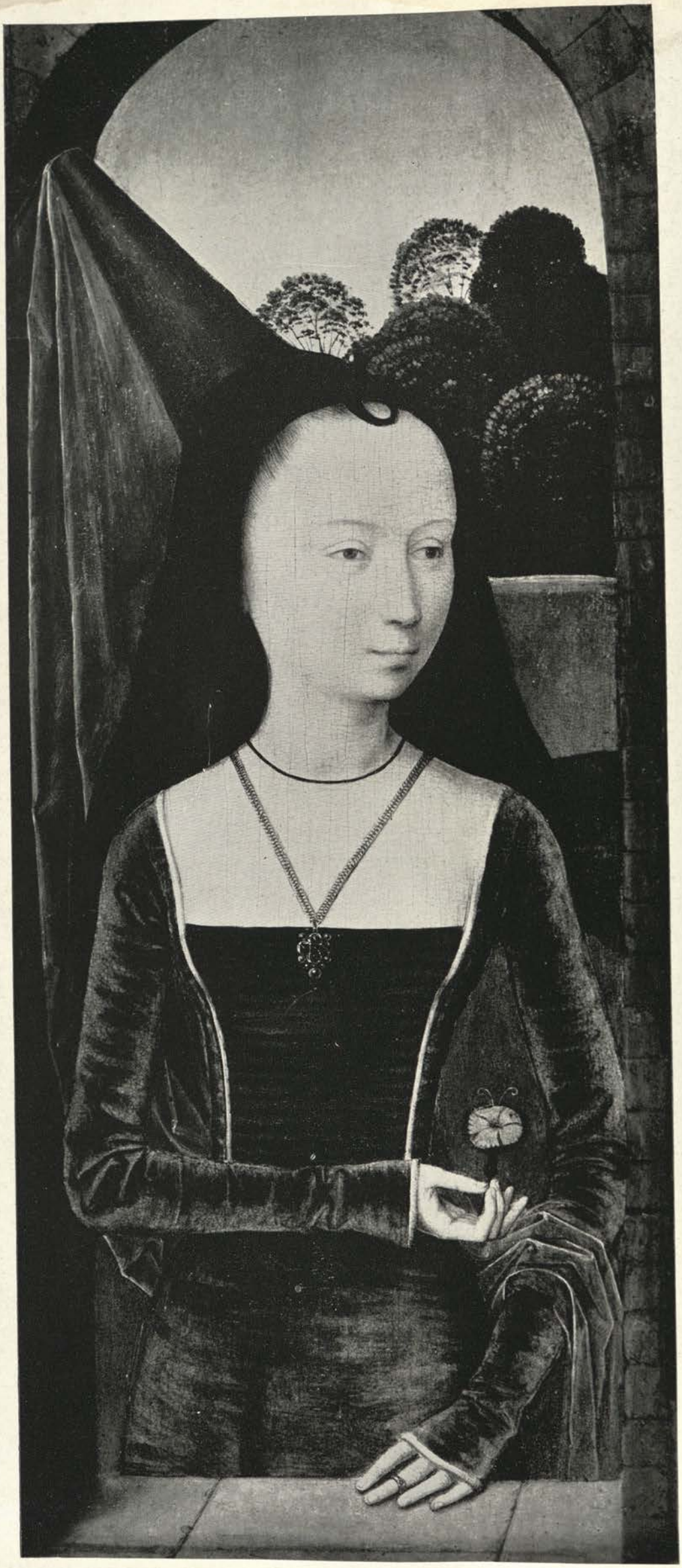
NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Petrus Christus, ca. 1410–1473 — *Portrait of a Carthusian Monk*

Plate 353. BACHE COLLECTION, *New York City*



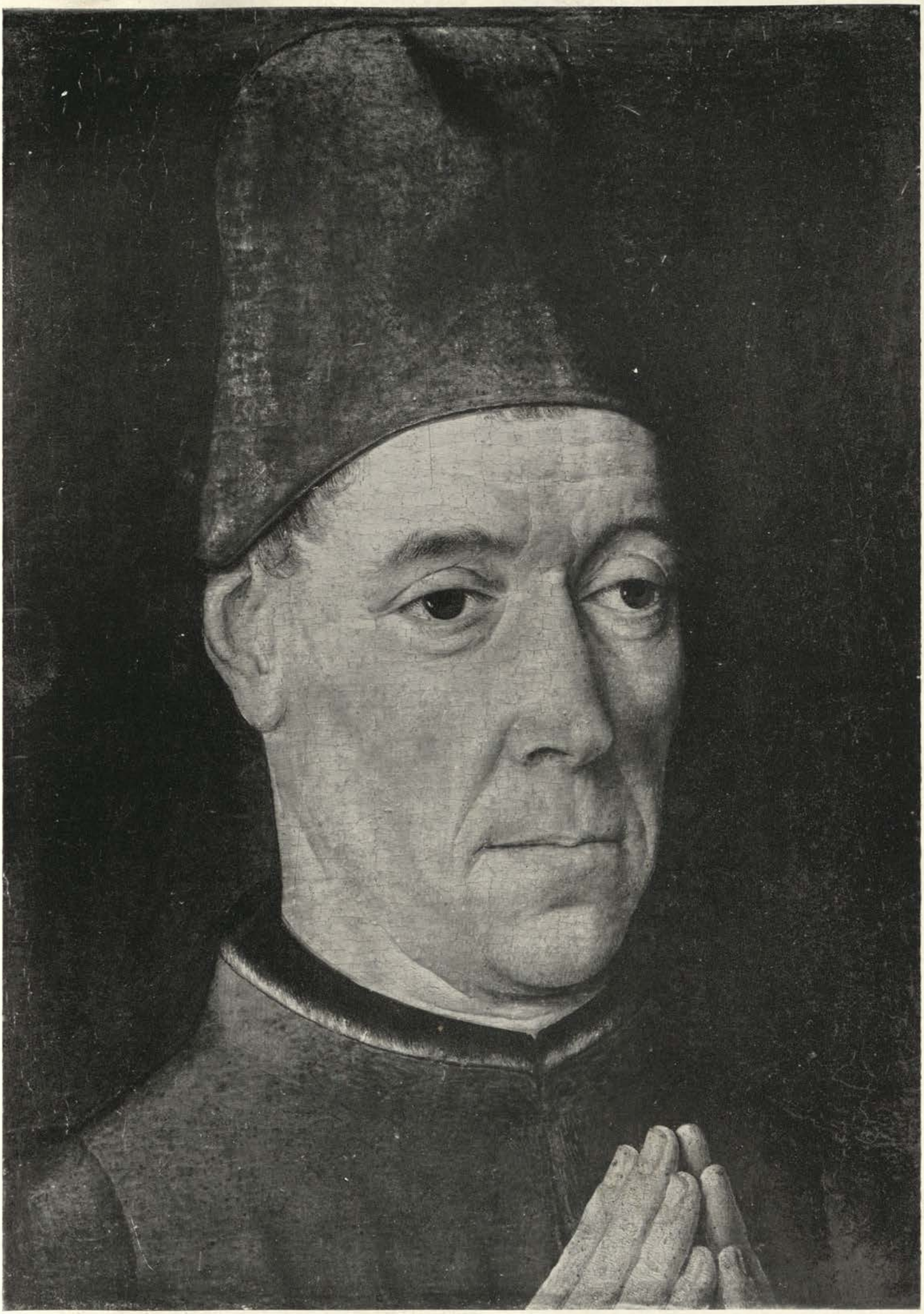
Hans Memling,
ca. 1430–1474

Portrait
of a Lady

Plate 354

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City



Dirk Bouts *Portrait of a Man*

Plate 355

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Roger van der Weyden — *Madonna and Child*

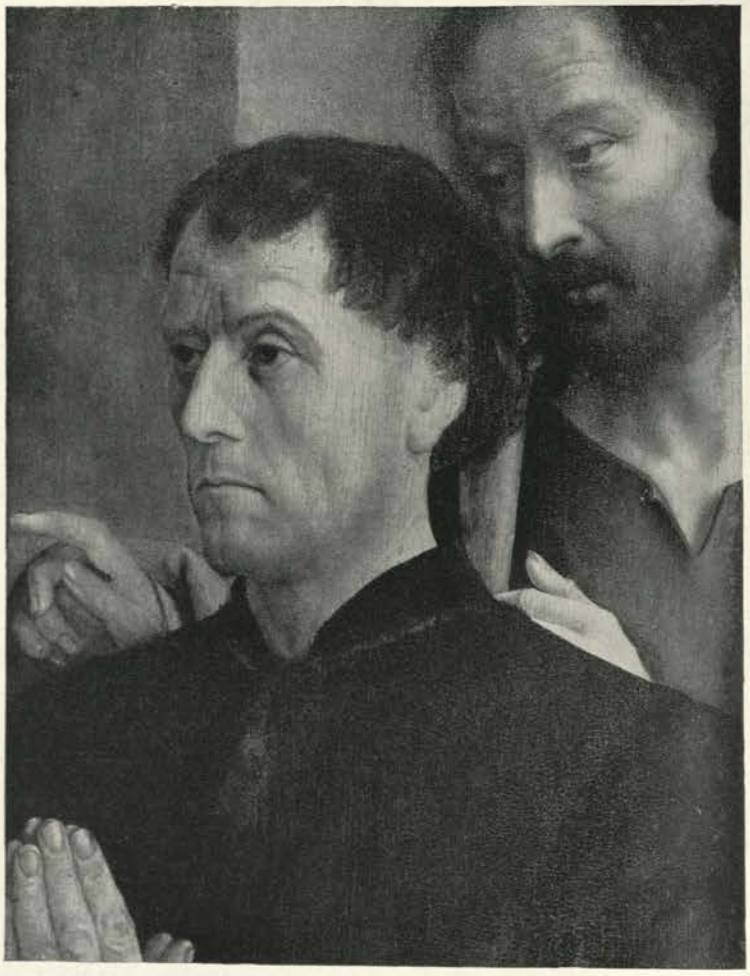
Plate 356. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, *Chicago, Illinois*

Quentin Massys, 1466?-1530 — *Man with a Pink*

Plate 358. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, *Chicago, Illinois*

Roger van der Weyden — *Portrait of Francesco d'Este*

Plate 357. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*



Hugo van der Goes, 1435?-1482 — *Donor and St. John*

Plate 359. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland*

Hans Memling — *Madonna and Child with Angels*

Plate 360

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Gerard David, ca. 1460–1523 — *Nativity. Detail from a Triptych*

Plate 361

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Jerome Bosch, ca. 1450–1516 — *Christ Taken Captive*

Plate 362

FINE ARTS GALLERY

San Diego, California

Antonio Moro, ca. 1517–ca. 1576 — *Margaretta of Parma*

Plate 363

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

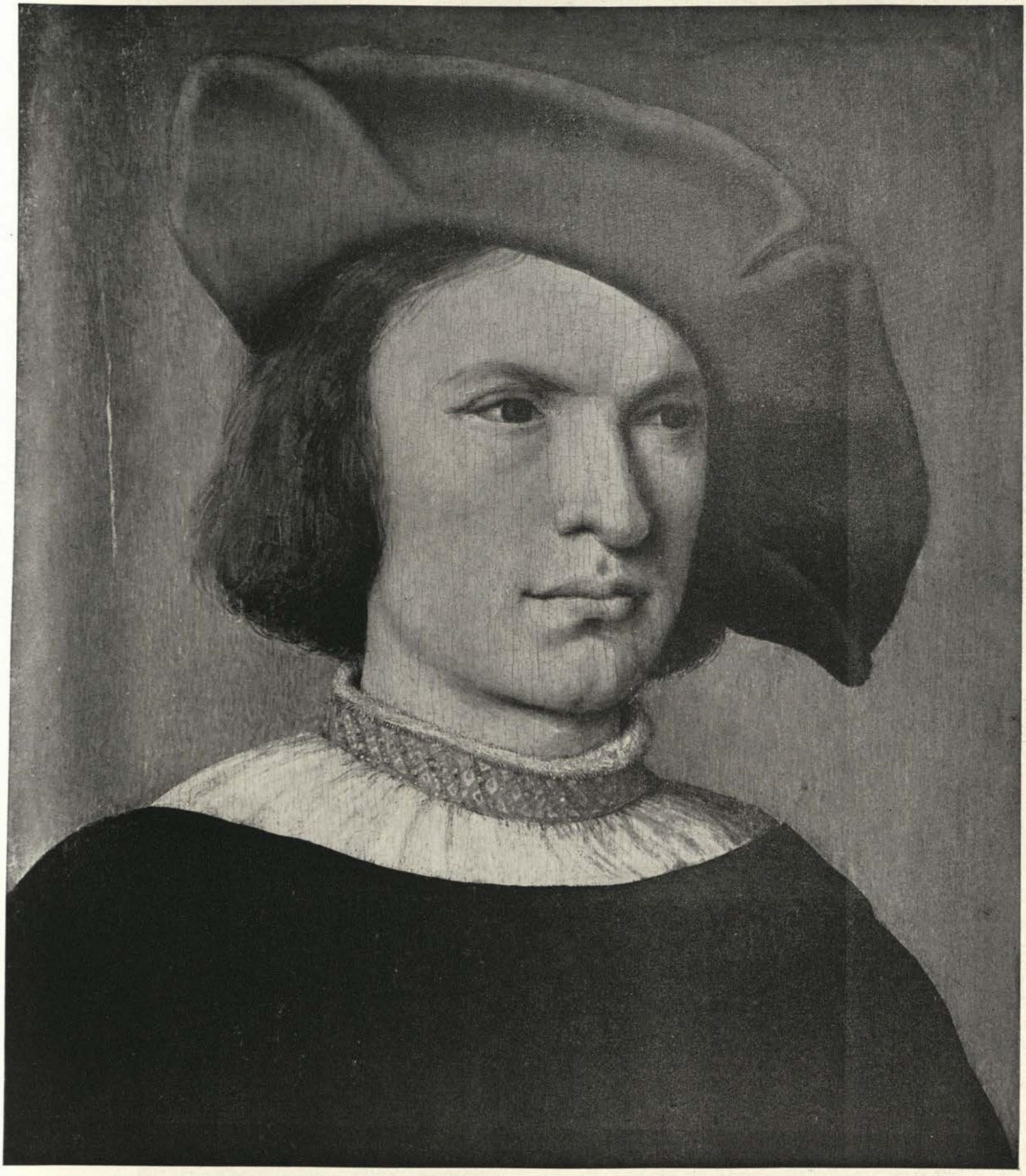
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Joos van Cleve, active 1507–1540 — *Portrait of Francis I*

Plate 364

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio



Joos van Cleve — *Portrait of a Young Man*

Plate 365

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Bernard van Orley, ca. 1495–1542 — *Rest on the Flight*

Plate 366

ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

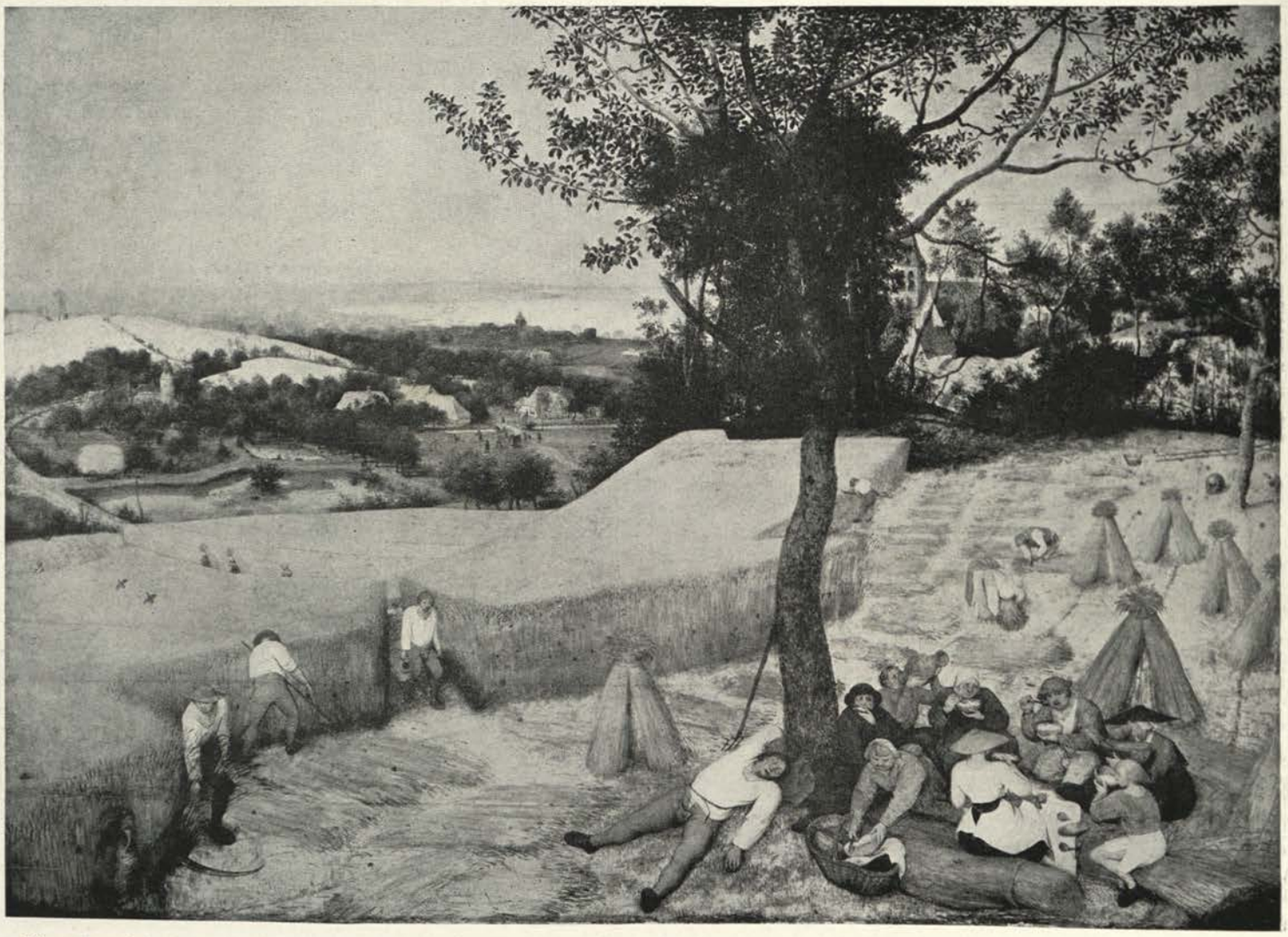
Toronto, Canada

Joachim Patinir, 1485–1524 Plate 367. MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS, *Minneapolis, Minnesota* *Rest on the Flight*

Pieter Breughel, the Elder, ca. 1525–1569 *The Unfaithful Shepherd*

Plate 368. JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*

Pieter Breughel, the Elder Plate 369. DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS, *Detroit, Michigan* *The Wedding Dance*



Pieter Breughel, the Elder *The Harvesters*

Plate 370. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*

Peter Paul Rubens, 1577–1640 *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*

Plate 371

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Peter Paul Rubens — *Return from the Flight*

Plate 372. WADSWORTH ATHENEUM, *Hartford, Connecticut*

Peter Paul Rubens — *Venus and Adonis*

Plate 373

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Peter Paul Rubens — *Queen Tomyris*

Plate 374

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Peter Paul Rubens *Portrait of Isabella Brandt*

Plate 375

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

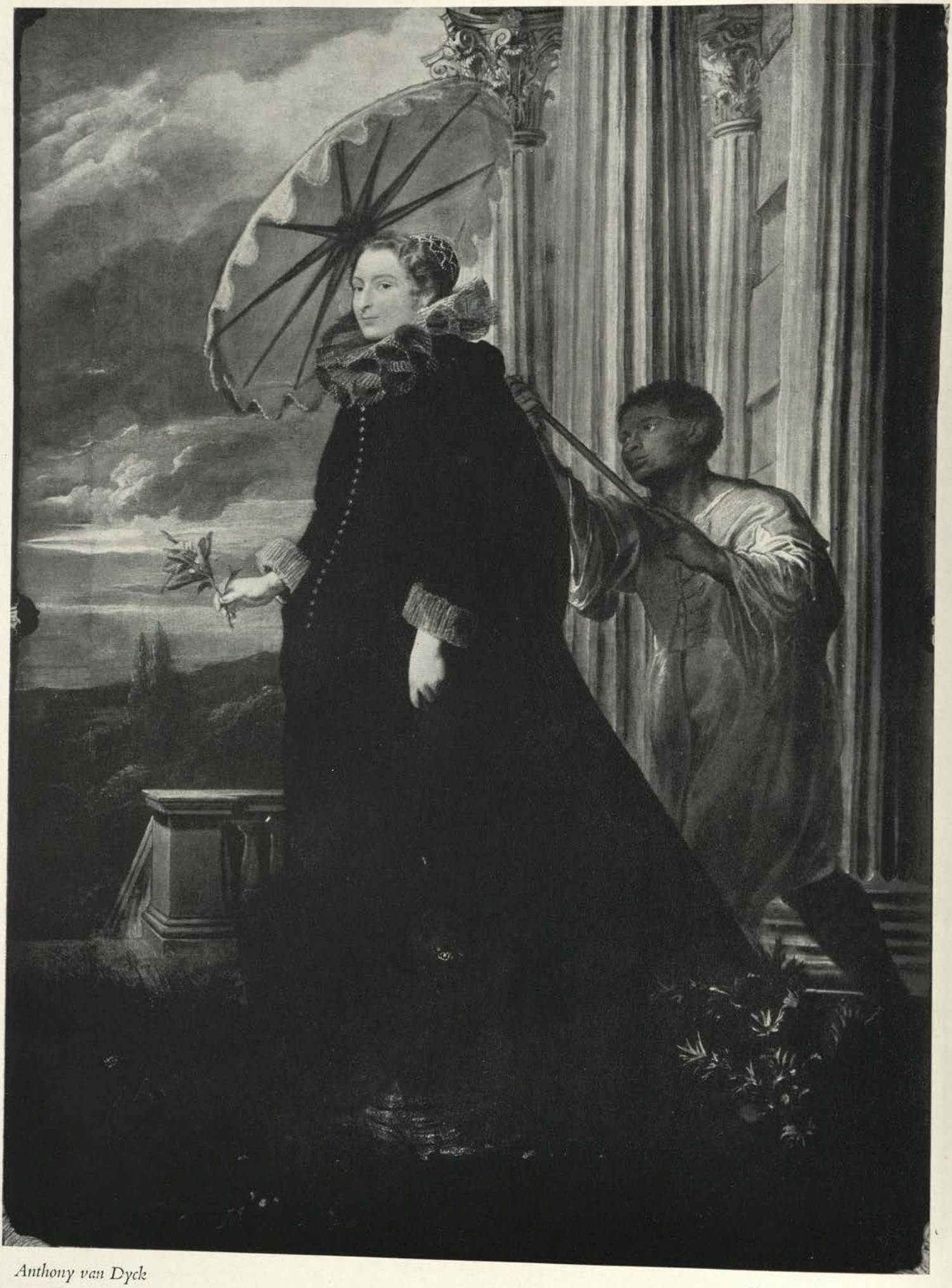
Boston, Massachusetts

Anthony van Dyck, 1599–1641 *Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick*

Plate 376

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City



Anthony van Dyck

The Marchesa Grimaldi

Plate 377

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Anthony van Dyck — *Queen Henrietta Maria*

Plate 378

FINE ARTS GALLERY

San Diego, California

XI
Dutch School

IT IS not accidental that the taste for Dutch painting grew up with the development of naturalism in European painting in the 1850's and 1860's. What art was produced after Holland became a republic in 1579 corresponds very closely in content and technique to the art emerging from bourgeois France after the Revolution of 1848. For the government of Holland, run by a kind of Parliament or "General States" in the seventeenth century, created a society almost entirely middle class, with trade and commerce as its mainstay. The city-burgher dominated both public life and the canvases which mirror this life. The nobility was unimportant and poor, while the middle class, with reason and expediency as its motivating ideals, imposed its pattern on Dutch culture. The painter, too, played a rôle different from that of the artist in Italy. Since commissions were rare except for portraits, his pictures had to please the small merchants who made up his chief buying public. And these merchants desired their own lives clearly and freshly depicted on a surface that could be used as collateral on a loan, as an investment, or exchanged for other goods. Pictures had to be decorative but also commercially sound, small enough for ordinary dwelling rooms and for possible sale at the market-place. Artists, too, were organized in guilds just as other workmen; painting took its place at the side of those thriving industries that made seventeenth century Holland the queen of the seas.

However, the popular conception of Holland as the factory of the "little Dutch master" of the first half of the seventeenth century has oversimplified the art history of this amazing little republic into a catalogue of cozy courtyards, cool interiors, and burgher-filled landscapes. Actually, the current of Dutch painting catches almost all the streams of international art as, chronologically, they pour on to the continent.

Up to the middle of the fifteenth century there had been a steady migration of artists to Flanders, attracted by an eager patronage and stimulating working conditions. Many painters of Dutch origin, Van Eyck, Gerard David, Dirk Bouts, Jerome Bosch, among others, became identified with the Flemish School. During the sixteenth century the Protestant rebellion against the Catholic church had created violent disruptions, while the Iconoclasm of 1566 which accompanied the rule of Philip II caused the fanatical destruction of works of art suggesting the Roman-Catholic domination. All this brought the Spanish Alva and terrorism to the Netherlands, resulting in wholesale migrations, with local religious differences so prevalent

that William the Silent, in his attempted union against Spain, met with extraordinary difficulty. Dutch artists in the sixteenth century, therefore, are again to be found living and working in Flanders, for the vandalism of the iconoclastic scourges and the elimination of church decoration in Protestant Holland left that country without a tradition of art objects to give to her painters.

Romanism had been imported by a native of Utrecht, Jan van Scorel (1495-1562), the first Dutchman to go to Italy, and from 1580 to 1615 painting in Holland was dominated by a Utrecht and Haarlem group similarly influenced. Cornelisz (1590-1656), Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651) and Carl van Mander (1548-1606) painted ruins and romantic landscapes; Gerard Honthorst (1590-1656) and Ter-Brugghen (1588-1629) dabbled in the spotlighting, rapid foreshortenings and genre subjects so popular on the Continent. The returning Utrecht painters familiarized their native colleagues with the iconographic inventions that Caravaggio had set in vogue: figures silhouetted against a one-point source of light, half-size figures in simple genre action, and the full-length or three-quarter portraits of music-playing youths, which gave Hals and Rembrandt their framework for portraiture. About 1610 this assimilation of mannerism tapered off. Carl van Mander, who had preached recondite meanings in subjects, the essentials of design, art for an élite, dedication to a prince, warned the artist always to stay close to life. Concerned not with a court or aristocracy, but with the bustling burghers, art now became the mirror of this class, reflecting its interests, its comforts, its possessions.

Intensely nationalistic these burghers were, busy repairing their lands and their fortunes, absorbed in that sober attachment to everyday things that comported so well with their practical affairs. Having wrested their freedom from the invading enemy and the encroaching seas, having set up a world trade that astonished everyone but themselves, these intrepid Dutchmen now proposed to enjoy their harvest of comforts. In art the taste was all for portraiture: one's own splendid self, one's sturdy wife and children, the good things on one's table. Such pictures provided an air of solid dignity to the trim little Dutch interiors. Beyond these, the conviviality at the local tavern, where boon companions warded off with alcohol the damp air and rheumatism of the low country, was immortalized by Haarlem's most famous, if somewhat disreputable son, Frans Hals (1580-1666). The three paintings from the National Gallery of Art in Washington show stages of his middle and late periods. In *An Old Woman Seated* (Plate 384), painted in 1633, the attention paid to the face and hands triangularizes the black costume and simple background. A masterpiece of technique, *Balthasar Coymans* (Plate 381), done in 1645, shows the thoughtful pose throwing a great part of the body and head into one swiftly brushed area. The *Portrait of an Officer* (Plate 379), dated 1648, now shows the entire body handled by the sweeping brush of Hals, the pose more accidental, the movement of the body clearly stated. This last probably came through the influence of Rubens,

although Hals has discarded "the pageant art" of the great Fleming and made himself the "great Dutch master of actuality."

Without troubling to make sketches he daubs away lustily at the canvas on which with astonishing speed the faces break into life. His brush half dry, the texture drops from the bristles with an air of tactile illusion that is equaled only in the work of Velasquez. As a presentation of relevant optical facts his canvas offers less a studied portrait than a casual but vibrant characterization, the essence of a man who at any moment may turn to offer you a drink. The *Yonker Ramp and His Mistress* (Plate 380) may be taken as the measure of Hals' tavern groups. Here the action of the diagonals is absorbed in the solid monumentality of the toper. The artist has not cared to delve beyond the surface planes, but how rightly every swish of paint with a touch "expeditious, prompt and vigorous" has fallen into place, catching the light by glints and in broken areas. With these elements Hals has won the world's affection for his jolly crowd of roisterers, his *Malle Bobbes* or Local Witches (Metropolitan), his immortal *Smiling Cavalier* (London), his *Nurse and Child* (Berlin). The *Officers of St. George's Doelen* and the *St. Adriaen's Doelen* (Haarlem) both display his mastery of group composition. With Rembrandt's they remain the finest group portraits in all art.

Fromentin's estimate of the last-named masterpiece may stand for Hals' art in general: "An art of being precise without explaining too much, of making a thing understood by hints, omitting nothing, but letting the important be merely divined; a touch swift, ready and exact; the just word and nothing but the just word discovered instantly and never hackneyed by emphasis; as much taste as in Van Dyck, as much manual dexterity as in Velasquez . . . no one has ever painted better; no one ever will paint better." A whole school of imitators and borrowers followed in Hals' wake, including his ablest pupil Judith Leyster, Bartolommeus van der Helst, Adriaen Brouwer, Adriaen van Ostade, Jan Steen (1626-1679). The last named, a minor version of Breughel and Hals, with little more than agreeable technical virtuosity, has painted a hilarious series of genre subjects, largely of low-life: feasts, tavern brawls, fighting card-players, fairs (Plate 391), as well as some deliciously satiric doctor-and-patient scenes.

If Hals paints the *Jolly Toper,* the extrovert carousing with his friends at the local tavern, Rembrandt is concerned with the inner man and his complex personality, isolating the subject from his environment and painting him, usually half-length, divorced from his home, his friends and his background. Out of the technique suggested by the tenebrist style of Caravaggio and the Romanists at Amsterdam, out of shadows faintly penetrable, which yield only romantic half-visions, Rembrandt distilled a portraiture that is unsurpassed for poetic intensity and dramatic innuendo, unequaled for searching revelation of the inner spirit. It is significant that Rem-

brandt's portraiture is generally devoted to his family or intimate friends, for he required a knowledge of the entire man before he could attempt to project the face on canvas. What better subject, then, than his own face, the mirror of countless struggles with his wayward nature? Even the Oriental potentates and Jewish brides belie their titles as we recognize the features of his father (Plate 385), of Saskia, or Titus, or Hendrijke.

Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn (1606-1669), born at Leyden to a middle-class miller, was sent to the Latin school for a short time, and studied with Pieter Lastman through whom he acquired a knowledge of the school of Rome. This period of youthful trial yielded few portraits which might suggest the later master; one of the finest of these few, however, is the *Self Portrait* (1629) in the Gardner Museum, done at the age of twenty-two. Three years later his *Anatomy Lesson* (The Hague) won the acclaim of his townsmen. His marriage to the pretty Saskia van Uylenborch in 1634 marked the beginning of a period of personal happiness and professional success. *The Noble Slav,* dated 1632 (Plate 385) in New York, and the *Polish Nobleman* in Washington, painted in 1637, betray an easy assurance and a mastery of character portrayal which are already equal to the best of Hals. His own income and his wife's dowry were now rapidly dissipated on an asssorted collection of Oriental fabrics and bric-a-brac, old armor, odd costumes in which he dressed his subjects, or on expensive paintings.

Among Rembrandt's friends were men of genuine distinction, connoisseurs of the arts, scholars and rabbis, including the well-known Manasseh ben Israel, whose religious school was attended by young Baruch Spinoza. Among them were bearded patriarchs wearing turban and caftan, learned physicians who had mastered the great fund of Arabian lore, crafty traders who had helped to build the prosperity of Spain and Portugal, and bewildered exiles in exotic tattered garments. To Rembrandt they were the flesh-and-blood embodiment of the Biblical characters that had filled his visionary world since childhood. And it was as men and women from the Old and New Testaments that he portrayed many of these outcasts in his deeply moving paintings of Biblical tragedies.

In order to devote himself exclusively to the spiritual context of his art, he moved in 1639 to the heart of the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam, where he bought a large dwelling still known as Rembrandt House. Saskia had become a mother three years earlier, but this first son, Rombertus, whom Rembrandt drew in a score of changing moods, died in infancy; two other infants also died in their cradle. In 1641 Titus was born. Rembrandt's brush never tired of recording the fleeting charm of this lad whose existence was his only solace; for after the birth of Titus, Saskia's health steadily declined and when the child was barely a year old, she died. Rembrandt's sorrow may be sensed in *A Lonely Widower,* in which an old man in grave silence feeds a young child, mute evidence of the home bereft of Saskia.

It was in the spring of 1642, shortly before Saskia's death, that Rembrandt completed the painting known as *The Night Watch,* a work that was to prove deeply significant for his later development. The members of the military companies were drawn from prominent families of each city, and it was upon them that the civic authorities depended for the maintenance of public order. It was customary to perpetuate the guilds in group portraits, paid for by subscription of the various members who wished to be represented. The pictures were presented to the corporation and hung in the halls of the Doelen. Such a group portrait Rembrandt was asked to do for Captain Banning Cocq and his company of musketeers.

Relying on orthodox precedent, each member of Captain Banning Cocq's company had paid for a good likeness of himself—and a place in the sun. But the painter had ignored the tacit terms of the contract. Rembrandt's treatment of light was disconcerting to the practical Dutchman who insisted on clarity and precision in all things. The two officers prominent in the center of the composition had no complaint. However, the rank and file, with the exception of some four or five members, had fared very badly. Faces in deep shadow relieved by stray gleams of light, others scarcely visible or so dimly seen as to be unrecognizable, were not likely to meet with approval. As was to be expected, the members of the company resented so audacious a divergence from traditional taste. Their personalities had been sacrificed to the unreasonable aim of the painter whose first thought had been to compose a symbolic picture, rather than to record a group of important citizens. By its originality of treatment *The Night Watch* stands alone in the history of corporation pictures, but it proved an unprecedented failure, and Rembrandt came in for a good deal of mocking criticism. The vanity of the guards had been affronted, and thereafter they bestowed their patronage elsewhere while Rembrandt's commissions fell off steadily.

Saskia had left her money in trust for young Titus, but her dowry consisted of a great deal of hopelessly mortgaged real estate and entangled investments. Under the terms of her will Titus was to receive the money when Rembrandt married again, a stipulation which embarrassed Rembrandt and the young Hendrickje Stoffels who had come to live with him as housekeeper, nurse to Titus, and manager of affairs. For Rembrandt himself, during his few years of married life and after Saskia's death, had incurred huge debts, so that he was unable to secure the money which rightfully belonged to Titus.

Hendrickje became his mistress. She was a robust, good-natured girl whose happy disposition and animal spirits were a strong contrast to Saskia's frail, patrician beauty. She did not mind posing for her master between household tasks, and to reward her for her good nature Rembrandt allowed her to wear some of Saskia's jewels and finery. A superb portrait in the Louvre shows Hendrickje in a charming fancy dress of colorful material, her warm brown eyes staring out of an honest face.

In 1661 the faithful Hendrickje died. Rembrandt went on painting but no longer in the expectation of sales. He had experimented in the etching medium for many years, producing such exquisite prints as *Christ Healing the Sick, Jesus and the Samaritan Woman,* etc., many of the finest to be seen in any number of American museums (Plate 387). He continued to depict Biblical incidents, drawing his characters from that pitiable remnant of Israel which he invested with spiritual fervor. *The Circumcision, St. Matthew and the Angel, The Praying Pilgrim,* the Detroit *Visitation* (Plate 394), and a number of self-portraits date from this period when the painter lived in total obscurity, lonely and wretchedly poor. His self-portraits, compared with those done at an earlier date, show a rapid physical disintegration. His cheeks are flabby, there are heavy pouches under eyes that have a sombre, weary look. The *Self Portrait* (Plate 383) in the Frick Collection, showing the artist in his working apron, is an amazing document of quiet conviction and deep, inner knowledge. There is no finer portrait to be seen in America than this or the one in the National Gallery (Plate 388) painted a year later, at the age of fifty-three.

The *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails* (Plate 386) shows a monumental figure, head bowed in concentration, lost in the performance of a simple but symbolic act, the cutting of her nails, a Sabbath eve ceremony betokening a cleansing for the Lord's Day. The lifetime of toil is about done; one's respite has been fully earned. Rembrandt was to paint one more group picture for the community of Amsterdam before he died: the *Syndics of the Cloth Guild,* painted in 1662. "Never before had Rembrandt achieved such perfection. Never again was he to repeat the triumph of that supreme moment, when all his natural gifts joined forces with the past experiences of a life devoted to his art, in such a crowning manifestation of his genius. Brilliant and poetical, his masterpiece was at the same time absolutely correct and unexceptional." He had crowned a lifetime of ceaseless self-searching with his masterpiece.

In prodigal measure Rembrandt possessed the insight of the great poets, their intense awareness and their power to communicate these intuitive perceptions. His theme is the innate nobility of ailing and suffering humanity, people whom he understands perhaps better than they do themselves, for he paints not their faces but the "concentrated history of the soul—which Shakespeare alone saw with an equally prodigious lucidity."

Jan Vermeer (1632-1675) has in his *View of Delft* given us the most fascinating description of his native city. In this sleepy wayside town he was born and baptized in 1632. At twenty he had married Catherine Bolenes, who was to present him with eight or more children. The very year he was married the Delft Guild of Painters admitted Vermeer to membership, but Jan was already pinched for money and could pay down only a small deposit on his initiation fee. Up to this time he had achieved little work of note, but his singleness of purpose and sincerity doubtless impressed

the guild members. Shortly thereafter, at any rate, Vermeer began to execute those little miracles, sonnets of light unsurpassed in all painting for sheer wizardry. With hundreds of painters suddenly risen everywhere in Holland, it must have required a vast and heroic disregard for what the world calls success to go on quietly and patiently producing half a dozen color sonnets a year and then handing them over to the merchants when bills came due. The respect of his fellow artists, if not of the rich burghers of Delft, Jan must have had, for when his master, Karel Fabritius, was blown up and killed in a powder-magazine explosion, the town poet wrote verses extolling Jan as the new master. By the time the artist was thirty he was elected "Hooftsmann" of his guild, an honor subsequently bestowed three additional times.

Those fewer than forty gems of liquid air and light which are all of Vermeer's work extant and of which about half are in America, are of a pattern. Most of them are merely pictures of a woman or two women in a room corner: a woman reading a letter, or opening a window, or consulting with a servant (Plate 401), or sitting at the clavichord (Plate 398), or holding a water or a milk jug (Plate 397) or admiring herself in a mirror (Plates 396-402). The pictures form a sonnet sequence: a casement window in the left corner, light streaming in; we see part of the window and the wall adjacent covered by a map or a picture. It is a close-up shot: ceiling, floor and other walls are out of view. A table and a rocker or chair with a garment thrown over one or the other comprise the furniture. Then there is the woman, not always the same one, but she is sure to be charming and demure, a bit of elegant femininity, unself-conscious in the privacy of her own room. The light falls not so much on the lady as behind her and on the walls. She herself is in half-shadow, alive and vibrantly exposed against the light. But the sunshine is no mere color representation: it is generated out of the sentient air. For a moment as you look at the picture you may imagine some rays of sunlight have stolen over your shoulder to sit on a corner of the canvas where they warm the paints. In the tranquil calm of the room corners the vitreous colors, the amber yellow of columbine, the pale fairyland tints of "moonlight blue," have been caught on the canvas but not held fast, for they insist on flowing to greet the sun's gay light coming through the casement. Not only the colors but the very elements of the composition are rendered harmonious and in perfect balance by this subtle diffusion of light. Vermeer's theme is simply that of a lovely woman creating a charmed world; the colors form a rhyme scheme, archaic and melodious, while the rhythm is struck off in pulsating beats of light. There are no shadows in these pictures: the light and dark are compact of silver and pearl. Three of the finest Vermeers abroad are the *Milkmaid* in Amsterdam, the *Pearl Necklace* in Berlin and the best loved *Head of a Girl* at The Hague.

What, aside from those quiet afternoons of pleasant retreat in Vermeer's room corners, were other Dutch homes like? Pieter De Hooch (1629-1677) gives us the

answer, displaying for us not merely the corner of one room but two or three in receding sequence. Where Vermeer presents a single feminine figure, De Hooch varies his *dramatis personae,* using three sets of actors and backdrops: the first is occupied with lady- or servant-and-child activities; the second series is concerned with the servingmaid's duties in the courtyard and bedroom; and finally he gives us scenes portraying the affairs of cavaliers and young ladies.

Like Vermeer, only more dramatically so, he is interested in light values. The figures are indispensable, but we are apt to forget the people after a while and remember only what De Hooch has stressed: the quality of the scene, its charm and coziness. If he lacks the lyric perfection that Vermeer achieved in his limited sphere, his own instrument has greater resources of variety. He ventures across the whole keyboard trying out shades of tone and involved obbligatos for the sheer technical joy of the performance. But he sets his key always with that of Vermeer in the hope of approximating his esprit.

At his home town of Rotterdam, at the age of twenty-five, De Hooch met and married Jannetgen van der Burch of Delft, and it was there the same year that he became a member of the St. Luke's Guild of Delft. Now appeared those masterly mother-and-child scenes, as well as the servant activities: feeding the children, getting linen from the wardrobe, making beds, peeling apples in the kitchen, etc. These people are simple, placid, like De Hooch himself, who lays no claim to nobler burdens of the mind. They are gentlefolk who have come to easy terms with life and their environment. The lines in the composition are all squared off in roofs, doors, windows, pictures, maps, flags, tiled floors—lines that are solid, restful to the eye. De Hooch now began a lovely series portraying very elegant ladies of the leisure class whiling away languorous afternoons writing and receiving scented love notes, playing dainty airs on the lute or lyre, attired in silken gowns and, with their lap dogs, peering expectantly out of casement windows.

Among the most famous of De Hooch's paintings is the *Courtyard in St. Jerome's Lane,* done before he was thirty. Vibrant against a blaze of light in the arcade stands the lady in black. Everything is simply bathed in light. The artist has taken pains to model his figures well, but his greater interest is obviously in the drama of light, the play of shimmering sun and shade. The sprawling mop and the arched door break the monotony of rectangles in the scene. The Washington *Dutch Courtyard* (Plate 390) is of the same delightful series.

In his later career De Hooch decided to leave Delft for the more elaborate social life of Amsterdam, the center of Dutch culture and gaiety. The spacious rooms and broad streets, the whirligig of city life, were too much for Pieter. The move was artistically fatal to his gentle genius. His painting in this last period became showy and unsure. As a matter of fact, all Dutch art had grown effete and "pretty,"

for with the death of Rembrandt in 1669, there seemed to occur a general disintegration of the art spirit in Holland.

Dressed in blond wig and curls, large and elegant of appearance, Gerard Terborch (1617-1681), after a period of study and travel, settled in Münster to work. The new fashions which had influenced De Hooch to try Amsterdam and ruined his work, Terborch undertook to represent with elaborate refinement. More particularly he showed De Hooch the way when he selected time and again a young lady of quality and painted her in every aspect of home life. Like De Hooch's models we see her in various satin gowns; we come to recognize her chamber, the canopied bed, the water pitcher; we meet her sitting about with her spaniel; we watch her writing notes, playing the lute, adorning herself, meeting and greeting a gallant cavalier. Except for very occasional instances like the *Music Party* (Plate 403) which anticipates Vermeer, these conversation pieces lack the charm of De Hooch's early work; they are stiff and flat, full of poseurs whose mincing respectability reflects the bourgeois tenor of the day. The candy colors betray the decline in taste which is already characteristic of Dutch art. Between Frans Hals' first *St. George's Doelen* of 1616 and Rembrandt's final *Syndics of the Cloth Guild,* 1662, the bare span of half a century had witnessed the rise to full glory and the decline of the greatest school of realistic painting that the world has known.

Perhaps more than any other artist outside England, Jacob van Ruisdael (1628-1682) reminds us of William Wordsworth and the poetry of his lake district and Yarrow. Again and again he conveys to us in paint "thoughts that do lie too deep for tears." It is the Dutch melancholy, its dreary placidity, its even, tranquil mood. For Ruisdael is a painter of nature's thoughts and sentiments; he understands and loves her as Wordsworth does, and like him he interprets her in a simple, direct idiom, in a manner that is sombre and humorless. In paintings like the Detroit *River Scene* the artist has heaped portions of Holland's topography on his canvases, for in these land- and seascapes he has found the echo to his own reflective melancholy.

To accept the country of his canvases is to be taken out of one's busy town to his quiet retreat in the hills or to the *Wheatfields* (Plate 389) where, amid cool greens and restful grays, one may take pause from the cares of the world. The *Wheatfields* with its wonderful rising clouds is a happy instance of this mood. His colors are monotonous but strong; he has no virtuosity or dexterity; his scene is laid out, a subdued expanse, yet alive and compelling. The parts are subordinated to the whole, details to the general impression.

The flat scenery of Holland is not always suited to Ruisdael's temperament. In his maturer work a romantic note is often to be found in scenes of wild disorder. The point-counterpoint of growth and decay in nature, the havoc of torrential

streams and cataracts, the gray erosion of wastelands, the luxuriant growth encroaching on marsh and fen, the irrepressible burgeoning of warped tree trunks on windswept crag or isolated promontory, these are the tragic elements that echo a noble and austere pietism in the artist. One of his greatest canvases, the Detroit *Jewish Cemetery* (Plate 392), a version of which is in Dresden, is described by Professor Mather, who in part summarizes Goethe's reaction: "The theme is nature endlessly consuming and renewing itself and incidentally annihilating the most famous works of man. . . . There is promise of the eternity of the torrent in the glimpse of boiling wet clouds above the falling tombstones; behind the blasted oak a new tree burgeons in as yet intact beauty; death and renewal for nature—for us, what?"

In the sense that he is bright and colorful, Hobbema (1638-1709) is more ingratiating than his master, Ruisdael. He restricts his field of vision to the foreground, locating himself in some dell or foliaged nook (Plate 393), varying almost infinitely the tones of brown and green which he inherited from Ruisdael. Coming as late as he does in that brief spurt of Dutch art, his inspiration is moderate, but the *Avenue of Trees,* his masterpiece, is a classic instance of dramatic interpretation of landscape, with the surge of clouds running to meet the downpour of smiling sunshine. They are elements we shall meet again in that greatest English landscapist, Hobbema's follower, John Constable.

A brief glance at the history of landscape in Holland shows a healthy naturalism which culminates in the nineteenth century in the works of the Impressionists. Specifically, it did more to further the development of open-air painting than any other force, since the painter of Holland in any genre used his eye as the final judge, and was faithful to his environment in so far as he knew it through his own experience. During the seventeenth century in France, Claude Lorrain was establishing classical landscape in which each tree and cloud was plotted according to classical principles of balance. But the Dutch landscape painters were not to be controlled by any authority outside their own experience. From Hercules Seghers to Jongkind, who helped found Impressionism, the composition on canvas answered the dictates of the eye alone.

Frans Hals, 1580–1666 *Portrait of an Officer*

Plate 379

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Frans Hals — *Yonker Ramp and His Mistress*

Plate 380

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Frans Hals — *Balthasar Coymans*

Plate 381

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Rembrandt van Rijn, 1606–1669 *Flora*

Plate 382

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Rembrandt van Rijn

Self Portrait

Plate 383

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Frans Hals *An Old Woman Seated*

Plate 384

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Rembrandt van Rijn *The Noble Slav*

Plate 385

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Rembrandt van Rijn *Old Woman Cutting Her Nails*

Plate 386

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

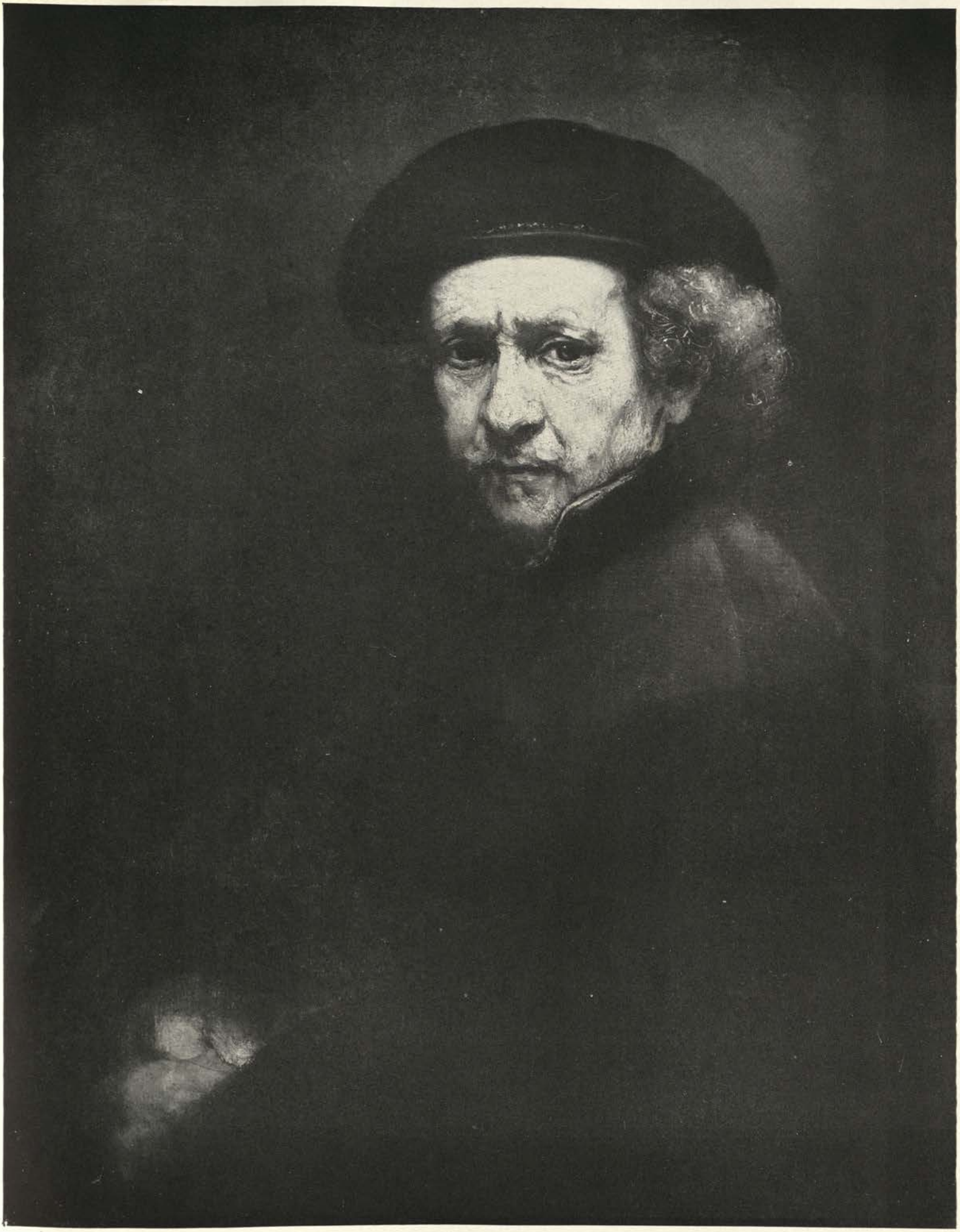
New York City

Rembrandt van Rijn *Portrait of a Physician. Etching*

Plate 387

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City



Rembrandt van Rijn *Self Portrait*

Plate 388

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Jacob van Ruisdael, 1628–1682 *Wheatfields*

Plate 389

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Pieter de Hooch, 1629–1677

A Dutch Courtyard

Plate 390

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Jan Steen, 1626–1679 — *Fair at Oegstgeest*

Plate 391

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Jacob van Ruisdael — *Jewish Cemetery*

Plate 392

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Meindert Hobbema, 1638–1709 *Landscape*

Plate 393

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Rembrandt van Rijn — *Visitation*

Plate 394

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Rembrandt van Rijn — *Woman Carrying a Child Down Stairs (Saskia and Child). Drawing*

Plate 395

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

Jan Vermeer, 1632–1675 *A Girl Asleep*

Plate 396

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Jan Vermeer *Young Woman with Water Jug*

Plate 397

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Jan Vermeer

The Concert

Plate 398

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

Jan Vermeer — *Woman Weighing Gold*

Plate 399

WIDENER COLLECTION

Elkins Park, Pennsylvania

Jan Vermeer

Officer and Laughing Girl

Plate 400

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Jan Vermeer

Mistress and Maid

Plate 401

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Jan Vermeer

The Smiling Girl

Plate 402

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Gerard Terborch, 1617–1681 *A Music Party*

Plate 403

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio

XII
Spanish School

THE creative force in Spanish painting has always taken an unpredictable course, breaking out in curious ways. It has produced but a handful of memorable painters. And even those painters, El Greco, Velasquez and Goya, are best understood rather in the influence they had on continental painting, long after their names were forgotten in Spain, than in the effect they had on native artists and collectors. It was left to foreigners, too, to evaluate their works, and it was invariably a foreign influence that helped to create the best in Spanish art. For this art is great when certain specifically Spanish obsessions are allowed free play under the guidance of imported techniques and traditions.

The rich, formal art of the Near East was ushered into Spain by the Moslem invaders who had, throughout the eighth century, served a fruitful apprenticeship under the skilled masters of Persia. The architectural splendor of Cordova and Seville, Granada, Toledo, Madrid and many lesser towns was produced under Moorish influence. In addition the Moors taught the Spaniards to fashion pottery with rich, lustrous glazes and bold, heraldic designs; to work the precious metals of the peninsula into vessels and jewelry; to carve wood and ivory into patterns of complex and geometric beauty. Exquisite examples of this Hispano-Moresque art are to be found in American museums, notably the Hispanic Society in New York.

Spain had been a stronghold of early Christianity, the cradle of scores of saints and martyrs; and though the Spanish soul was captivated by the noble and lucid statement of Islamic art, it never relinquished its love for the impassioned realism which dealt with the story of Christianity. When the Christian reconquest of Spain began during Romanesque times, these two currents of artistic expression met to produce a stream of manuscript illumination in which Hispanic and Arabic forms coalesce. The famous Beatus Manuscripts and other codices of Gerona and Ripoll clearly proclaim this fusion.

During the thirteenth century, the reconquest of Spain by its native population went on with unabated vigor. In art, the vision of Islam yielded to that of Christianity, expressed in the Byzantine idiom. In sculpture, the Romanesque style lingered on in Spain, long after it had flowered into Gothic in Northern Europe. Typical of earlier mural painting are the frescoes from the main apse of the Church of Santa Maria de Mur, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which depict,

in a Byzantine manner *Christ Enthroned above His Apostles* (ca. 1150). Panel painting also gained in importance, the figures here again being almost wholly Byzantine in aspect. The altar frontal from Catalonia, dated 1250, which is in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, shows *Christ Enthroned in Majesty,* a striking instance of this Byzantine manner: the arrangement is static, the hieratic figures lack all signs of expression.

By the end of the century, however, the Italian version of Gothic came into Spain from several directions: from Siena and Florence via Naples which had close commercial ties with Spain, and probably from Avignon, where Simone Martini had introduced the Sienese style at the papal court. This medieval Italian influence dominated Spanish art, particularly in Valencia and Catalonia, throughout the fourteenth century. The charming *Madonna* in the Walters Art Gallery, painted in Valencia at the beginning of the fifteenth century, recalls the Sienese painters by the sweetness and gentleness of her facial expression; but the insistence on decorative detail almost geometrically disposed harks back to the formal tradition established by Islamic art.

Two artists typical of those working in the medieval Italian manner were Ferrer Bassa and Luis Borassá, who painted elaborate altarpieces under the patronage of Peter IV of Aragon. During the fifteenth century, art centers flourished in Aragon and Catalonia, with Saragossa and Barcelona as their hubs. These cities as well as Valencia, which Starnina had visited, summoned from Florence by Spaniards who had seen his work in Italy, constituted the chief reservoirs of Sienese and Florentine influence. By 1450, however, Italian influence declined as that of Islam and Byzantium had previously waned, while the naturalism of Flanders now made itself felt more and more keenly.

Early in the century Jan van Eyck traveled to Spain where his work undoubtedly aroused attention; about that time, too, King John II presented a painting by Roger van der Weyden to the Carthusian Monastery of Miraflores. Spanish painters flocked to Flanders to study under the masters of realism, and an ever-increasing number of Flemish pictures found their way into Spain.

To this period and sphere of Flemish influence may belong the spirited *St. George and the Dragon* (Plate 404), attributed to Bernardo Martorell, but conceivably executed by a Flemish master. Here we find "a new energy of representation, a reasonable concern with perspective and spatial relations, a new, careful minuteness in the painting of the rocks . . . the princess, with her high, bulging forehead and elaborate crown, might have been lifted from some picture by a modest follower of Hubert van Eyck, while the technique shows the new varnish mediums of the Flemish school." The most conspicuous Spanish element in this picture is the raised ornamentation, beloved of the Catalan painters.

The flower of the Flemish tradition in Spanish painting, and, according to many critics, "the only Hispano-Flemish painter who has any claim to greatness," is the fifteenth century artist Bartolomé Bermejo. His *Santo Domingo de Silos* in the Prado is wholly Flemish, recalling the figures of certain donors in the Flemish altarpieces, while his *Pietà* in the Cathedral of Barcelona, with its outspoken realism, is very close to Van der Goes and Van der Weyden, though there are indications in the dramatic landscape background that Bermejo was sensitive to Italian influence as well. Three panels from an altarpiece which Bermejo painted for the Church of Santa Engracia in Saragossa further attest the popularity of Flemish art in fifteenth century Spain. Two of these panels from the Santa Engracia altarpiece are now in America, one in the Fine Arts Gallery at San Diego, the other in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (Plate 405). The Gardner panel has the charm and graciousness which characterize such Flemish paintings as Roger van der Weyden's *Portrait of a Lady,* and the *St. Eligius* by Petrus Christus in the Lehman Collection, New York.

By the fifteenth century, the victory of the Christian Spaniards over the Moslem Moors was complete. Trade connections again brought Italy closer via Naples and Sicily, and Spanish art once more became subject to the strong and multi-colored influence of the Italian Renaissance.

Sanchez Coello, who ranks as the first of the Spanish portrait painters (called the Velasquez of Philip II), unites the Flemish influence with that of Italy. In his *Portrait of the Infanta Isabella* (Plate 407), infinite care is bestowed upon superficial details of texture—silks, laces, jewelry—which are rendered with minute precision, as are the features of the model. This painting is one of a series which paved the way for a tradition of portraiture that was one day to produce the incomparable art of Velasquez. In addition to encouraging native artists like Coello with commissions, Philip II began the great collection of Flemish and Italian masters that became the nucleus of the Prado Museum.

Rubens, on his first diplomatic mission to Spain, complained that he could not find a single great painter in that country. It was true, indeed, that the outstanding Spanish master of the sixteenth century, Domenikos Theotokopoulos, exerted little, if any, influence and was not even regarded as a Spaniard. He was called El Greco, "The Greek," for he was born at Candia, on the island of Crete. Although his work has been a spur to modern expression and a taste discovery of our century, stimulated by the enthusiasm of such modern masters as Cézanne, such critics as Meier-Graefe, and by the growth of expressionism in Western European painting, in his own day El Greco had no school and only one or two pupils.

Born in 1545, El Greco in all probability left Crete when he was about twenty, to go to Venice where he studied or worked with Titian and absorbed the dramatic

style of Tintoretto. He is later to be found in Rome, but according to an eighteenth century biographer, he was forced to leave this city because he had boasted that he could repaint Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel to its advantage. His whereabouts from 1572 until 1575 are unknown, but those who see in El Greco's work the culmination of Byzantine painting assert that he was studying the great Byzantine frescoes of Mount Athos. At any rate El Greco is next to be found in Spain where the fires of the Inquisition, part of that general conflagration known as the Counter-Reformation, were burning fiercely. Here he was to spend the rest of his life imparting the heat and color of those consuming flames in all their fretful torment to his canvases.

It was several years before Domenikos Theotokopoulos, as El Greco proudly signed his pictures, received a commission in Madrid from King Philip II for the *Martyrdom of St. Maurice and the Theban Legions.* The picture was a magnificent presentation of an old story concerning the self-annihilation of the legion and its generals, Christians who as soldiers loyal and obedient to their Roman king had decided to die rather than worship his pagan idols. It was hardly strange that the bold presentation of nudes, the startling light effects, the unnatural deep blues of the canvas should offend the king and courtiers. The painting was rejected. "It did not satisfy His Majesty," wrote Father Siguenza, "and this is not astonishing because it pleased hardly anyone, although they say it is a work of high art and its author a very learned man from whose hand have come many excellent pictures."

This spelled the end of royal patronage for the Greek, and it meant that henceforth, more than ever, he would paint only to please himself. Shortly afterward he left Madrid and made his way back to Toledo where he took up a secluded existence. Here it was, a dozen years later, that he completed his masterpiece, *The Burial of Count Orgaz.* El Greco's contempt for "physical" Spain was equaled only by his comprehension and approval of her volcanic soul. On one occasion having executed a *Stripping of Christ* for the Church of Santo Domingo, he was furious about the price offered him and sued. At court he demanded an interpreter—a gesture of sheer contempt, or possibly a confession that, living so much alone, he had not troubled to learn Spanish. Yet he was not all spirit himself. "He earned many ducats but spent them all in pompous living, and even kept paid musicians to play for him, that he might enjoy every pleasure while he ate." Meantime he had formed a liaison with one Doña Geronima de las Cubas, and was presented with a son, Jorge Manuel, born in 1578, who later became a feeble imitator of his father's style.

Aside from his work these few facts constitute pretty much all that we know definitely of the intractable artist who is today accepted as a source and fount of modern art. If he had only a rank contempt for society and its opinions, nothing pleased him more than to hale his patrons or detractors into court to air out his own point of view. He had not the slightest care for what others said of his work, yet

he took special pains to convince them that his works were immortal masterpieces. With the same breath he blew hot and cold on the Spain he loved and despised. And if the primary concern of his art was with man's soul, he devoted himself keenly to luxuries and entertainments, so that while, being a shrewd bargainer, he earned large sums of money, he left nothing but a stock of unsold paintings at his death.

The technique of realistic painting was to be brought to its ultimate perfection by Velasquez who succeeded El Greco as Spain's ranking artist and whose handling of colors was to become so marvelously exact that the pigment itself would seem to disappear, leaving only the object, "the truth" itself. Technically Velasquez neglected nothing that might be achieved in that direction; realism could not progress beyond the object itself. But fifty years earlier El Greco was already discovering new ways of seeing and interpreting the visual world. El Greco's concern is not with realism, for his interest is not in material substances but in troubled states of the soul. The body for him becomes a mere outward manifestation of the distracted spirit. Like Herman Melville he knows the soul's torment and its desperate struggle with the inimical forces of nature to redeem itself, to guide its own destiny in the face of terrific odds.

Tintoretto had expressed something of the febrile quality of man's spirit torn between the new skepticism and the old dogmas being revived through the Counter-Reformation. The startling streaks of light, the elongated bodies soaring through space, were pictorial representations of the surging impulse of the soul through uncertainties and doubts.

In his "second period" El Greco gave this aspect its full force. His protagonists are introverts face to face with eternity: the bodies are elongated beyond human proportion; the faces are gaunt; the sockets of the eyes smoulder darkly; the hands, the most expressive in all art, are delicate, the fingers tapering off to translucent dagger-points—"winged hands," they have been called. The flesh is sepulchral; the figures seem to have died and, like Lazarus, come to life again with new understanding. What is a lifetime of fleshly joy compared to an eternity of heavenly bliss? Lightning flashes across the sky; ominous clouds are torn asunder: behold! the revelation of serene azure skies beyond the storm and stress of mortal life. The soul seems to be straining to leave the body, and racked by restraint, it draws the body out of proportion, heavenward, while eyes yearn upward and winged hands stretch toward the celestial home. The sickly green tones on uplifted faces are tremendously dramatic. The body is left gaunt and unearthly, incapable of fleshly sin, burned in the everlasting fires that leap out and lick at it. The molten color has been transmuted to a unique symbolism.

The *Cardinal-Inquisitor Don Fernando Niño de Guevara* (Plate 410) glares sinister and implacable through his spectacles at a heretical world that must be condemned to the flames. The figure of this prince of the Church is repellent in all its awesome grandeur—the sweep of the blood-red robe is relieved only by the white

lining under the collar. It is a merciless portrait study, perhaps Greco's finest. Of a different genre is the *Holy Family* (Plate 408) in which we see the wan face of the Virgin, St. Joseph extending the bowl of fruit to the Infant Jesus as St. Elizabeth looks on. Sickly and unfit for mortal purposes are these bodies; the streaked clouds light up the vale of tears where they are rendered fit for celestial glory. The hands, more eloquent than speech, declare the aspiration of the soul.

St. Francis in Ecstasy (Plate 413) illustrates a culminating moment in the good saint's life: Having passed through a period of intense and agonized concentration on the symbol of the crucifixion, his aspiration to become identified in Christ is fulfilled. After the disappearance of a miraculous vision "an excessive ardour and flame of love was in the heart of St. Francis. From this moment the signs of the nails began to appear in his hands. . . ."

El Greco's *Magdalene* (at Worcester and Kansas City) is presented as the symbol of the beauty of penitence which "excited Greco with its subtle implications and allowed him to depict in a single character a spiritual yet carnal beauty." *The Repentant Peter* (Plate 412) supports the contention that "St. Peter's tears, shed because he had denied his master three times, are the real basis of confession. Forgiveness for his weakness in having denied his Master, who had presented him with the keys of Heaven in the moment of his approaching sacrifice, reaches him in the form of a spiritual light."

Fray Feliz Hortensio Pallavicino (Plate 406), another product of the Inquisition, is unforgettable, especially for his "look of a magnificent half-tamed animal . . . at once most reserved in its effect, with a sense of passion smouldering under the general discretion." The *View of Toledo* (Plate 411) is presented in an apocalyptic flash of stormy lightning; the romantic soul of the city, a stricken dream-world, is betrayed as the fit habitation of an ill-starred people alternating between extremes of asceticism and sensuality.

The time was to come, fully two centuries later, when Velasquez would be rediscovered by the realists and impressionists; while the modernists and intellectuals of recent date have heralded El Greco as the inspiration for their own individualistic treatment of the visual world.

So successful was Velasquez (1599-1660) in effacing his own personality, so little understood was his art, that his obscurity was almost assured in his own lifetime. His career had little of the dramatic in it. At thirteen he was apprenticed to Herrera, a brutal artist whose violent temper drove Velasquez, as well as his own children, from his household. At fourteen the student was placed under the aegis of the pedant Pacheco whose house was the center of Sevillian culture and taste but who garbled maxims about art instead of teaching it. Velasquez doubtless spent a good deal of his time curled up with his master's books or wooing Juana Pacheco. A

few years later he married the master's daughter and, constrained to earn a livelihood, turned to the production of genre and still-life tavern pictures or *bodegones.* Pacheco as father-in-law now prodded him to visit Madrid and the sojourn, enforced with letters of introduction from Pacheco, and the assistance of Olivares, minister to the new eighteen-year-old king, finally bore fruit. Velasquez became court painter to Philip IV.

Aside from two or three minor incidents, the remaining thirty-seven years of Velasquez' career were devoted to painting the royal family and court characters, though his wearisome valet duties at the palace grew so detailed that in the end he produced fewer than a hundred canvases. But there were, for the artist, few distractions outside the court. The horrors of the Inquisition, the waning glories of the Spanish empire, the feverish spiritual torments which had absorbed El Greco meant little to the court painter. Philip's debaucheries, his degenerate nature, and the feeble guidance he offered his peoples, were royal prerogatives. Velasquez himself was steeped in problems of light-and-shade. Nothing that presented itself to his eyes was of greater value or less importance than anything else. King, dog, idiot, princess —each was a fascinating study in light absorption and reflection. As for character traits or qualities of the mind—the sun itself was the great revealer. Beruete quotes Velasquez as saying, "I hold to the principle that nature ought to be the chief master and swear neither to draw nor to paint anything which is not before me."

In short, Velasquez spent a lifetime of concentrated study in bringing to ultimate perfection the method which in Holland was undertaken by Frans Hals: to paint the *image itself* stripped of all the elements which the mind *knows* to be there, accepting only what the light of day reveals to the eyes. It was the ultimate perfection of those naturalist tendencies which had become marked through the Caravaggiesque Ribera and through Francisco Herrera. Time and again he was to paint Philip (Plate 417), his sullen dissipated face, the protruding Hapsburg lip, or his minister Olivares (Metropolitan Museum), or the poet Gongora (Boston Museum), or the royal family. Prince Balthasar Carlos, who was to die at seventeen leaving unfulfilled his engagement to cousin Marianna of Austria, was painted on horseback in the famous masterpiece at Madrid. We see him again in a superb portrait with his dwarf (Plate 418), painted in 1631, showing splendid details of costume and a subtle contrast in the treatment of the heads. *The Surrender of Breda* (1635) in Madrid, was Velasquez' first great masterpiece, done after a brief visit to Italy. On a second trip to Rome in 1649 the artist painted the crafty visage of seventy-year-old Pope Innocent X, one of the very great portraits. "There he sits eternally, sensual without geniality, choleric yet sly, and he is God's viceregent on earth . . . it may be this disparity between the gross male and his sacred office that constitutes the irony of the presentation. . . ." On his return Velasquez painted the Infanta Maria Teresa

(Vienna) whose marriage to Louis XIV was supervised by the artist; a superb study of her head may be seen in the Bache Collection (Plate 419). The Infanta Marguerite (Madrid) reappears in his greatest work, *The Maids of Honor* (Madrid). His *Self Portrait* (Plate 421) shows an alert intelligence, keen rather than broad, modest and noncommittal rather than self-assured. In all these studies Velasquez had been developing his powers of converting pigments into colored light and air. At court the beggars whom he painted in the characters of the elegantly costumed *Idiot of Coria,* the blear-eyed *Aesop* or the sardonic *Menippus* are products of the national decay, symbols of a nation wearing itself out in economic and moral extravagance. Each is a masterpiece in terms of the facts of light. "One can hardly speak of workmanship. The brush simply bestows the light that is necessary to create the form." These were the qualities Manet, Whistler and the entire school of Impressionism were to rediscover after two centuries during which Velasquez was all but forgotten, while his pupil Murillo was everywhere adored.

Relations between Spain and Italy through the port of Valencia had borne fruit in the field of art during the early seventeenth century through the tenebrist realism of Francisco Ribalta (1550-1628) and his pupil Ribera (1589-1652) who later removed to Naples where he followed the proletarian interest in subject matter begun by Caravaggio. At Seville, with the departure of Velasquez, the art leadership fell to Francisco de Zurbaran (1598-1662) whose "tight" portraits and compositions dealing with Biblical characters and themes (Plate 430) or the austere serenity of monastic life, belong to the finest of Spanish art.

Murillo (1617-1682) was twenty-eight when he wandered back to Seville after a period of study at Madrid under the guidance of Velasquez. Unknown, his skill hitherto untried, he seized upon a commission for a series of decorations in the cloister of the Convent of St. Francis. For three years the artist labored, and when he had finished a great cry of admiration arose in Seville. Murillo had hoped for some measure of recognition. What he secured was overwhelming fame. Churches, assembly halls, wealthy patrons clamored for his work; Seville society took him to its bosom, and a daughter of the nobility, Doña Beatriz, was offered him in marriage. Overnight, as it were, he became the accepted leader of the Sevillian school. For Murillo had rediscovered the common human denominator in the lives of saints and Sevillians. The art of Velasquez and Rubens spoke to king, courtier and page boy. But the *Feria* merchant, the beggar urchin and housewife had an equal claim to beautiful pictures, he felt. Murillo borrowed the ascetic saints and martyrs of traditional Sevillian art and sentimentalized them, along with smiling angel urchins and flower-girl Madonnas, in colors as bright as the sun-drenched Sevillians might desire. At forty he had progressed from an early period during which he used colors in a

cold metallic finish, through a second period of hazy warmth and vagueness of color. The pliant softness of form was now bathed in a vapory mist that carried a suggestion of both the warm haze of southern Spain and the nebulous atmosphere of heaven itself. The paintings had their strongest effect on Murillo himself, whose soul was enwrapt in the misty fervor of pious Andalusia. It is a warm paternal heart that guides his brush as he records the urchins and beggar girls who were once part of his own orphan days spent in the market square, street Arabs at a repast of grapes or melons, or translated into a religious genre piece (Plate 423). The sun lights up their rascally charm as well as their raggedness. His finest and best-loved paintings are those of the *Immaculate Conception,* which he painted at least a dozen times, the best being at the Louvre and the Prado. A decree had been issued making this bit of church dogma particularly sacred in Spain and the people cherished it with especial ardor. The girlish face of the Virgin is beatific, the character simple and unaffected—obviously a local maid, or his own Doña Beatriz; while the angels sport about like any urchins of Seville. Throughout his career he devoted himself to these highly sentimental Assumptions and Conceptions, identifying genre scenes of Seville with Biblical stories that reflect the pleasures of parenthood (Plate 422), or the joys of family life in which the holy fathers personify mild benevolence. A spirit of gentle kindness pervades his theology.

Goya is by turns rogue, philosopher, gang leader or artist, dancing or dueling, whose insolent tongue is as sharp as his sword, but whose etching needle is keener than either sword or tongue. For it is with his needle that he lashes out in caricatures of scheming friend and foe; it is his surgeon's scalpel which lays bare the corruption and disease eating at the vitals of his beloved Spain. Again it becomes his sound box, through which he utters his revolutionary doctrines, his bilious defiance of the ruling class, his roars of trembling rage at the cankerworm of poverty excoriating the land. It rises to a pitch of singular eloquence, nowhere equaled, not even by Breughel, as he traces the damning evidence of man's savagery in the horrible game of war. He spares no one, least of all himself. The father of twenty legitimate children, he will yet leap from the bull ring to some noble lady's boudoir, and from there to his studio to record her frivolity and shallow deceit. He will grandly bow his respectable patrons out of the same studio only to sit down and portray the glassy stare and dull mien of pompous wealth. Sardonic in Swift's manner, he tramples roughshod over a Lilliputian world, heedless of the thousand jealous darts flung at him by established respectability, laughing to scorn or venting his spleen at their elaborate absurdities.

Francisco José de Goya y Lucientes (1746-1828) had been born at Fuendetodos, a wretched little village near Saragossa. After a short apprenticeship to a local painter, José Luzan y Martinez, he embarked on a madcap career which led him through Madrid (where he studied with Francisco Bayeu) and Rome, and on one occasion

landed him in the gutter, a knife in his back. At twenty-nine he returned to Madrid where he married Josefa Bayeu, the sister of his former master.

Up to this time Goya had accomplished nothing of note in his work. It was only with the aid of Francisco Bayeu that he secured the commission of King Charles III to do a series of cartoons for the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Barbara—designs to be used by the king's weavers.

For almost a century, from the days of Velasquez and Murillo, Spanish art and civilization had rattled down from a position of eminence to one of esthetic and moral bankruptcy. The death of the Hapsburg Philip IV had precipitated the War of the Spanish Succession, ultimately bringing the French Bourbons to the throne of Spain through that marriage of the Infanta Maria to Louis XIV which Velasquez had staged. Efficient government was more than ever a lost cause, while but a feeble attempt was made to sustain the arts through imported painters (Van Loo, for a time, and even Tiepolo), or mediocre imitators of Italian classicism and French rococo boudoir art and the *école galante*. Foremost of the exponents of this pseudo-Spanish art were Mengs, the Austrian educated in Italy, and such second-rate native talent as Bayeu.

The score of cartoons which Goya now executed were as startling as they were refreshing; after a century of hackneyed foreignisms and dispirited mythological Dianas and Auroras, these liveliest of Spanish scenes roused Goya's countrymen to the charm of their own local color: genre scenes of stilt walkers, dancers, boys climbing trees, toreadors, *majas*—full of gaiety and movement. The acclaim spurred him on to catalogue those features of Spain's national life, many of which were shortly to disappear forever: the colorful bullfights, carnivals, outdoor love scenes, strolling musicians, beggars, brawlers, drunks, gamblers. Not only the themes but the bold grouping of masses, the spirited dash and the most delicate of color harmonies, were a source of discomfort to his colleagues. The *Woman with Toreadors* (Plate 433) overlooks some of the problems of tapestry design but with what a gay air does the artist mirror the swagger and ornate garb of these lower class Spaniards. A decade later his *Gossiping Women* (Plate 434) shows a distinct advance in his tapestry cartoons; probably intended as an overdoor panel, for it Goya chose an apt composition of reclining women. His technique is simpler now, but the ornate elegance and liquid tones are subtly present. In *Don Manuel Osorio* (Plate 426), one of the masterpieces of child portraiture (painted in 1787), Goya has not been able to refrain from a macabre note as the enormous cat hungrily eyes the liberated magpie. Here as always the colors are full of brilliant liquid light. Of *Señora Sabasa Garcia* (Plate 427), Beruete says: "There is light itself in the expression of this head, this mouth, and above all in the vivid and deep glance of her eyes which look out fixedly. It is a unique work and one which leaves an everlasting memory." It now became the fashion to be painted by Goya, so that statesmen, famous beauties, cardinals and poets flocked to

his studio, and thus began an outpouring of masterly portraits, done with the realism of Velasquez, his master, and overcast with a rich harmony of color tones unsurpassed for beauty and delicacy. As favorite at court, this *enfant terrible* scandalized the royal families, his insolence actually winning for him the esteem not only of Charles but also of the other victims of his barbs of wit. Royalty and wealth flocked to his studio, and he painted them all, boldly, uncompromisingly, while the great ladies fought for his attention, among them the rich and lovely widow, the Duchess of Alba. The *Maja Clothed* and the *Maja Nude* (later borrowed by Manet for his *Olympia*) are a pair of the most delightful studies of the female figure, traditionally said to have been posed by the Duchess, though this story has been discredited. Goya's love affair with this noble lady nevertheless remains one of the delightful gems in the literature of romance. The celebrated painting in the Hispanic Society (Plate 432) is a striking full-length portrait of this "utterly disgraceful and completely beautiful prodigy," as a contemporary Frenchman described her. Brilliant, haughty, capricious, for Goya she remained a national type and a symbol. The *Marquesa de Pontejos* (Plate 424), a portrait of a lady of wealth and her fluffy dog, is a brilliant study in light, and a delightful commentary that is no less valid for our own day.

Goya's series of etchings, *Los Caprichos,* exposing the inane caprices of the "authorities," consisted of broadsides against the absurd king and queen, the queen's lover, Godoy, the farcical court etiquette, the vicious judiciary, the frivolous women he had known, his pompous patrons. A group of overdressed minions of the court are seen passing a cluster of wretched poor. Goya's title asks: "Do They Belong to Another Race?" A grinning corpse leans out over a grave and writes on a piece of paper: "Nothingness." The personal and political satire was no affair of the Church, but when the attacks on the clergy appeared, the Inquisition demanded Goya's arrest. Suddenly the king called in the plates, which he said he had commanded from him, a ruse which saved Goya's life. The most popular work of art in Spain since "Don Quixote," these brilliant combinations of dramatic silhouette and eloquent lines were avidly imitated by Delacroix and Manet, and in our own day by Picasso and Orozco. Despite his rampant agnosticism, Goya was asked to decorate various churches in Seville, Valencia, Toledo, scenes for which he brazenly insisted on posing harlots and demi-mondaines as angels. His portait of the *Family of Charles IV,* a masterpiece of realism trenchantly stated, shows a commonplace bourgeois family, "the grocer's family who have won the big lottery prize," with the sour-faced strumpet queen surrounded by her issue.

Goya was by now the most famous man in Spain, fêted by the wealthy who begged him to decorate their villas, adored by the masses for his peasant ways, his boxing skill, his daredevil championship of their wretchedness, while the immoral court luxuriated in his mad but witty protests.

In later works like *Majas on the Balcony* (Plate 429), painted about 1810, his

palette shows a greater economy of color range which is now subdued and silvery, while his brush has become masterfully broad and summary in its statement of salient facts. There is a brilliant harmony of mass and a sweeping rhythm in the interplay of inclined heads. Like shadows, the forms of their companions repeat and confirm the pose of the coquettish *majas,* the partners forming a diagonal opposition of lines, a subtle interplay probably not without allusion to some scandal in Goya's social circle.

When it seemed that Spanish decay could progress no further, the Napoleonic wars brought the French to the city gates of Madrid. During the wholesale slaughter that followed, Goya, his fury exhausted, could only sit like Empedocles on Etna, observing the seething mass of violence within the crater. His second great series of etchings, the *Disasters of the War,* suggested by Callot's *Miseries of War,* show the mangled forms that once were men, the ghoulish tortures, rape, disembowelment, the final shrieks before the firing squad. The scenes generally speak for themselves. "I saw this," he entitles one; "Is this what you were born for?" "That always happens." The artist is beyond rage; he has suffered and been left dry of emotion. For sheer visual impact nothing is to equal this series until the present-day masterpiece by another Spaniard, dealing with the latest conflagration within Spain, Picasso's *Guernica* mural.

Of Goya's chronic illnesses, his general debility caused by nervous irritation and intestinal disorders, little need here be said. He had suffered a severe stroke in 1792 which left him permanently deaf. Shut off from the conversation of companions and the world of music to which he had always been passionately devoted, he now became morose and bitterly critical of human folly. From the bright gaiety of his paints he turned to the sharpness of his etching needle. Having retired from the court life he moved into the country near Madrid where he continued to work.

Goya's love of bullfighting, in which he boasted he had engaged as a youth, was given full vent in the series of etchings, *The Tauromachia,* dealing with the history of this national sport. The finest bullfighters like *Costillares* (Plate 436) were national heroes, and Goya delighted to celebrate their arrogant pride in the hazards of the game. The Toledo *Bullfight* (Plate 431), one of the rare oils dealing with the subject, is inferior in spirit and execution to one in the Metropolitan Museum.

His *Self Portrait* (Plate 435), at about sixty-five, has more than a touch of Rembrandt's self-analysis. Like his avowed "master," Goya constantly searched his own physiognomy and set down what it revealed of inner turmoil. Here we see a still powerful head; the mouth corners are twisted downward; there are ravages of illness; but what a striking visage it is that looms defiantly out of the darkness, created with an economy of brushwork that Velasquez would have noted with approval.

Goya finally left Spain (1824) to take the cure at Bordeaux and it was here at the age of eighty-two that he died. In so tumultuous and prolific a career it was

inevitable that he should touch upon every aspect of Spanish civilization, and where life was so often bitterly tragic it was natural enough that his sensitive eye should pick out those cruel ironies of fate which are beyond all that even laws and courts can rectify.

The Forge (Plate 428) is perhaps Goya's masterpiece in America, the summation of his technique and as such his most modern creation. But beyond his technique, and even more, as a revolutionary thinker and as an interpreter of life, he remains the first great modern master.

Master of the St. George (Bernardo Martorell), Catalan, ca. 1430

St. George and the Dragon

Plate 404

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Bartolomé Bermejo,
ca. 1474–ca. 1495

Santa Engracia

Plate 405

ISABELLA STEWART GARDNER MUSEUM

Boston, Massachusetts

El Greco (Domenico Theotocopuli), 1545–1614

Fray Feliz Hortensio Pallavicino

Plate 406

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Sanchez Coello, 1515–1590

Portrait of the Infanta Isabella

Plate 407

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

El Greco *Holy Family*

Plate 408

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

El Greco *Holy Family*

Plate 409

HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

New York City

El Greco — *Cardinal Don Fernando Niño de Guevara*

Plate 410

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

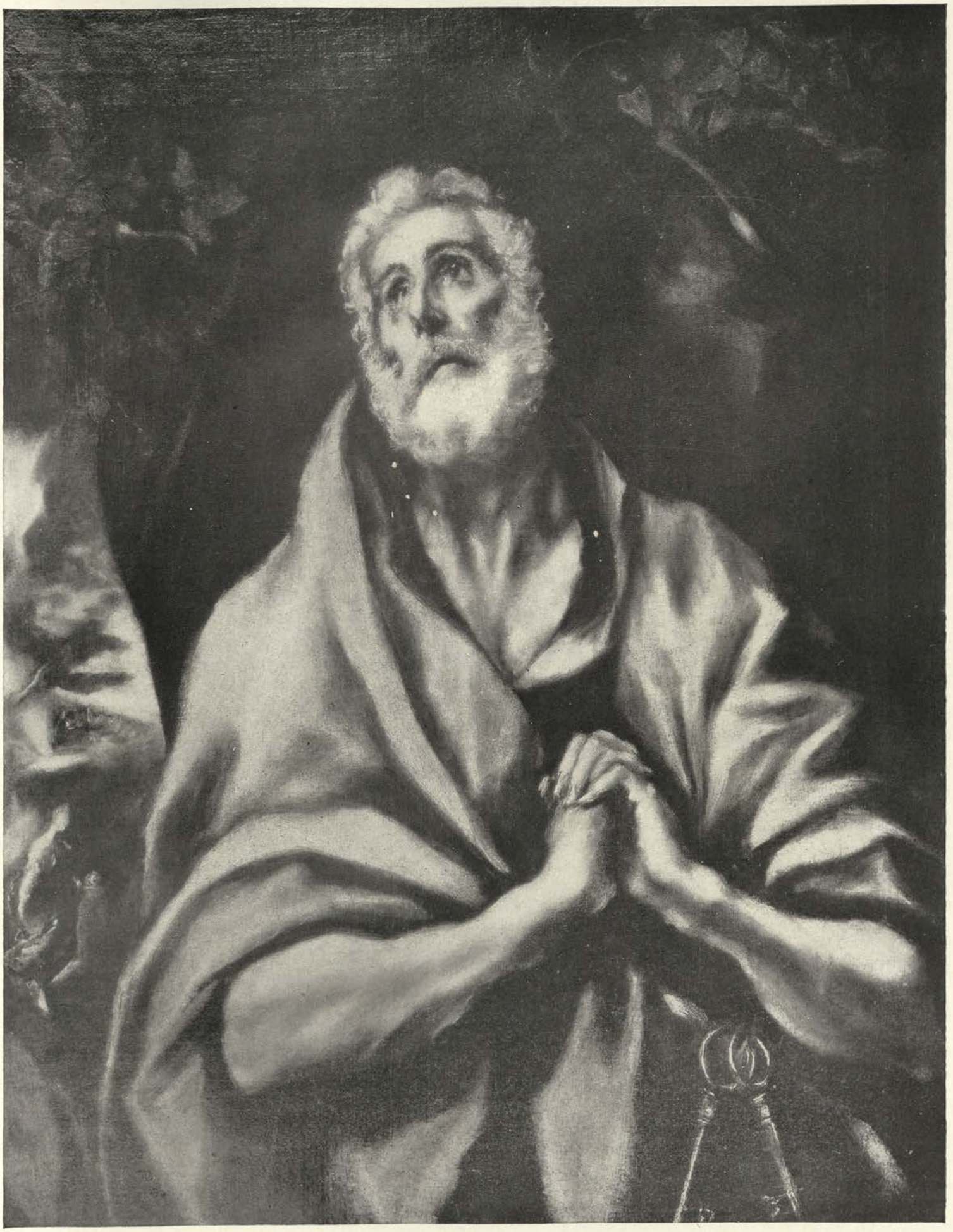
New York City

El Greco — *View of Toledo*

Plate 411

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

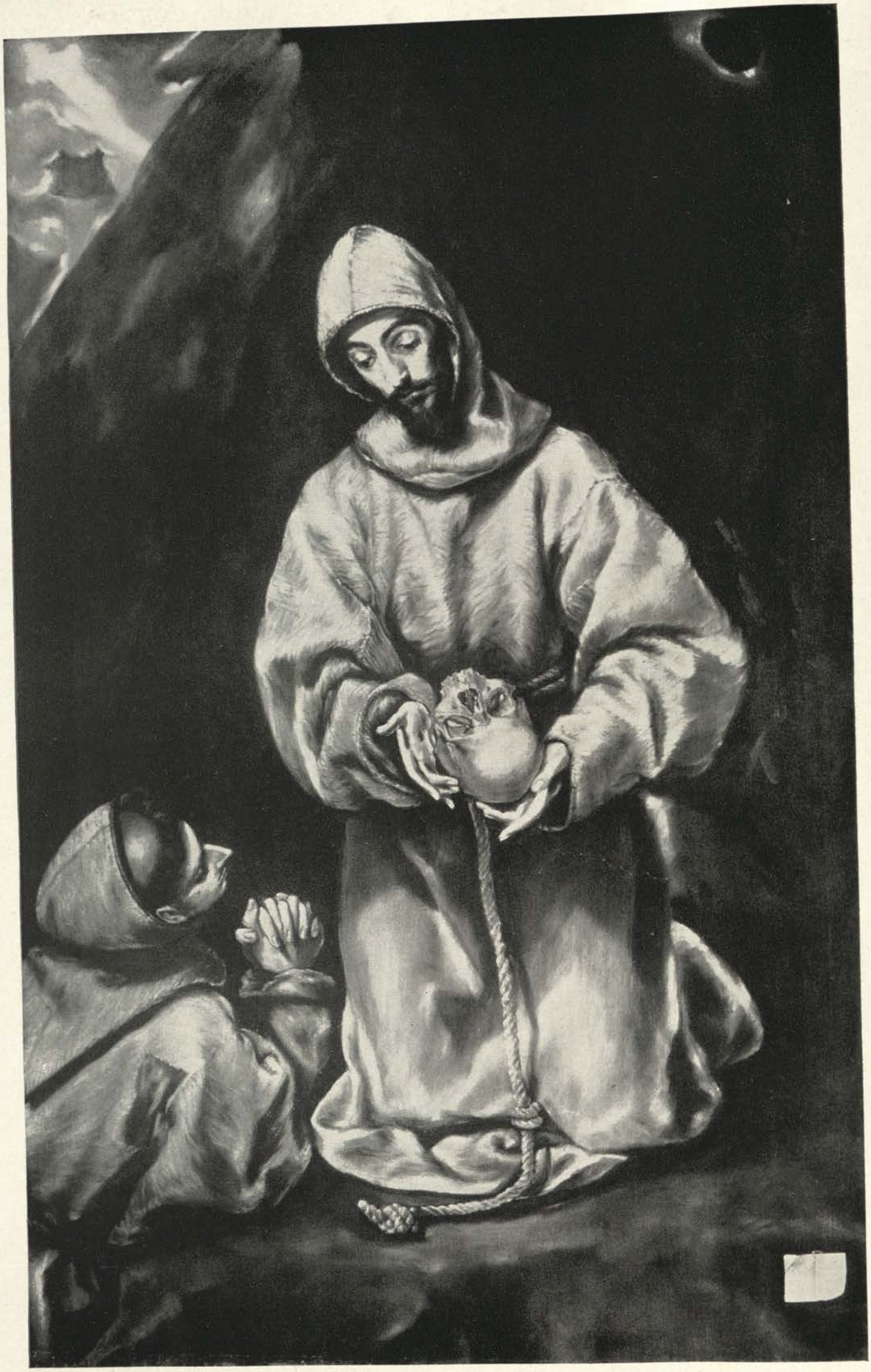


El Greco — *The Repentant Peter*

Plate 412

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

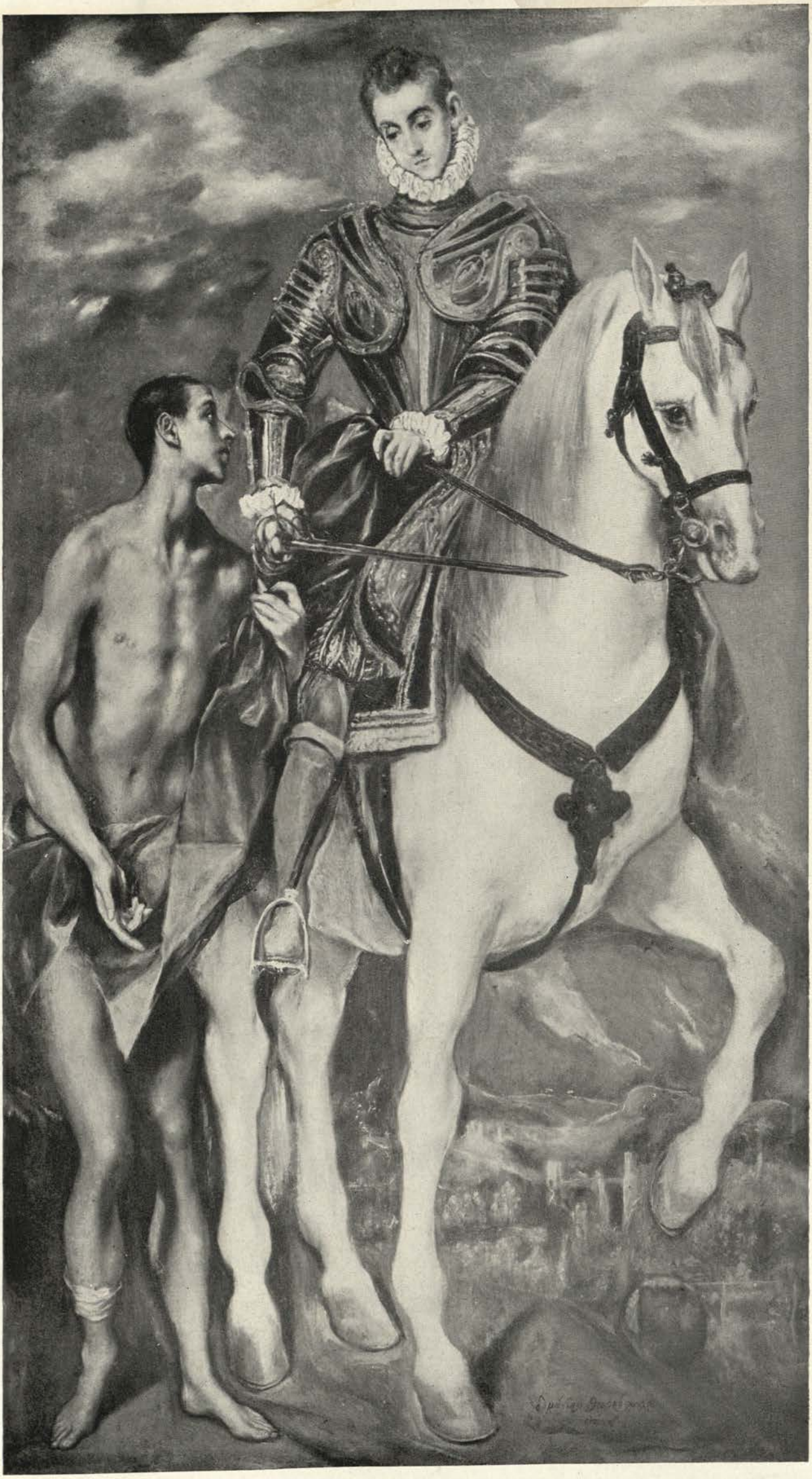


El Greco — *St. Francis in Ecstasy*

Plate 413

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

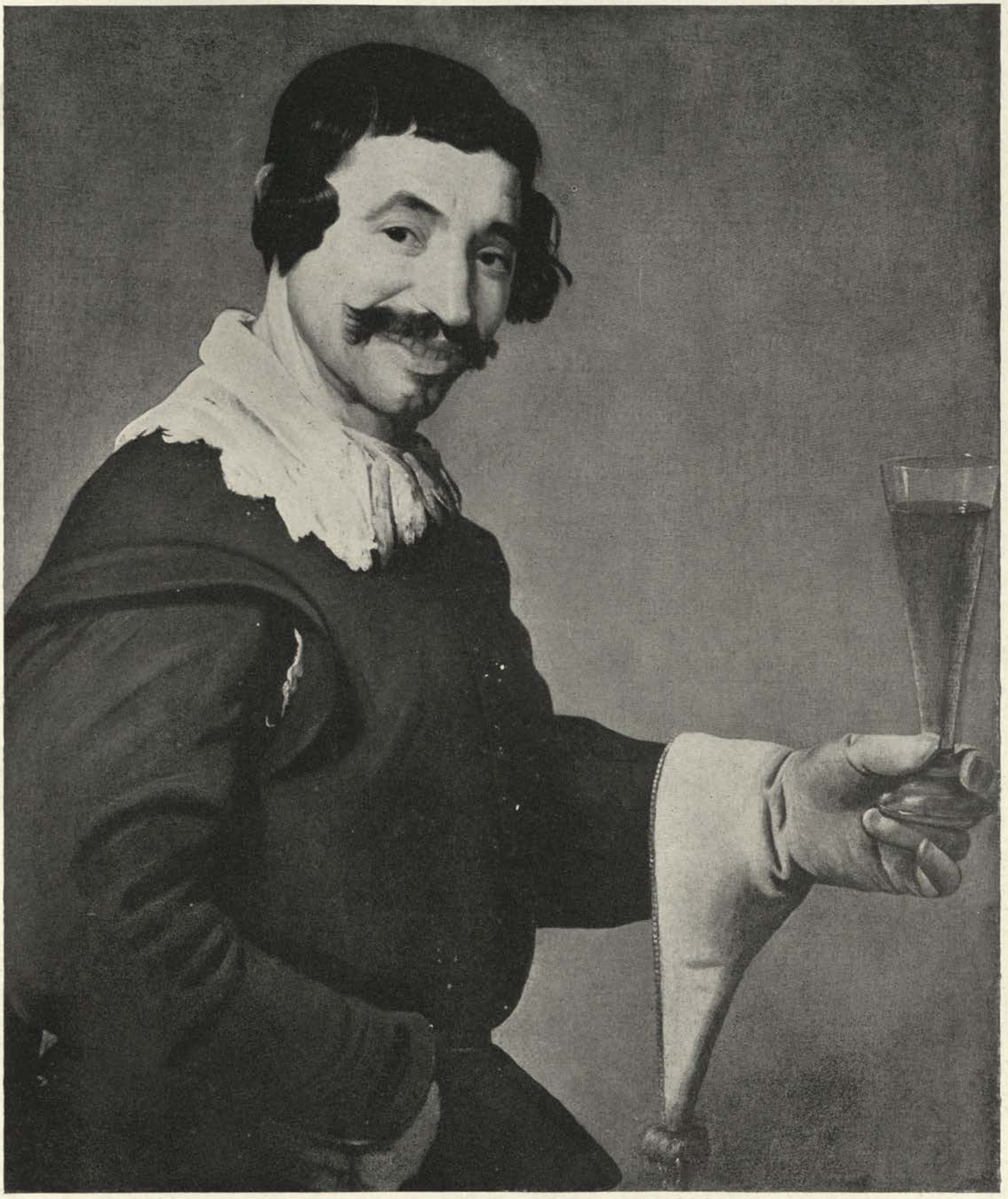
Ottawa, Canada



El Greco — *St. Martin and the Beggar*

Plate 414. WIDENER COLLECTION, *Elkins Park, Pennsylvania*

El Greco Plate 415. ROCHESTER MEMORIAL ART GALLERY, *Rochester, New York* *The Vision of St. Dominic*



Diego Velasquez, 1599–1660 *Man with a Wine Glass*

Plate 416

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Diego Velasquez

Portrait of Philip IV

Plate 417

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Diego Velasquez — *Don Balthasar Carlos with His Dwarf*

Plate 418

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Diego Velasquez — *The Infanta Maria Teresa*

Plate 419

BACHE COLLECTION

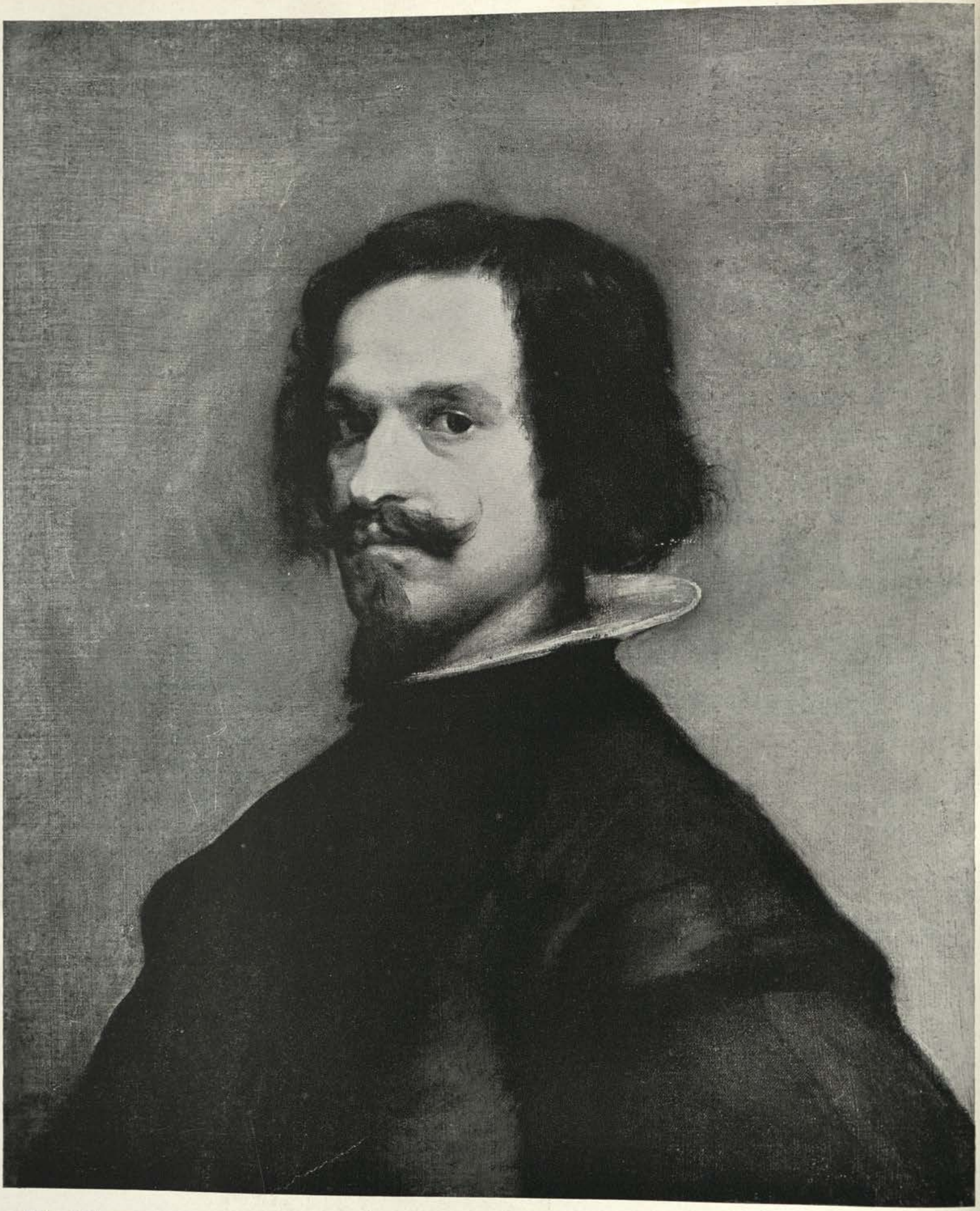
New York City

Diego Velasquez — *Portrait of a Young Man*

Plate 420

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



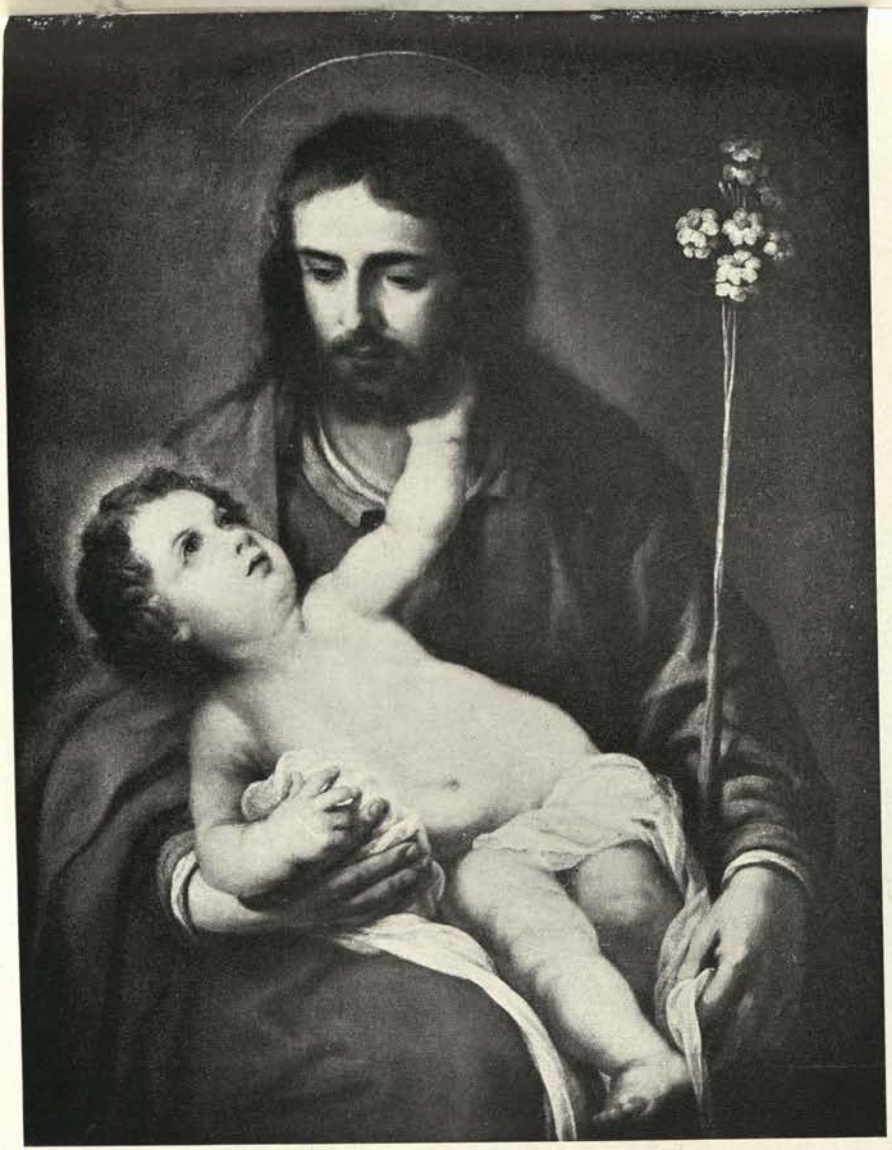
Diego Velasquez

Self Portrait

Plate 421

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City



Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, 1617–1682 *St. Joseph and the Holy Child*

Plate 422

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

Bartolomé Esteban Murillo *St. Thomas Dividing His Cloak among the Beggar Boys*

Plate 423

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

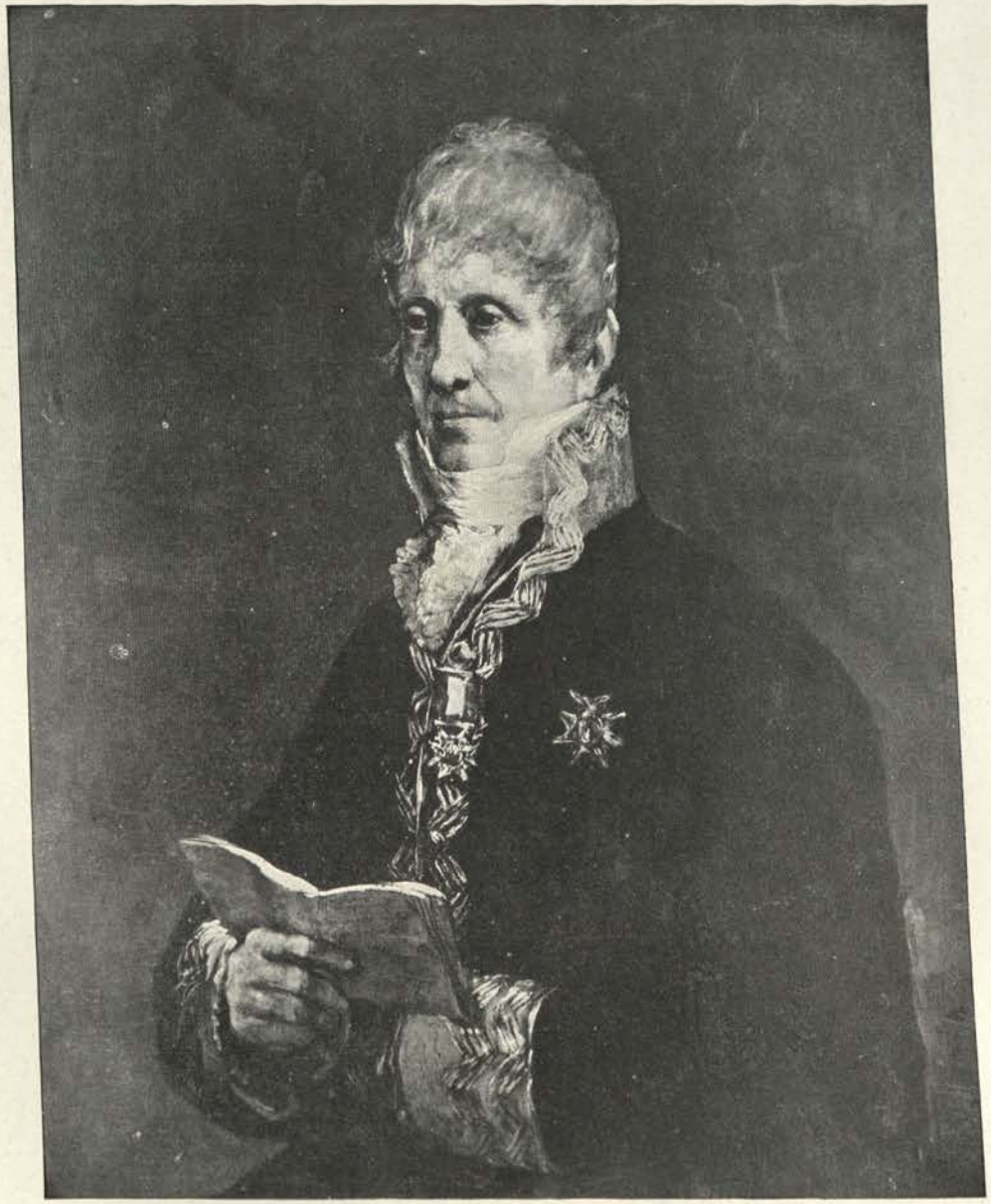
Cincinnati, Ohio

Francisco Goya, 1746–1828 *The Marquesa de Pontejos*

Plate 424

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Francisco Goya *Portrait of Don Ignazio Omulryan y Rourera*

Plate 425

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Francisco Goya

Don Manuel Osorio de Zuñiga

Plate 426

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Francisco Goya

Señora Sabasa Garcia

Plate 427

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Francisco Goya *The Forge*

Plate 428

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Francisco Goya

Majas on the Balcony

Plate 429

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Francisco de Zurbaran, 1598–1662 *The Flight into Egypt*

Plate 430

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Francisco Goya *The Bullfight*

Plate 431

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Francisco Goya — *The Duchess of Alba*

Plate 432

HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA

New York City

Francisco Goya — *Woman with Toreadors*

Plate 433

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Francisco Goya — *Gossiping Women*

Plate 434

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

Hartford, Connecticut

Francisco Goya — *Self Portrait*

Plate 435

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Northampton, Massachusetts

Francisco Goya — *Portrait of Joaquin Rodriguez Costillares, the Bullfighter*

Plate 436

TAFT MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio

XIII
German School

THE breakdown of the Holy Roman Empire in the thirteenth century left Germany in a state of political and social chaos. The absence of a centralized government to maintain order, the economic rivalry of commercially powerful cities and incessant squabbles of petty rulers were inexorably undermining the material stability of the people, while the reaction against strict church dogma and against the corrupt state into which the Lateran had fallen was gradually removing the spiritual bulwark erected by Gothic piety.

To offset the greed and materialism of the mercantile interests and the selfishness of the feudal aristocracy as well as the rising tide of agnosticism and heresy, there swept over Germany a wave of mysticism. The eloquent spokesman of the new movement was the Dominican monk, Master Eckhart. Like St. Francis before him, Master Eckhart sought refuge from the sordidness of life in inner contemplation and in the lyrical beauty of nature. "In every individual," he said, "there is a spark of the divine essence which is forever seeking to return to God." And God, he asserted, was to be found "not only in places of worship but in all that lives and breathes, all that blooms and withers and dies." Therefore, let him who would become one with the soul of the universe renounce formal worship for a life of devout contemplation and gentle demeanor.

This doctrine of mystical, personal faith appealed directly to a people exhausted by war, famine, the Black Death and the oppression of the Church. Condemned by the Pope for preaching this pantheistic doctrine, Master Eckhart nevertheless persisted, and his following throughout Germany grew steadily, while everywhere secret brotherhoods sprang up to practice what the Dominican friar preached from the pulpit of the Cologne Cathedral. This cult of mysticism, which enabled men to escape from the bonds of church tyranny and everyday despair, set their minds free to speculate on the nature of the divine and opened new vistas to the imagination. Substituting a personal vision of sweetness, humility and loving-kindness for the customary interpretation of the Christian legends, the mystics carried the teachings of Master Eckhart throughout the Rhine valley, with an effect on German art similar to that of the Franciscan movement on the art of Italy.

Among the artists who responded wholeheartedly to the gentle friar's teachings was a group of painters who worked in Cologne, the prosperous metropolis of the Lower Rhine. The culture of this city had always been strongly influenced by that

of the neighboring Low Countries, and the work of the Cologne school, whose founder is said to have been Master William (Meister Wilhelm) of Cologne, was a fusion of the gentle piety of the mystics and the fresh and pleasing naturalism of the early Flemish school. The life of Master William is shrouded in uncertainty, but we know that he was active toward the end of the fourteenth century and that he enjoyed a wide reputation. Among the pictures ascribed to him is the charming *Madonna with the Bean Blossom,* the earliest known representation of the Virgin as the Cologne artists painted her. "Tall and slender like the statues in their narrow niches in the Gothic cathedrals, with sloping shoulders, high forehead, heavy-lidded, downcast eyes, small nose, finely cut lips, long and tapering fingers, the Virgin and female saints about her, with their air of sweet detachment from the world, are little more than shadowy dream forms." Among other paintings formerly attributed to Master William of Cologne but now given to an anonymous Cologne master is *The Virgin Enthroned* (Plate 437), in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia. Here the old hieratic style which fourteenth century German painting had taken over from medieval book illumination, is manifested in the anti-naturalistic gold background, in the symbolic treatment of architectural elements, in the choice of colors which reinforce the equilibrium of the composition, and in the complete absence of spatial consideration.

Among the followers of Master William was Stephen Lochner, whose *Madonna in a Rose Arbor* and *Madonna with a Violet* are lyric compositions of great charm; smiling wistfully, the Madonna in these pictures is seated in a garden where lovely flowers make a gay tapestry, while winsome angels hover about, playing celestial music. The foremost of the Cologne painters, Stephen Lochner has often been compared with Fra Angelico, who also painted pictures "by which the heart would be kindled toward God." The work of the German painter, however, shows a much keener sense of observation and, being Northern, is far more realistic than that of Fra Angelico. Stephen Lochner's most famous work, the *Adoration of the Magi,* in the Cologne Cathedral, is acknowledged to be the most significant painting produced in medieval Germany.

Conrad of Soest, a Westphalian painter of the early fifteenth century, is related in style to the early Cologne masters. He too makes the background shine with brilliantly polished gold and builds up his compositions in an almost geometrically poised symmetry similar in manner to that of the medieval artists. One of his most engaging works, the *Coronation of the Virgin* (Plate 440), in the Cleveland Museum, illustrates the hieratic medieval style which continued not only in Westphalia, but also throughout most of Germany, long after the new Flemish naturalism had been inaugurated by the Van Eycks and their successors. At the same time, the effect of Flemish realism on Westphalian art is strikingly demonstrated in such paintings as the *Crucifixion* (Plate 445) by an unknown master.

Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the regional character of the various schools which flourished in Germany was rather strictly maintained, but the custom of spending several "wanderyears" as journeyman-painter throughout the country enabled the artist to transmit his local style to other artistic centers. Thus we find the essential features of the Cologne school in the work of a painter whose activity centered in the North Sea port of Hamburg—Master Francke, who combines the charm and sweetness of the Cologne masters with a certain droll humor and whimsical playfulness entirely his own.

The masters of the Cologne school, many of whom remain anonymous, added a touch of poetry to the mysticism which was destined to become so important an element in the greatest achievements of German art. But just as the Franciscan spirit drooped and faded before the growing individualism of the Renaissance, so the Cologne school gave way before the overwhelming force of Flemish realism. Cologne, Augsburg, Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm and Basel were all situated in the way of the great trade routes, and during the yearly fairs held in these cities, Flemish cloth, lace, tapestries and paintings were offered to the German burghers. The realism of the Flemish school found great admirers in Germany, whose painters soon flocked to Bruges and Antwerp to learn the secret of the Van Eycks' craftsmanship, while Flemish painters established themselves in Germany where they found a lucrative market for their work. The Master of Flémalle, Roger van der Weyden, who did a triptych for a church at Cologne, and Dirk Bouts, were widely imitated by the Cologne masters, notably by the realists Lucas Moser and Conrad Witz, and by such anonymous artists as the Master of the Altar of St. Bartholomew; the Master of the Life of the Virgin, by whom there is a charming *Madonna and Child* in the Detroit Museum and an *Ascension of Christ* in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia; the Master of the Holy Kinship, whose painting of *Saint Thaddeus and Saint Matthew* is in the Boston Museum. These are at the other pole from the mystic piety of the earlier Cologne masters.

Realism made considerable strides in Germany during the second half of the fifteenth century. The small votive pictures of the Cologne school developed into altarpieces in the best Flemish manner; in time the German altarpieces became highly elaborate compositions, with dense groups of figures crowding the numerous wings and partitions—many of them painted by artists whose names have not yet been identified. For the time being at least, mysticism had given way to material concern.

In the rich commercial centers of the Swabian and Franconian districts, the painters active during the middle of the fifteenth century also abandoned the older Franciscan traditions and submitted to the Flemish influence. Many of them received their training in the workshops of Flemish masters; among these was probably Hans Memling of Memlingen, who worked and died in Bruges as the most renowned painter of his generation. One of the most characteristic and charming works belonging to the Swabian school is the portrait group of a newly wed

couple of upper-class citizens of Ulm, *The Two Lovers* (Plate 441), painted by Bartholomaeus Zeitblom (ca. 1450-1520) or one of his followers, and now owned by the Cleveland Museum. The dignified representation of *St. George and St. Wolfgang* (Plate 439), a fragment of a large altarpiece, was executed by the Master of the Hausbuch, a painter, engraver and engineer working in the region of Würzburg during the latter half of the fifteenth century, who is named after the sketchbook *(Hausbuch)* which chance brought to the attention of scholars. His style marks him an immediate predecessor of the gifted German painter Matthias Nithart, called Grünewald, who may have been his pupil.

Grünewald is perhaps the only universal genius in German art. He was born about 1460, most probably at Würzburg, and died in 1528. It is indicative of the unfortunate disruption of cultural tradition, which followed in the wake of the German Reformation, that he was almost forgotten for centuries. A seventeenth century historian who refers to his works does not even know his name; his unique achievement, based on re-attributed paintings, had to be rediscovered in our own day. Unlike most Northern artists who relied on their mastery of line, Grünewald used his colors as actual factors of form and expression. He had a keen sense of observation as well as a profound admiration for nature, so that those details which are not encompassed in the expressive movement dominating his compositions, he renders with naturalistic accuracy. On the other hand, those features which needed to be emphasized in order to stress the spiritual significance of his theme, he set down with deliberate disregard for natural forms or local color. Gay and bright hues alternate suddenly with harsh and sombre shades in dramatic dissonance. The most striking instance of this symbolic use of color is his masterwork, the great *Isenheim Altar* (now in the Museum of Colmar, Alsace). Here the colors, as Professor Charles Kuhn has aptly pointed out, "remain sombre and subdued in the *Crucifixion,* grow jubilant and noisy in the *Incarnation,* become exultant and ecstatic in the supernatural *Resurrection* and contrast effectively in the two scenes from the *Legend of St. Anthony* to convey the feeling of cool calm of early morning and flaming midday heat."

Grünewald owed nothing to the masters of Italian Renaissance; his was essentially a Northern genius, concerned with the expression of feeling and emotion, rather than the plastic idealization of form. Expressionism—the deliberate distortion of natural forms to achieve dramatic emphasis—is used more capably and with more telling effect by Grünewald than by any other European master. He torments the body in order to convey the agony of the soul; physical suffering is described with almost unbearable intensity. The limbs and face of the Savior are distorted in an ecstasy of pain; the grief of the mourners remains poignant and real.

There are many local differences in the German art of this period, reflecting to some extent the specific characteristics of the various people comprising the nation.

For some of the larger centers where a great many works have been preserved, it is possible to establish an uninterrupted succession and trace a tradition handed down for several generations. In smaller regions the production is limited, and only a few isolated artists or short-lived schools have become known to us.

By the end of the fifteenth century the Renaissance had invaded the Netherlands, and the Italianate Flemings passed their newly acquired knowledge on to the Germans. The new realism in Germany consisted of a mingling of Flemish naturalism, Italian humanism and Gothic love of detail. The leadership in German art now passed from the Cologne school to two great schools that had a short but brilliant duration: Nuremberg and Augsburg. Outstanding among the Nuremberg painters was Michael Wolgemut (1434-1519), whose portraits show excellent workmanship and very often a remarkably convincing characterization. His *Portrait of a Man* (Plate 452), in the Detroit Institute of Arts, is still largely in the Gothic tradition; but in the work of Bernard Strigel (*Portrait of an Augsburg Patrician,* Pinakothek, Munich; *Portrait of a Lady,* Metropolitan Museum) the Gothic manner gives way to penetrating analysis of the subject.

As a result of the invention of the art of printing by Johannes Gutenberg, shortly before 1440, German masters of the middle fifteenth century turned their attention to graphic reproduction. Engraving and woodcutting were not newly invented at this time, but they did take on a quite unexpected importance for the artist as well as the public. At first engravings were largely executed to reproduce sketches and projects for pictorial compositions, patterns and models to be circulated among workers in the minor arts—goldsmiths and jewelers; these graphic processes were also widely used to decorate playing cards, for card games had become popular about this time (Plate 448). Woodcuts were destined to serve as illustrations in books originally illuminated in color. Soon the artists learned to display their talents in the new medium with great freedom, and the graphic arts eventually became the domain in which the creative German genius excelled the rest of the world.

The best representative of the earlier stages of this newly risen art was Martin Schongauer of Colmar (ca. 1445-1491). With him engraving ceases to be merely a by-product of painting, and becomes an independent branch of artistic activity. He was able to execute large compositions filled with figures in vehement dramatic action, such as the engraving of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Plate 443). In this intentionally overcrowded bustle of an unfeeling populace eager to witness an exciting spectacle, the figure of the Redeemer, fallen under the weight of the huge cross, is elaborated in a most impressive and significant contrast. The same skillful use of linear elements can be observed in Schongauer's powerful engraving of *Christ on the Cross* (Plate 442), a traditional representation of the theme but imbued with a new vigor and meaning. Schongauer's painting, strongly influenced by Roger van der Weyden, transmitted the realism and fervor of the Flemish school

to a young artist who was to become one of the leading figures in European art—Albrecht Dürer.

Dürer (1471-1528) was born in Nuremberg, "the Florence of Germany." He was first apprenticed to a goldsmith but, as he wrote in his diary, "When I could work neatly my liking drew me rather to painting than to goldsmith's work . . . and in 1486 my father bound me apprentice to Michael Wolgemut, to serve him three years long." After his apprenticeship in Michael Wolgemut's workshop, Dürer began his "wanderyears." Twenty-one, comely of person, endowed with unusual charm and intelligence, he was welcomed and befriended wherever he went. In Colmar he stood spellbound before the magnificent *Madonna and Child in a Rose Arbor* which Martin Schongauer had painted for the church of his patron saint, and although the master himself was already dead, Dürer received from this work the unforgettable impression of a Madonna type: a calm, benign countenance, a nobly proportioned body, a maternal bearing that embraced all humanity with loving-kindness. Many influences in later years were to shape Dürer's image of the Virgin, but essentially the impression he received during those early "wanderyears" altered little. Many years later, when he executed his famous altarpiece, *The Festival of the Rose Garden* for the chapel of the German Exchange in Venice, or when he painted the *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* in the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 461), he gave the Virgin the same attributes of strength, serenity and motherliness.

Back in Nuremberg after his travels, Dürer married Agnes Frey, daughter of a well-to-do merchant; she appears to have been an insensitive woman, interested in her husband's artistic activity largely for the sake of the financial returns it yielded. For Dürer's fame now extended well beyond the boundaries of local Nuremberg society; he was receiving numerous commissions from the wealthy German patricians, including the great Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise.

How much Dürer owed to Michael Wolgemut and how far he surpassed him may be realized by a comparison of Wolgemut's Detroit *Portrait* with Dürer's *Self Portrait* in the Louvre, painted in 1483. During the years that followed, stimulating contact with the Italian Renaissance opened his eyes to new forms, and he painted such masterpieces as the *Portrait of Jacob Muffel* and that of *Hieronymus Holzschuher,* two prominent men of his native city of Nuremberg, both of which served as the standard for German Renaissance portraiture. Dürer's studies of women have, on the whole, a rather heavy touch, but here, too, is evidence of an incessant probing into character. The *Portrait of a Woman,* in the Bache Collection (Plate 460), displays to a marked degree the influence of the Venetian masters, while *The Wife of Jobst Planckfelt,* in the Toledo Museum (Plate 456), retains the sober tone of his earlier Gothic realism.

In 1505 Dürer journeyed to Venice where the aged Giovanni Bellini received

him warmly, admiring his work and encouraging him to remain in Italy. Despite the fact that the Venetians offered him "an office and two hundred ducats a year," Dürer returned home to Nuremberg where he enjoyed the patronage of burgher and peasant alike; for while the pulpit was closed to those who preached reform, the printed sheet and broadside were accessible to all, and illustrated with engravings and woodcuts, mediums in which Dürer soon excelled, they became powerful weapons in the struggle against religious abuse.

The beginning of the sixteenth century, which marked the focal point of Dürer's activity, also marked a new epoch in European history. In Italy, Alexander Borgia, Julius II and Leo X had made of the Papacy a ruthless temporal power which exploited their lucrative monopoly of church tithes. In Germany the Emperor Maximilian strove desperately to retain his hold on the Holy Roman Empire. Printing had made important strides, and science was daily turning a new page before the dazzled eyes of men. Most important of all, the cataclysm of the Reformation was preparing to burst upon Northern Europe. Albrecht Dürer, with his keen intelligence and tremendous capacity for feeling, did not remain untouched by the events about him. He was, more truly perhaps than any other artist, a child of his time, interpreting the social and intellectual currents of his age with great vigor and imagination.

Like Schongauer, Dürer found in the graphic arts a freedom of expression which oil painting did not always afford him. As a painter he had to struggle with the difficulty of finding a way to adapt the new forms of the Italian Renaissance, which he so much admired, to his Gothic tradition. In some of his works, notably the *Madonna with the Iris* (Earl of Richmond Collection), the *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi, Florence) and the *Four Apostles* (Pinakothek, Munich), the plastic treatment of forms and the dramatic use of color combine to achieve this synthesis with marked success. For, as Professor Kuhn observes, "In addition to a speculative type of mind which prompted an earnest attitude toward art and life, he possessed powers of acute observation and was extremely capable of sensuous experiences." In other works, notably some of his portraits, the Italian preoccupation with form and the Gothic love of minute detail expressed in linear patterns, remain separate elements which do not fuse into an organic whole. No such conflict exists in his engravings and woodcuts. In these he is capable of the loftiest eloquence: his engravings of the Passion were charged with profound significance for sixteenth century Europe, and such subjects as *Christ Before Pilate, The Flagellation* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns* told in compelling language the story of religious persecution in Europe.

The specimens chosen from his prolific engravings show this very clearly. In the charming *Madonna with a Pear* (Plate 449) the problem of representing a group in front of a detailed landscape background and combining the two elements into a

harmonious ensemble is solved with remarkable skill. In other engravings, Dürer treats more intricate artistic problems with his typical thoroughness and application, as, for example, in his *St. Jerome in His Study,* or his celebrated *Melancholia,* and the *Knight with Death and the Devil,* available in many American museums.

Dürer's influence on German painting was far-reaching. The Franconian artists, Hans von Kulmbach, Leonard Schäuffelein and Wolf Traut the Alsatian artist; Hans Baldung, renowned for his splendid panels for the altar of the Freiburg Cathedral; and the lyric landscape painter, Albrecht Altdorfer, to whom a *Nativity* in Chicago is attributed (Plate 444), all derive, in the last analysis, from Albrecht Dürer.

Closely related to Dürer in spirit, though lacking both the powerful sweep of the Nuremberg artist's imagination and his brilliantly versatile technical knowledge, was Lucas Cranach. Born during the tempestuous pre-Reformation period, Cranach early identified himself with the new religious movement that was sweeping over Northern Europe. He was a great friend and stout supporter of Martin Luther, whom he met in the celebrated university town of Wittenberg, the intellectual center of the Reformation. It may have been his ardent championship of Protestantism that won for Cranach the appointment as court painter to the Protestant Elector, Frederick the Wise. At any rate, while still in his early thirties, Cranach became associated with the house of Saxony whose members he portrayed in a series of remarkable studies. Cranach was closely bound to his patrons by ties of religion and intellect, for the Electors of Saxony were, like himself, champions of the Reformation and leaders in the intellectual awakening of Germany. As such, they exercised a significant effect on the art of the German realist. Perhaps the Saxon princes sensed that a homely, indigenous flavor in painting was necessary to wean the other Protestant nobles from the Italian schools fostered by the Church of Rome. In any case Cranach, with the support of his patrons, became one of the founders of a German school of painting that was distinctly partisan in its leanings toward Protestantism.

Among the great religious pictures which Lucas Cranach painted are his *Rest on the Flight* (Berlin), with a detailed romantic landscape background; his *Madonna Under an Apple Tree,* with its warm, attractive coloring; his *Madonna and Child Holding a Bunch of Grapes,* a human and intimate interpretation of the sacred theme; and his *Christ and Woman Taken in Adultery* in the National Gallery of Canada. As for his portraits, they form a fascinating gallery. Done with affectionate insight, they are sound psychological studies of men, women and children as Cranach knew them in his native environment (Plates 450, 457).

Living in an age which felt the impact of Italian Humanism, Cranach naturally tried his hand at classical themes. The *Judgment of Paris* (Plate 465), of which

he painted several versions (Metropolitan Museum, City Art Museum of St. Louis), and the *Venus and Amor* in the New York Historical Society, illustrate Cranach's interest in mythology. But although the figures are charmingly grouped and gracefully delineated, his naïvely sensuous nudes remain ineffectual on the whole, lacking the element of universality which the Italians knew how to impart.

So appreciative of his efforts were Cranach's patrons that the artist was hard put to it to furnish enough paintings to meet the demand. The apprentices of his atelier, however, soon became proficient in aping the style of the master and, under his supervision, turned out an extraordinary amount of work. Since most of these paintings went out under the signature of Cranach, or under the crowned dragon which hallmarked his productions, the artist became famous for the speed of his painting and was given the sobriquet *celerimus pictor,* the fastest painter. So enduring was this belief in his amazing facility of producton that the Latin words were inscribed on his tombstone when he died at Weimar in 1553, at the age of eighty-one.

The last German painter of importance was Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543), who continued the work of the Augsburg school, established by Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531), and became one of the most skillful portait painters of all time.

A native of Augsburg, the busy commercial capital of Southern Germany where the Emperor Maximilian held court, Hans Holbein early came in contact with the aristocratic elements of his country. At the age of seventeen, however, he went to Switzerland, probably to escape religious persecution which had become rampant in his country. In Basel he secured employment with the famous printer and publisher, Frobenius, and was commissioned to illustrate a work of the great scholar Erasmus, *In Praise of Folly.* Holbein did many portraits of Erasmus, the one in the Louvre being the most famous. It was then that Holbein sought refuge in England where he obtained the patronage of Thomas More, Henry VIII and the English aristocracy. During his English sojourn he painted many portraits of the German colony of merchants in London, the merchants of the Steelyard, as they were called. His portrait of the *Merchant Gisze* is one of the most successful of this series, while in such portraits as *Lady Guildford* (Metropolitan Museum), *Catherine Howard* (Toledo Museum), *Lady Rich,* and *Margaret Wyat, Lady Lee* (Metropolitan Museum) and *A Lady From the Court of Henry VIII* (Bache Collection, Plate 466), Holbein has set down with astonishing accuracy and extraordinary insight the character of the English nobility of the court of Henry VIII. One of the outstanding masterpieces of this period is the portrait of *Sir Thomas More,* in the Frick Collection (Plate 451), the heroic chancellor of Henry VIII. Strongly influenced by Italian Renaissance art, Holbein nevertheless remains, in such decisive factors as the organization of living bodies and inanimate objects as well as space, distinctly Gothic

to the end of his career. Thus his portrait of *Edward VI When Prince of Wales,* in the Bache Collection (Plate 467), continues the tradition of the Northern miniature painters, though with far more penetrating psychological analysis.

With Holbein we reach the end of this remarkable German school. Political events in Germany for the next three hundred years made conditions unfavorable for the development of painting, and it was not till the end of the nineteenth century that German art was again motivated by originality of thought and execution.

Cologne Master, 14th Century — *The Virgin Enthroned*

Plate 437

JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Rueland Frueauf, active Late 15th Century

The Visitation

Plate 438

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Master of the Hausbuch, active ca. 1470–1507

St. George and St. Wolfgang

Plate 439

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Conrad von Soest, active 1401–1422

Coronation of the Virgin

Plate 440

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

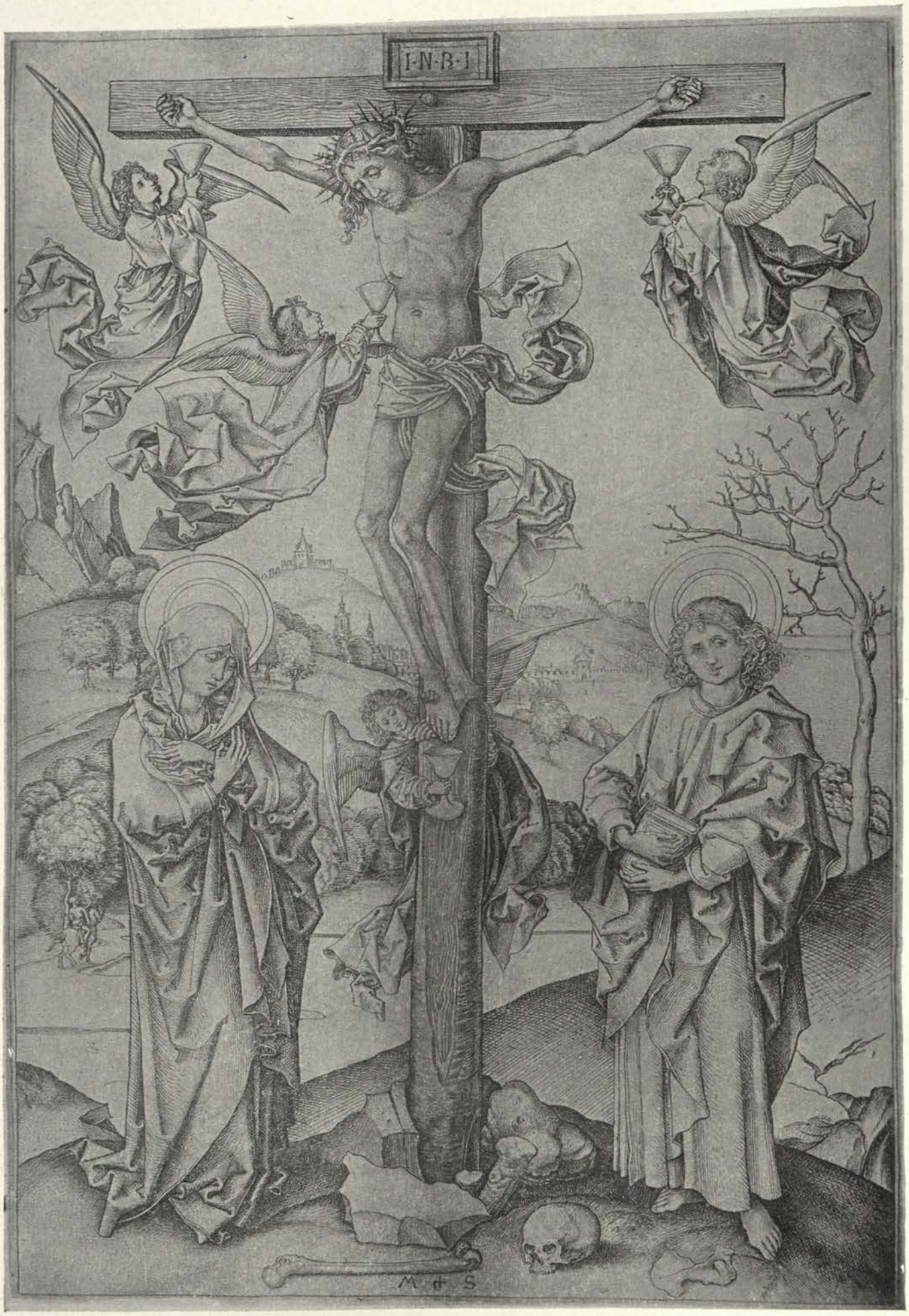
Cleveland, Ohio

Swabian School, Ulm, ca. 1470 — *The Two Lovers*

Plate 441

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio



Martin Schongauer, ca. 1445–1491

Christ on the Cross, with Four Angels. Engraving

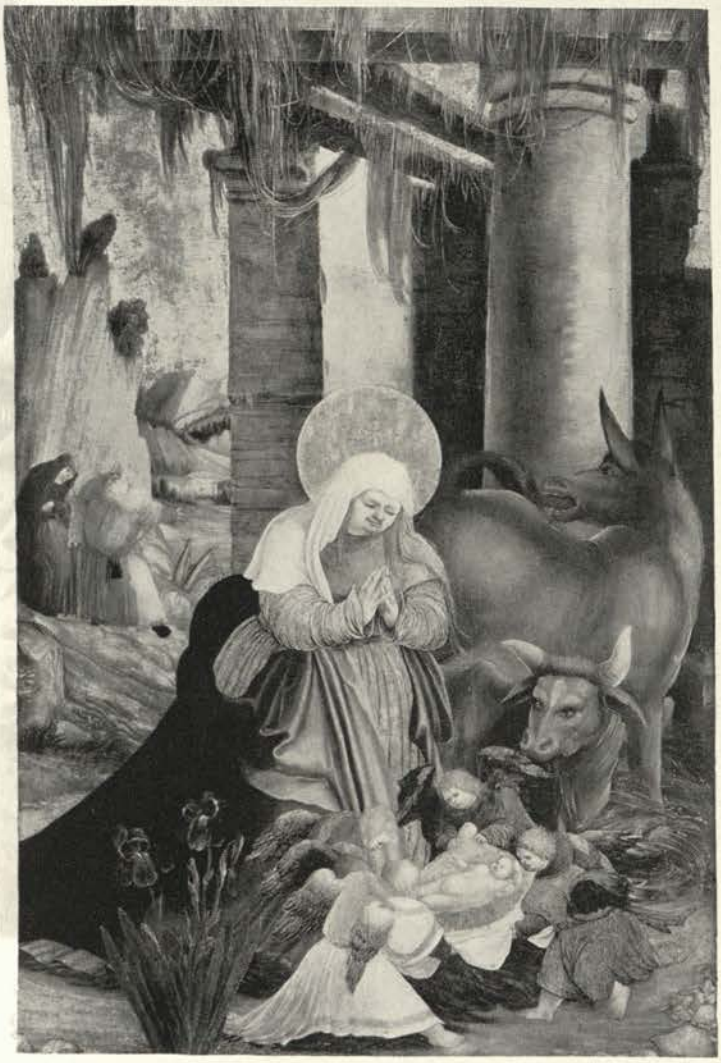
Plate 442

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts

Martin Schongauer — *Christ Carrying the Cross. Engraving*

Plate 443. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*



Albrecht Altdorfer (attributed) 1480–1538 — *Nativity*

Plate 444. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, *Chicago, Illinois*

Westphalian School, ca. 1500 — *The Crucifixion*

Plate 445. GERMANIC MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Bernard Strigel, 1460–1527 — *The Two Lovers. Drawing*

Plate 446

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

Bernard Strigel — *Saint Agatha. Drawing*

Plate 447

FOGG ART MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Master of Playing Cards — *The Queen of Stags. Engraving*

Plate 448

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Albrecht Dürer, 1471–1528 — *Madonna with a Pear. Engraving*

Plate 449

VASSAR COLLEGE ART GALLERY

Poughkeepsie, New York

Lucas Cranach, the Elder, 1472–1553

Man with a Rosary

Plate 450

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

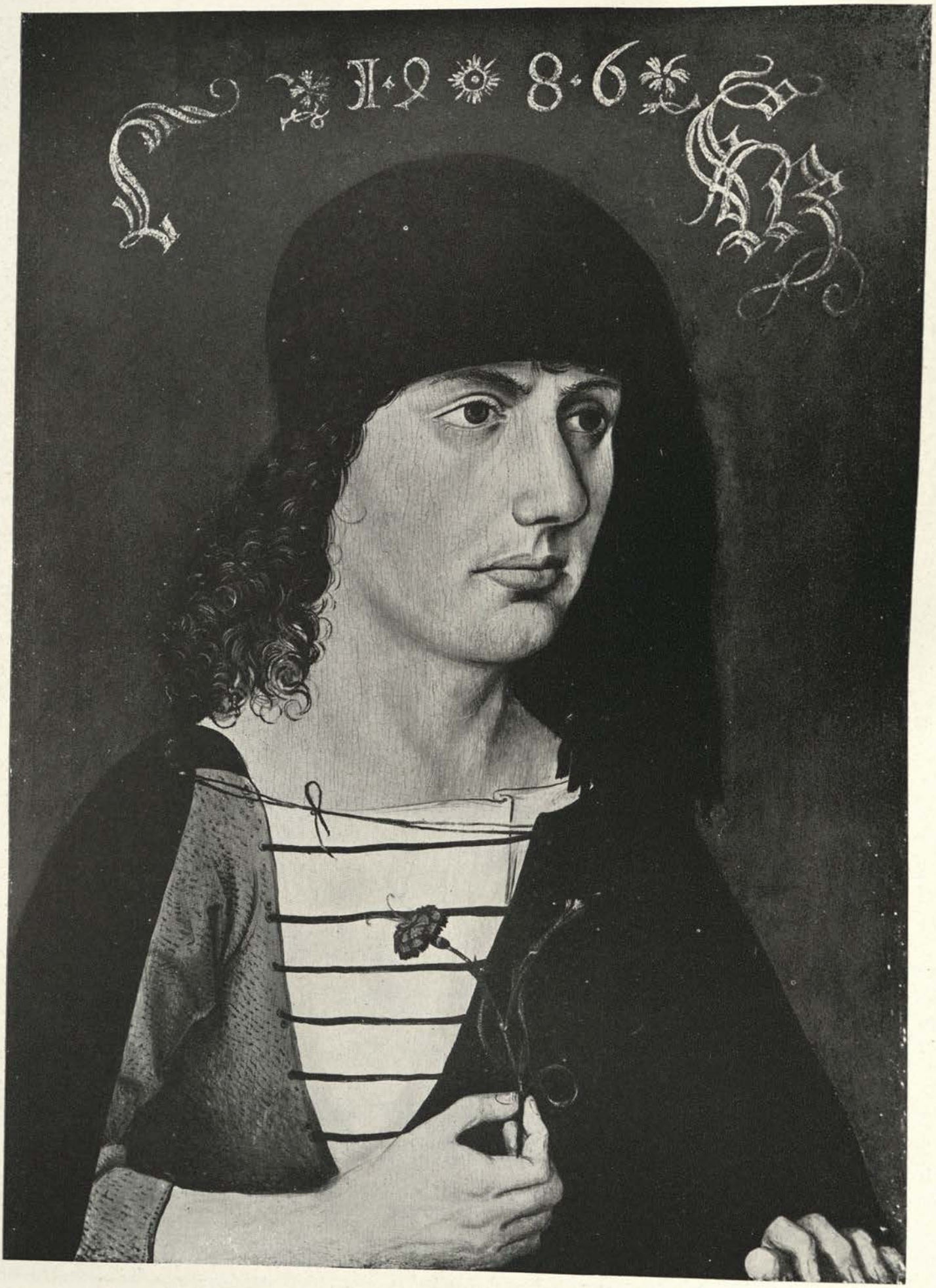
Hans Holbein, the Younger, 1497–1543

Sir Thomas More

Plate 451

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City



Michael Wolgemut, 1434–1519

Portrait of a Man

Plate 452

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

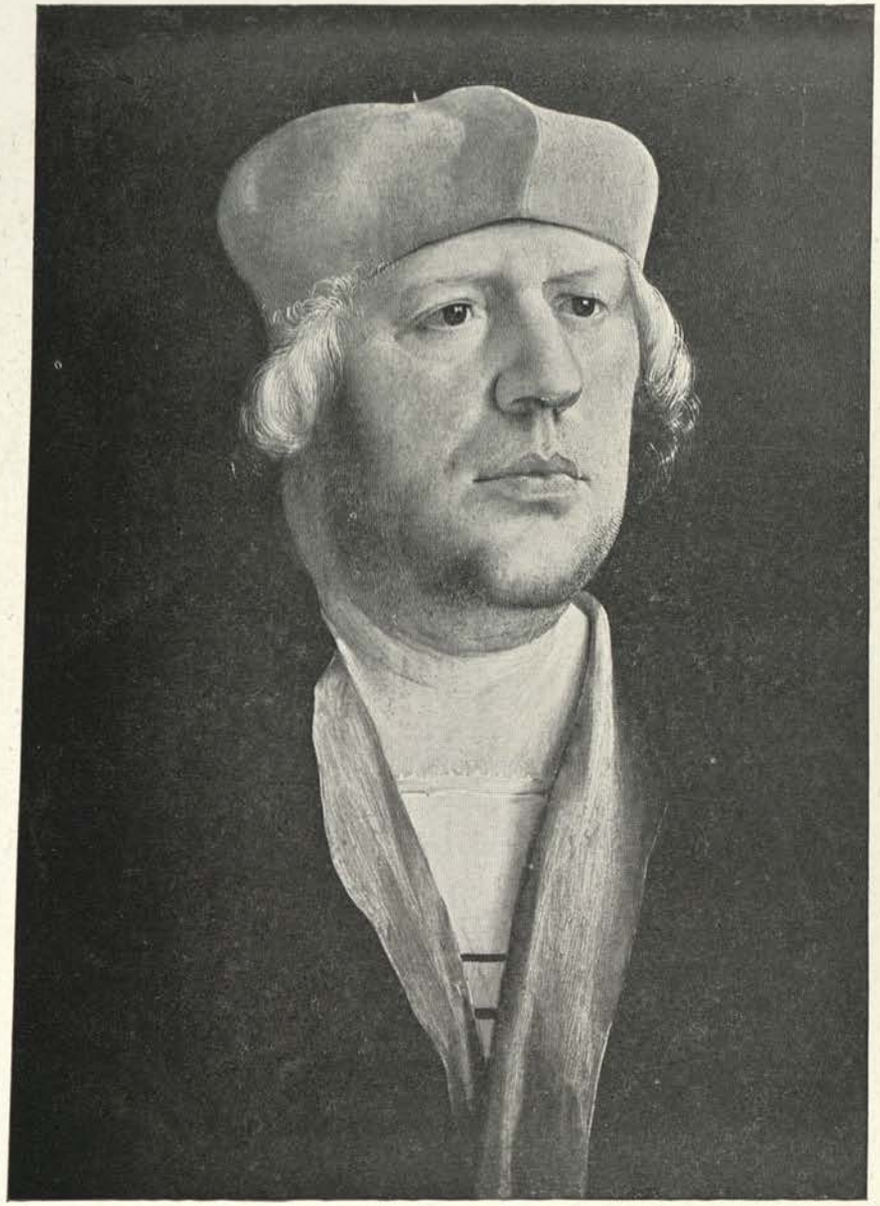
Detroit, Michigan

Bartel Bruyn, the Younger, 1530–1610 *Portrait of a Lady of the Vavasour Family*

Plate 453

ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

Toronto, Canada



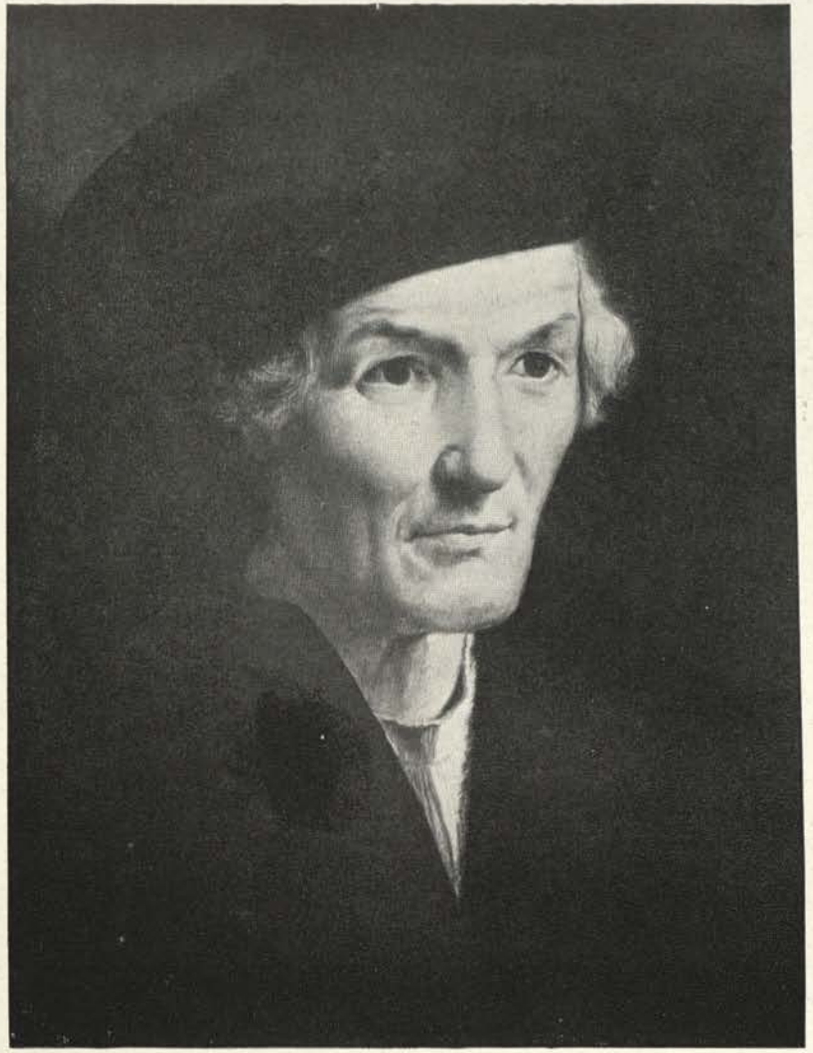
Master of the Angerer Portraits, Early 16th Century

Portrait of a Man Wearing a Red Cap

Plate 454

CITY ART MUSEUM

St. Louis, Missouri



Christoph Amberger, ca. 1500–1561

Portrait of a Man

Plate 455

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Albrecht Dürer — *The Wife of Jobst Planckfelt*

Plate 456

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Lucas Cranach, the Elder, — *A Lady in Black*

Plate 457

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Albrecht Dürer — *Adam and Eve. Pen and Sepia Drawing*

Plate 458

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

Albrecht Dürer *The Great Horse. Copper Engraving*

Plate 459

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Albrecht Dürer — *Portrait of a Woman*

Plate 460

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Albrecht Dürer — *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne*

Plate 461

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Lucas Cranach, the Elder — *Adam. Detail*

Plate 462

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Lucas Cranach, the Elder — *Eve. Detail*

Plate 463

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

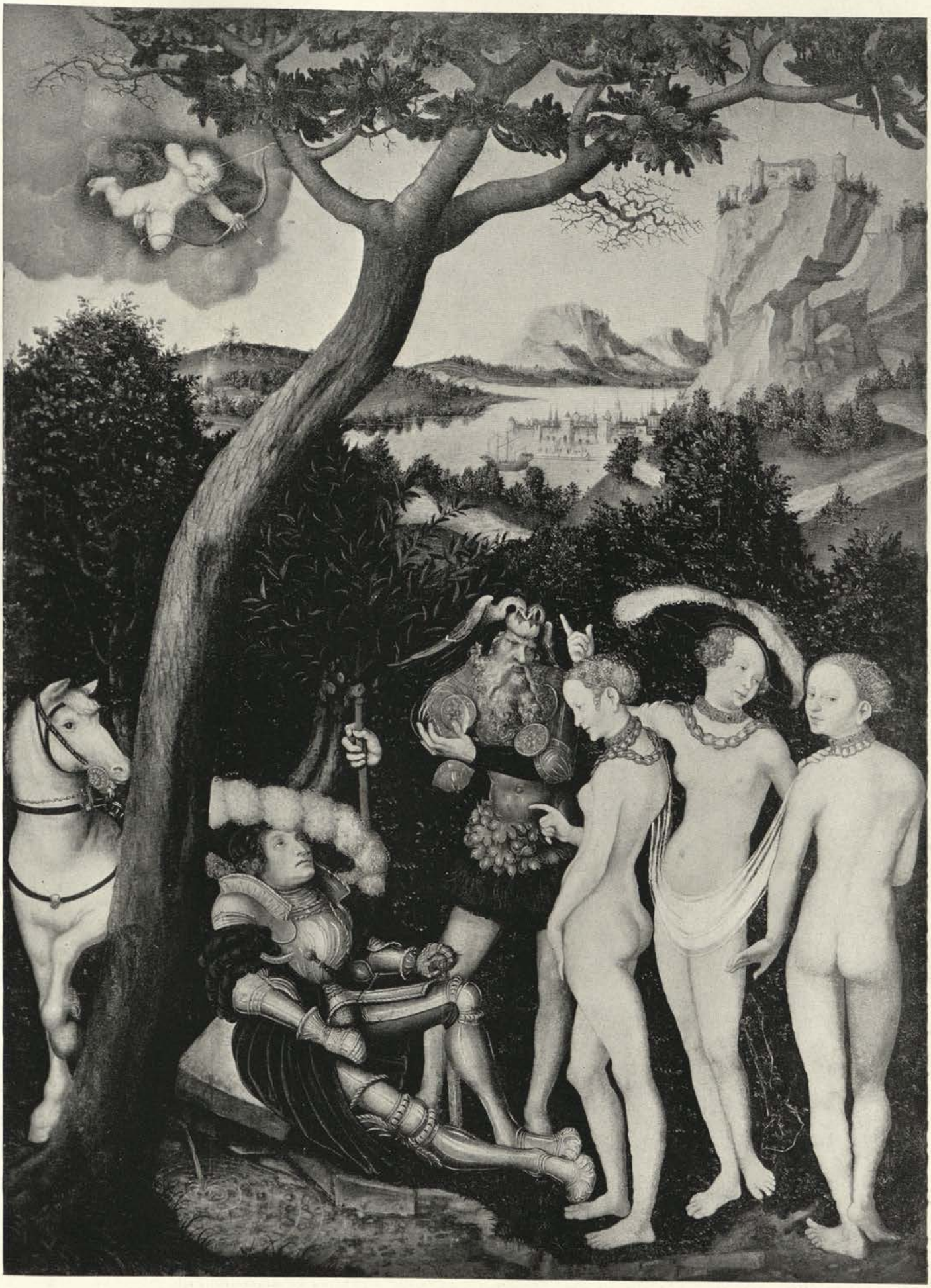
Chicago, Illinois

Lucas Cranach, the Elder — *Eve. Detail*

Plate 464

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois



Lucas Cranach, the Elder — *The Judgment of Paris*

Plate 465

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Hans Holbein, the Younger

A Lady from the Court of Henry VIII

Plate 466

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Hans Holbein, the Younger — *Edward VI when Prince of Wales*

Plate 467

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

XIV
French School

FRANCE did not emerge as a political entity until the second half of the fifteenth century, and perhaps for this reason produced no such school of primitive painters as existed in Italy and Flanders. Those miniaturists who executed "stained glass windows" in the picture books of the nobility, had begun early in the fourteenth century to paint their pictures on panels; but these artists, for the most part unidentified, early borrowed the Flemish realism of the Van Eyck school and painted in what is best termed a Franco-Flemish stylistic synthesis. Moreover, such fourteenth century panels as the *Portrait of King John* (Bibliothèque Nationale) or the *Martyrdom of St. Denis* (Louvre) attributed to the Burgundian painters Malouel or Bellechose, or again the famous silk painting of a Crucifixion and Passion known as the *Parement of Narbonne* (Louvre), or the Avignon *Pietà,* variously reflect the influence of the Cosmopolitan style, imported by the Avignon Popes from Siena (Simone Martini), and everywhere betray a certain formalism and refinement, a touch of delicate restraint which derive from contemporary Italy. Cosmopolitan the style assuredly proves, for the fusion of identifiable elements is so thorough and universal that it is rarely possible to determine whether a panel was painted by a native or a visiting foreigner. The two panels at Kansas City showing *Eight Musical Angels* (Plate 468) "are Sienese in their attenuated grace, Northern in the gaiety of their colors, yet truly French in charm and refinement." The Gallic colors of the heavenly *Blue Madonna* (Plate 469) hardly disguise her foreign origins. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries miniature painters continued to practice their art in an assortment of Hour Books similar to the *Très Belles Heures* of the Limbourg brothers, and these, at any rate, remain thoroughly French Gothic until the middle of the latter century when the realism of Flemish primitives invaded and overwhelmed the French school.

Appropriately enough, clearly definable French elements appear in the work of one of the earliest identifiable painters of note, Jean Fouquet of Tours (ca. 1415-ca. 1481), an outstanding miniaturist and panelist, who visited Italy and later served at the court of Louis XI, the monarch whose strenuous efforts knit France into political unity. Fouquet's *Book of Hours* for Étienne Chevalier, his celebrated *Madonna,* and the portrait of *Juvénal des Ursins* bear elements of marked transition from Gothic to Renaissance in certain chromatic harmonies, in architectural ornaments and, most significant, in a broad secularization of religious theme. The

Madonna is a lady of fashion nearer the court than the convent, while Juvénal is a Renaissance statesman whose matins are clearly allied to his politics. One notes a suavity and a preciosity in the portraits, and these are qualities unmistakably French.

Other miniaturists among many less masterly but equally interesting are Enguerrand Charonton and Jean Bourdichon working in the Italianate style while occasionally, as in Nicholas Froment who spent a portion of his career in Italy, or the anonymous Maître de Moulins, one feels that the French painters are little inferior to Italian contemporaries like Piero della Francesca, for example.

In the early sixteenth century, at the moment that France was thoroughly converted from a feudal to a monarchic state, she was, unfortunately, on direct invitation from her monarch, conquered by Italy in the realm of art and kept at the point of slavish imitation. Francis I (Plate 364), "unable in the days of his youth to make Italy French" by military conquest, "when age came upon him, tried to make France Italian." The earlier thin stream of influence which had flowed by way of Avignon and carried along Frenchmen like Fouquet and Froment, now swelled to deluge proportions: Leonardo was called in, and Andrea del Sarto also came to Francis' court; finally, for lack of better, Primaticcio and Il Rosso were imported in the hope of equaling at the new palace of Fontainebleau the brilliant decorations of the Gonzaga Palaces in Mantua. To Fontainebleau the visiting artists brought antique Greece and Rome as it was currently being pictured in Italy by her second-rate masters. In the mannerist style they produced mythological and allegorical nudes distorted into highly artificial postures and attitudes. Dedicated to the arts and social rites of love, these Floras and Cupids served the courtly interests in "parliaments of love." In servile imitation the French artists produced sophisticated allegories of love, Venuses and Dianas elegant and dainty, their limbs and joints often refined to tapering deformity. The *Toilet of Venus* or *Birth of Cupid* (Plate 471), or, for that matter *Diane de Poitiers* (Plate 470), Henry II's lovely mistress, are better described and eulogized in the neo-classic poetry of the day. Prematurely conceived and starved for nourishment in an environment as yet unformed and immature, the unnatural artistic growth at Fontainebleau feebly lingered on through the sixteenth century.

Meantime the passion with which men at court now desired to be recorded in "photograph albums" was an added element in the transition from the Gothic spirit. In traditions of painting, however, those famous portraitists, Jean Clouet, his son François (respectively *valet de chambre* and *peintre du roi* to Francis I), and imitators like Corneille de Lyon, remained pre-Renaissance. Serving the function of photographers to the court personalities, the Clouets and their shop assistants turned out dozens of oil portraits and hundreds of red chalk drawings, neat, deftly executed, instinct with elegance. In these portraits, obviously perfect as likenesses but only

mildly characterful, the Clouets touched off an age of gallant cavaliers and ladies-in-waiting who mutually inspired the most refined sentiments and practices of honor, dalliance and love. The *Elizabeth of Valois* (Plate 473), one of the finest of François Clouet's portraits, may have been the portrait sent to her prospective husband Philip II of Spain. "The face of the fifteen year old princess is modeled with easy touch and great precision." The beautiful ruff, the jeweled necklace, the heavy embroidery and slashed sleeves are equal in their realism to the finest of contemporary Flemish portraiture. The drawings and pastels were duplicated by copyists at the Clouet portrait establishment, so that today it is only occasionally possible to select an original among the hundreds of papers in the famous Condé Museum at Chantilly. The rival shop of Corneille de Lyon produced miniature portraits in oil, often equal to, and occasionally surpassing in character delineation, the work of the busy Clouet shop. These studies, when they are masterly, as in the *Marechal Bonnivet* (Plate 472), have the accent of greatness that appears in the contemporary work of Holbein at the court of Henry VIII.

The seventeenth century covers the reigns of Louis XIII and his son, Louis XIV. Both kings were children when they succeeded to the throne of France, and during the minority of each the political scene was dominated by a woman and a cardinal: Marie de' Medici, mother of Louis XIII, sharing her power with Richelieu; while Anne of Austria, mother of Louis XIV, had to cope with Cardinal Mazarin.

During this century Paris was completely changed in appearance. The city lost its crowded Gothic character; new quarters were laid out; handsome squares and wide avenues replaced the narrow, winding streets. The Baroque in architecture, launched from Italy during the Counter-Reformation, lent added impetus to church building: the Invalides, the Val-de-Grâce, the Church of the Sorbonne, among many others; while the nobles built town mansions in the new mode

The Baroque architecture called for a similar style of decoration both in the royal palaces and in the churches. French artists began to flock to Rome to attend the Academy of Art established by Colbert.

Among those artists who traveled to Italy for the requisite training and hurried back to decorate the grand mansions or *hôtels* and churches in the Baroque style (so brilliantly exemplified by Rubens at Marie de' Medici's Luxembourg Palace) the foremost was Simon Vouet (1590-1649), a masterly technician who employed an army of assistants working in the eclectic manner of the Carracci. Flattering contemporaries swore that his facile and overtly sensuous decorations were superior to those of Rubens, a point that Vouet himself not only agreed upon but strenuously advertised, so that his work won an enormous vogue and later influenced native decorators. Eustache le Sueur (1616-1655), his pupil, is less pretentious but equally charming and considerably more reserved and wholesome.

FRENCH SCHOOL

Concurrent with the decorative influence of the Carracci, appeared the tenebrism and proletarian themes of Caravaggio, which were made fashionable in Spain by Ribera, in Holland by Honthorst and the Utrecht school, and now in France were paralleled by the work of Jacques Callot (1592-1635). His tramps, gypsies and beggars (Plate 480), the flotsam of the Thirty Years' War, were set down in drawings and caricatures composed of nervous, thin, scratchy lines that lit up their miserable raggedness. His series of etchings, *The Miseries of War,* were to inspire later protests like Goya's *Disasters of the War.*

Other artists borrowed with frank wholeheartedness the spotlighting of Caravaggio. Georges de la Tour (ca. 1600-1652) shows, as did Honthorst, a preference for the artificial light of candles and torches. Softly and caressingly the light pervades a choice of tableaux that are Biblical in theme and proletarian in presentation. A kindly haze, struggling between sentiment and illumination, casts a spell of quietude on scenes like *St. Sebastian Mourned* (Louvre) or *Girl Holding a Candle* (Plate 479).

This interest in the broad masses of misbegotten and disinherited humanity acquires a new angle in the work of Louis le Nain and his brothers. Their concern shifts from the gamblers and brawlers in melodramatic scenes to the peasants of the countryside or the poor folk of the city, whose simple dignity, modest pastimes, and warmth of family life are highlighted. Often ragged or barefoot, these obscure families, like the Hartford *Peasants in a Landscape* (Plate 482), are set out of doors in surroundings equally plain, the cold light of a colorless sky lending little warmth or decorativeness to the composition. Many of them look like groups out of our own Ozarks. Since all three Le Nains often worked together or in pairs and generally signed individual panels with the family name alone, the problem of separating and attributing their works has been especially difficult. Louis, however, appears to have been the best of the three, while Matthieu, the youngest, attained to some prosperity and social position which are reflected in the brighter note characteristic of his rare compositions like *A Peasant Family* (Plate 481).

The other remove from these tenebrist genre scenes brings us once again to the court life in an age of cardinal-ministers. Among the portraitists active in preserving the stamp and mien of these statesmen and political scientists the ablest was unquestionably Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), who was in his own day celebrated for an uncanny ability to strike off a sharply delineated character study, without fanfare or the trappings of costume. His eye, in an age of Jesuit influence, is rarely on physical charm, concentrating rather on attributes of the mind and qualities of leadership. The *Portrait of a Gentleman* (Plate 477) presents a man obviously more at home in the library or conference than the salon or boudoir. The gesture and pose of earnest argument here portrayed are very similar to those of Champaigne's most famous portrait, that of *Cardinal Richelieu* in the Louvre.

It is not without significance that the two most important painters of the French

Renaissance were self-exiled, spending their days in Rome. For the Rebirth necessitated a personal oblivion, a negation of native traditions, and it was only among the antique statues, the fields and ruins in the environs of the Holy City that one could properly lose oneself as a Frenchman and re-emerge with a mind domesticated in classical concepts.

Born at Champagne in 1600, Claude Gellée afterward known as Lorrain, being orphaned at a tender age, was apprenticed to a baker. Two years later, at the age of fourteen, in a company of pastry cooks, he found himself on the road to Rome where he soon managed to secure a menial's wages as cook and shop assistant to a landscape decorator, Agostino Tassi. It was doubtless at this time that Claude fell completely under the spell of the Roman countryside and probably undertook some sketches on his own account, though we have no record of this ten-year period as apprentice. After a visit to Lorraine, Claude, now twenty-seven, made his way back to Rome to stay. Illiterate, uncouth, but withal a gentle soul, he settled down to an undistracted lifetime of landscape painting in which an observation incredibly keen, born of intense devotion, played a decisive rôle. Unlike the eclectics, Carracci, Domenichino and others who adhered strictly to landscape formulas, Claude, perhaps because he was himself unpretentious, converted the formula into something highly personal and lyrical. With infinite care bestowed on component elements, he carefully plots an architectonic composition whose subdued tones melt into quiet areas. By a subtle disposition and balance of nature's forms: trees, hillocks, curving streams and massing clouds, he sets off the receding spaces in a measure and mood that carry the eye tranquilly into the middle and far distant reaches of the countryside. The Toronto *Landscape with Piping Shepherd* (Plate 476) is an ordered and humanized unfolding of space, yet it is not the particular materials presented that impress us but the unified, personally conceived and re-created whole. It is a sensitive eye that has ordered from among nature's superabundance these greater and lesser harmonies. For Claude, who never troubled to learn how to model human figures and often merely had these touched in for him, it was the evanescent play of light upon these ordered stretches of verdure that counted most. He was the first, says Ruskin, to put the sun in the sky and attempt to show the actual sunshine in misty air. And so he gives us the landscape of the Campagna, in classic balance, unity and restraint, while the Delphic circles of nymphs are merely added as literary local color. The light seeps through veiled skies and runs a caressing touch along marshy glen and meadow. It moves along a liquid rim of cloud, or laps the furls of water along seaports. Flanked by noble colonnades and stately façades, these ports are romantic embarkation points for misty and remote horizons. The *Landing of Cleopatra* (Louvre) or *Departure of St. Ursula* (London) are hardly more than excuses for Claude's studies of light and space. Clearly an ancestor of Impressionism, "He loved to paint the hours when, in the constant rivalry between light and things, light

triumphs and things become mere reflectors or transmitters of light, largely lose their substance and entirely their individuality." Often superior to the studied canvases, which to modern eyes appear niggling in detail and too obviously composed, are the innumerable ink sketches, that spontaneous repertory, like Turner's and Constable's, of objects, motives and groupings which he used as a basis for the oils invariably painted indoors.

That enfeebled tradition which had been reduced to the eclecticism of the Carracci in Italy was revitalized in Flanders by the Baroque art of Rubens and in France by the noble classicism of Poussin. The former created complex symphonies of color and movement, the latter painted melodic orchestrations of rhythmic form. The brilliant Renaissance culture, which finally emerged in France during the reign of Louis XIV, found its voice in the sonorous poetic dramas of Corneille and Racine. It was to find its visual counterpart in the grand symbolism of Poussin who, with Claude, is the greatest French artist of the seventeenth century. But where Claude paints as it were an idyllic yet faithful selection of nature, Poussin's canvases are splendid exercises in logic, orderly and astute arrangements of classic figures and limbs in expressive attitudes acting out various Graeco-Roman myths and legends. As for the rest, the entire composition is barely warmed by faint tints of color—the antique coldness and pallor being preserved. And by such calculated and logical means are we afforded the miracle of a Rebirth, for the sum total of this delicately balanced architecture of form and gesture spells classic Greece and Rome translated into French concepts. Poussin's later compositions are overcast with a rhetoric that echoes the burden of lament in Greek tragedy as borrowed by Corneille and Racine. That classic French drama, which rested on Aristotle's three unities of time, place and action, in a precise and inevitable architecture of events leading to royal or divine disaster, was Poussin's avowed model. Expressing his desire to paint according to the dramatic unities, he produced, in compositions like *Midas Before Bacchus* (Munich), dramatic tableaux condensed into an absolute unity of place and action, with the climax and theme clearly implied. Happily, the dramatic theme or context is ever incidental to his miraculous arabesques which form a greater unity of pattern.

Born in Normandy of uncouth peasant stock, Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), with little formal education, was early apprenticed to an obscure itinerant painter who taught him the mechanics of the trade. Like Claude's view of the Campagna, two visions or revelations were to unite Poussin and his destiny. The first was a collection of engravings after Raphael which he saw upon his arrival in Paris in 1612. The second was an enraptured view of ancient Greece and Rome through the literature of Ovid and Virgil. If his own convictions were now formulated, Poussin nevertheless had to struggle desperately until 1624, when he acquired the means to make his way to Rome and the antique marbles at the Vatican, before he could begin his

studies in earnest. Equally important, perhaps, it was here, too, that he could examine Titian's allegories and Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (Plate 305). Thereafter his own reconstructions of ancient legend and history, studied from cardboard figures placed in a box and illuminated, began to appear. Statuesque nudes, the florid gestures eloquently expressive of ancient dignity and grandeur, conceived in an ennobled monumentality—these are the *dramatis personae* who appear against a classic background in historical dramas, bacchanalia and idylls. In masterpieces like the *Triumph of Bacchus* at Kansas City (Plate 475), sensuous nude Venuses, triumphant Floras or Galateas, are swept along in carts and chariots drawn by cupids or centaurs, while graceful nymphs and satyrs disport themselves en route, strewing garlands of flowers. A little hard and sculpturesque, cold and archeological, each figure is a tone poem of minor melodic patterns weaving about and gaily supporting the main theme. This earlier idyllism gives way in time to the literary themes of the dramas—the evanescence of youth is lamented in *Arcadian Shepherds* (Louvre). In this canvas the figures are seen examining a tombstone on which is written: *I, too, was once in Arcady*. Or again, the tragedy of unrequited love, of maidenhood forever preserved, is shown in *Apollo and Daphne,* as we watch the young god, his arms embracing a protesting figure already half metamorphosed into a tree trunk and leafy branches. These are typical of scores of mythologies in which, finally, Poussin changes his emphasis. His protagonists in later canvases play a still fateful but minor rôle; now they are thoroughly reduced in scale, their personal tragedies lost in the magnificent but sublimely indifferent bosom of nature. We see the drama as fairly insignificant in canvases like the *Funeral of Phocion* (Louvre), *Orpheus and Eurydice* (Metropolitan Museum), *St. John on Patmos* (Chicago). In these the artist has turned philosopher, allowing his majestic landscapes to speak for him. On his death the exile was apotheosized by the French Academy and subsequently idolized by generations of historical painters. Picasso's classic nudes are among the more recent pellucid reflections of those same pallid goddesses.

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed the inauguration of the *Grand Siècle* of Louis XIV, the *Roi Soleil,* who marshaled the talents of the nation and dedicated its efforts to his own glorification. Artistically, this was an age of grandeur and unrivaled luxury, revolving wholly around the personality of the King. Louis XIV was the military genius who chastised the Dutch and won the province of Franche-Comté; he was the royal Casanova, as well as the acknowledged connoisseur of the drama, of literature, of music, dancing and the arts, and in all these his personality was mirrored. Regularly at court a series of brilliant pageants and lavish theatrical performances were given, in which the most elaborate scenic effects were produced by ingenious and complicated machinery—"The sun and the moon rose or set, shedding golden or silver radiance, and pagan gods and goddesses moved

through the air on clouds." His vast building enterprises, including additions to the Louvre, were climaxed by the decision to erect a palace at Versailles where state functions and the brilliant entertainments were gathered about his person and waited upon his pleasure. Begun in 1670, Versailles was entrusted to the vision and organizing skill of Colbert, while Charles Le Brun, the perfect *peintre du roi* was given the leadership of all France's artistic talents for this enterprise. Between Minister and Art Director, the Royal Academy, founded in 1648, now became the arbiter and sole judge of French art.

Among the portraitists serving the court of Louis XIV, and its glittering retinue of functionaries and aides-de-camp, Pierre Mignard, Hyacinthe Rigaud and Nicolas Largillière (1656-1746) are an outstanding trio. In style as in approach Largillière's work is analogous to that of Van Dyck at the Court of St. James, eulogizing the same foppish elegance of bewigged and rouged minions of an equally frivolous court. The *Marquis de Montespan* (Plate 478) is obviously the product of a time-spirit vastly removed from that of Champaigne's *Gentleman* (Plate 477). The relationship of these subjects to their sovereign is of another cast—and points up the passage of a half century most fateful in French history.

The gloom which finally descended on the court during Louis XIV's protracted old age had little effect on Paris proper which now developed that reputation for charm and wit which has since been associated with her glamorous history.

From Flanders came Watteau to record that rapture which Paris experienced as she drew a long-repressed sigh of total release from ancient Gothic and Classic restraints. In a twelve-year period, from the age of twenty-five when he was emerging from obscurity, until his death of consumption at the age of thirty-seven, Watteau produced some two hundred paintings and a great number of drawings, all of which expressed for Paris the yearning of her romantic soul, and at last supplied in French idiom the exciting color and decorative rhythms of Rubens' work. Only here the liquid brilliance of Flemish coloration is further distilled into exotic, vaporous brushwork, subtle and seductive.

Born at Valenciennes, the son of a carpenter-mason, Antoine Watteau (1684-1721) made his way to Paris at the age of eighteen, attaching himself to a Flemish painter, Claude Gillot, for some five years, and subsequently (and most opportunely) falling in with the keeper of the Luxembourg Palace where hung Rubens' decorations for Marie de' Medici. What occurred thereafter must have been revelation enough to the wealthy Parisian, Pierre Crozat, who with several other magnates, now fêted young Watteau and lapped him in every comfort, stifling him at salon gatherings with a fluttering crowd of charming dilettantes and *avant-garde* intellectuals. Watteu's interests lay elsewhere, not in Crozat's charming park nor along the boulevards of Paris, but in the land of Cytherea, the island of Aphrodite's birth. For here, out

of his own reveries, he discovered a land of delight, an Arcady peopled with highly refined human dolls absorbed in the delicate business of dancing open-air minuets.

A lineal descendant of Giorgione, and heir to the russet and gold of Titian, Watteau embarks on a magic carpet for the make-believe world of the theatre-stage. With a symbolism less profound than Giorgione's, but with a lighter touch, he paints "pictorial visions of a world devoted to beauty and idle dalliance." They are his own wardrobe costumes or studio properties in which he dresses, or with which he surrounds, his posing friends. But these, with his paints, are the sole means of flight, planned, as so precarious a voyage had to be, by preliminary drawings and sketches (Plates 485, 491) on which all his final canvases are based. Here, too, are the absurd creatures out of Italian Comedy, *Gilles* (Louvre), *Le Mezzetin* (Plate 490), the *Harlequin and Columbine* (Wallace Collection) or the *French Comedians* (Bache Collection); or the strolling musicians, the *Fêtes Galantes,* the *Amusements Champêtres* (Wallace Collection), *La Perspective* (Boston). The theme in each of these is love, played with all the suggestive nuances between lady and cavalier: the retreat, the feint, the teasing advance and elusive escape. In scenes like *La Danse* (Plate 492) his art expresses a romantic state of the soul in terms of physical movements, like the ballet. Cavaliers were never, alack, quite so foppish and mincing in their posturing devotions; tinseled ladies never responded quite so coyly or with more grace to those same birdlike advances; the sun has never sparkled and leaped amid silks and laces with more suggestive delicacy. In the background the cool, velvet grass and shade trees beckon to the pleasantest of respites or whispered retreats when dalliance is at last done. "With happy carelessness he scatters his little figures like so many glittering butterflies, along the grass under his feathery trees, rarely troubling about the exact proportion of the groups to the background and never about the formal geometry of design." In the end we come to recognize it after all as a world without make-believe, an undisguised and total confession of the romantic urge, and in such dazzling nudes as the *Judgment of Paris* (Louvre), we accept without pang of conscience a glorification not so much of Venus as of Eros. Like the Venice behind Giorgione's *Pastoral Symphony* or Bellini's *Feast of the Gods,* Watteau's scenes mirror a luxurious civilization bent on cultivating a romantic idyllism to which it must escape from the restraints of even such uninhibited social intercourse as prevailed in the Paris of *Louis Quinze.* If these scenes represent social delights that never were on native land or sea, Watteau offers escape and fulfillment to all kindred spirits in his final, all-embracing *Embarkation for the Island of Cytherea* (Louvre), and what a crew and passenger throng is there! If in real life Watteau often turned irritable and fled from his solicitous millionaire friends and "angels," it was to the quiet of a country retreat where he could coddle his reveries into such an Embarkation. Had he lived to twice his thirty-seven years it is not possible he could have added to this captivating finale.

So delectable a world was not to be lost with the death of Watteau, and in Jean Pater Baptiste and Nicolas Lancret (1690-1743) we have it prolonged in imitative canvases which attempt the same ethereal voyage by means of a technique that relies on an enveloping haze; but in these, as in *Conversation Galante* (Plate 486), dalliance descends to mere coquetry, the romantic yearning subsides into modish sentiments, the remoteness and idyllism are dulled to sophisticated genre.

Gay and glamorous, Paris cultivated her theatres, her operas and her public masked balls, for a rendezvous at these functions or perhaps in the arcades of the Palais Royal or along the boulevards, might, with a bit of luck, transport one to Watteau's dream world. The salon of the seventeenth century was revived as an artistic rather than an intellectual forgathering; madame la marquise's boudoir became a social institution where she received her gallants and garnered the succulent morsels of the latest *affaire du coeur.* The spacious apartments of Louis XIV *hôtels* were now rebuilt into smaller, more intimate rooms; the rococo elements, purely decorative motives inspired by Watteau's disregard for architectural spacing, appeared everywhere. Voluted shell forms, the Chinese broken curve, added grace and elegance to the marquetry of furniture, the carvings and gilded moldings, while the Beauvais and Gobelins tapestries and Sèvres porcelains became choice accessories. Every boudoir, in short, now became an Island of Cytherea.

The wall panels and tapestries were decorated by François Boucher (1703-1770), who became an eighteenth century academician with a difference—that difference being stated in the caressing rhythms and voluptuous forms to which he subordinated such classical themes as the *Birth of Venus* (Detroit) or the *Bath of Diana* (Louvre). Without the Louis XV accessories, seen naked and alone, Boucher's delicately tinted pseudo-mythologies are likely to appear more than a little surprising, objects of curious wonder rather than delight. They must, in other words, be considered as part of a larger decorative arrangement.

Having learned his craft from Le Moyne and engraved a number of plates after Watteau, Boucher set out for Italy with the purpose of making an eclectic study of the work of Titian and Veronese. Returning to Paris in 1731 he promptly undertook to supply the new boudoir mode with a series of decorative pastorals and allegories, discarding the rustling silks of Watteau's elfin creatures for the pink nudity of their firm plump bodies, their swelling curves and soft contours, as well as their sparkling ruddy faces. The human form in love's attitudes and delights is disguised as mythology, and stylized into a motive. The nude figure, as in *Jupiter in the Guise of Diana, and Calisto* (Plate 489) is converted into a florid decorative design. The art of Rubens has here been narrowed down to the refinement of erotic decoration, but extraordinarily suited to French daintiness and charm; to the old-rose and pale blue color schemes of milady's salon; to the gorgeous artificiality of dyed wigs, beauty

patches, and the highly elaborate vocabulary of flirtation and love. Boucher's vogue was naturally enormous, and it was even more natural that Madame de Pompadour, Louis' favorite, should ask the artist to decorate her château at Bellevue. *The Toilet of Venus* (Plate 487) is said to be the scene painted for her bathroom. Occasionally the lovely goddesses occupied with these births and ablutions are dressed by Boucher to become shepherdesses of Arcady, equally devoted to the business of lovemaking in landscaped park areas (*Sleeping Shepherdess,* Louvre). His steady progress and enormous production included designs and pictures for the tapestry factories. Two of the finest, the allegorical *Rising of the Sun* and the *Setting of the Sun* in the Wallace Collection, were never executed. What better testimony to an age of refined sensuality than that Boucher should be chosen Director of the Academy and appointed *premier peintre du roi:* How could he better merit these honors than by the numerable love affairs with which he personally practiced the arts he preached?

As Madame du Barry was to supplant La Pompadour in the affections of the King, so Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), *le petit Frago,* was to enjoy the royal and public favor previously lavished on Boucher. All four were to conclude their careers in varying degrees of disrepute or calumny: Boucher denounced as lecherous and degraded by that moralizing encyclopedist, Diderot; Fragonard, similarly castigated, his money lost in the Revolution, and finally ousted with his family from his lodgings in the Louvre by order of Napoleon. The essential difference in point of view between the resemblant work of Fragonard and Boucher may be expressed in terms of Fragonard's first teacher, Chardin, and the latter's Dutch masters, including Terborch. At any rate, Fragonard discards the classical titles and frankly accepts the genre situation in pictures like *The Stolen Kiss* (Hermitage), *The Swing* (Wallace Collection), the *Futile Resistance* (Weill Collection, Paris), *Bathers* (Louvre) and *Le Billet Doux* (Plate 494).

After a scholarship in the French Academy in Rome, supplemented by an avid study of the Venetian painters and the work of Tiepolo, he returned to Paris (exactly thirty years after Boucher's return) and like his predecessor was admitted to the Academy, and shortly installed in an apartment at the Louvre. In good time Fragonard was caught up in the world of Parisian pleasures and extravagant fashions, implored to decorate the perfumed and luxuriously dainty apartments of the most fashionable kept women in Paris. Thereafter followed a succession of brilliant triumphs climaxed by a series of panels ordered by Madame du Barry for her château at Louveciennes. This series, called *The Progress of Love* (1770-1772), was finally rejected by Louis and his mistress, either because certain likenesses to themselves were too obvious or because they recognized some offensive double meaning in one of the panels. The entire set is now at the Frick Collection, New

York (Plate 493). While Fragonard does not possess Boucher's decorative sense nor his instinct for composition, there is a lyric touch and a refreshing charm and gaiety that are almost unfailingly wholesome. Gifted with an engaging and dexterous facility in draughtsmanship, his countless wash and chalk drawings possess a dash and verve that have been imitated by generations of illustrators.

Chardin (1699-1779) is the amiable and tender exponent of the middle-class French genius for husbandry and domesticity. Where Boucher was concerned with the salon and boudoir of the *haut monde,* Chardin, a unique figure in an age of frills and tinsel, takes a stool by the hearth or stove and with a discerning eye for the kitchen graces the chores of the scullery maid, the smart efficiency of madame hovering over her brood at table; or again the edibles and the canisters, the glazed skin of apple or onion, the polished, slightly dented face of copper vessels, the brass of mortar and pestle. He records them and endows them with something of Hogarth's personal affection. These simple canvases belong to the family of domestic genre produced by the little Dutch masters who influenced Chardin. But where De Hooch, for example, catalogues the household duties in studies of light streaming from open doors and windows, or where Terborch always suggests the visitor and the outer world, Chardin generally omits all windows and concerns himself with the adorable quality of naïve folk like *The Young Governess* (Plate 505) preoccupied with their commonplace indoor lives. But he cannot help investing his figures in the soft light of endearing sentiment. Here, at last, is the single unit in the entire social fabric that has, unconsciously perhaps, reached the ideal in human relationships, and Chardin is content to sing its modest but sustained delights, to chuckle over its idle humors and quaint absurdities. There are no signs of conflict, no suggestions of suspense. All action has been removed, the men have been eliminated—sent to work or buried and out of the way. The mistress, her children and her servants are quiet figures who add a note of charm and grace to tranquil scenes, as they go about the activities of cleaning, feeding, preparing for school, dressing for an afternoon of shopping, entertaining themselves, like *The Bubble Blowers,* at a variety of solitaire games (Plates 484, 504).

If there is no parade of colors or brushwork, it surely argues a saintly reticence and discretion on the part of this gentle artist. Content with his modest means and his quiet kitchen corner, he devoted the last thirty years of his life to reproducing with tender affection the spirit as well as substance of kitchen still-life objects, *The Teapot and Fruit* (Boston), the *Pitcher* (Phillips Memorial), in terms of pure texture, light and architectural form. For these studies Chardin was happily adored in his lifetime, countless engravings after his paintings, under which were printed amusing or explanatory rhymes, being eagerly purchased. His name, however, gradually faded and until half a century ago was all but lost.

Meanwhile another sort of popular appeal was launched in the form of painted sermons, turgid melodramas full of bourgeois sentimentality, which were turned out by Jean Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805). In an age of romantic play-acting such tearful scenes as his most famous *Village Bride* (Salon of 1761), showing the peasant father who has just given the dowry bag of money to his daughter's betrothed, while she is consoled on the other side of the room by the weeping mother and a brood of children, were intended to melt the hearts of honest folk. These moist-eyed sermons on filial devotion, in which the children are likewise smothered with parental affection, pointed a type of heavy, edifying moral that won Diderot's effusive praise. Only in occasional simple figures of innocent-eyed damsels like *Girl Holding a Lamb* (Plate 483) does Greuze manage to just avoid being mawkish.

The era of exhibitionism, of public ablutions in sparkling brooks, and the glorification of erotic nudity finally ran its course. A reaction was about to set in and carry France in the direction of masculine fortitude, stoicism and high moral purpose. And with such a reaction, the delicate curve in figure or ornamental design was to give way inevitably to the severity of straight lines and the classic discipline. For it was during the heyday of Cytherean joys that Paris was suddenly fascinated by news of the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii (1748) and the discoveries of objects from the daily life of the antique world. And it was Jacques Louis David who undertook as it were a revolutionary campaign against the insipid boudoir rococo of the Academy by seizing upon the current of interest in classical motives to restore the tradition of classic art. The Academy itself could hardly object if he continued from a point where Poussin had sometimes ventured—namely, the historic episodes dealing with the Republic in Rome, when personal sacrifice in the common cause was rated a cardinal virtue.

Born of a local tradesman, Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) on the advice of Boucher was taken to the experimenting academician, Vien, for his earliest instruction. Later he was a pupil at the Academy Art School. Having failed four times to secure the Prix de Rome, and again in an attempt at suicide by which he thought to deprive the Academy forever of the talents it so consistently disdained, Louis tried for the prize again the fifth year—and won. The coveted trip to Rome was made in company with the newly appointed Director of the Academy in Rome, his old master, Vien. David's three-year study converted him to classicism, while his interest in historical themes netted him membership in the Academy on his return to Paris, with a studio in the Louvre. Commissioned to do the *Oath of the Hotatii* (Louvre) he determined to execute it in the proper atmosphere of Rome itself, and, having recently succumbed to the wise expedient of marrying the daughter of the King's contractor to the Louvre, David now secured both the consent and emolument of his father-in-law and set off with his bride for the Eternal City. The completed canvas

created a sensation in Rome and at Paris was purchased for the King (1785). The *Death of Socrates* (1787) was followed by the famous *Brutus After Condemning His Two Sons to Death* (1789), which was shown as the Revolution broke and was hailed with hoarse acclaim as timely propaganda to strengthen the resolve of the revolutionaries. David was soon declared Painter of the Revolution. As Deputy in the Convention he became the art dictator of the new Republic. Abolishing the Academy and the old craft guilds, he now re-formed a more liberal Académie des Beaux Arts, the members of which were henceforth to be known as *membres de l'Institut.* Classical furniture and costumes were widely adopted while David himself engaged in recording propaganda scenes for the Republic, the most famous being the *Marat,* showing the patriot stabbed to death in his bath by Charlotte Corday. In the swaying fortunes of the Terror, Robespierre had fallen to the guillotine. David now became suspect, was arrested and imprisoned for four months, released, re-arrested, and finally rejected. He promptly made a decent retreat from politics and was permitted a studio where he painted the *Sabines* (1799). On the Accession of Napoleon, David became *premier peintre de l'Empéreur,* painting the famous *Coronation of Napoleon* and *Coronation of the Empress Josephine.* With the restoration of the Bourbons, the artist spirited away all Republican canvases and was therefore unmolested; but in a moment of enthusiasm, on Napoleon's brief return, he signed the *Acte Additionnel,* for which he was exiled by Louis XVIII and forced to spend his last nine years in Brussels.

David is a composite of contemporary contradictions. It is perhaps hardly to be wondered at, that in a period of indiscriminate slaughter in the name of patriotism, he should have been coolly indifferent to the fate of friends and fellow artists on their way to the guillotine. Or that he should have spent much of his time drawing characters, including Marie Antoinette, in the tumbrels en route to their doom. Or that he should remark "Is that all?" when informed of the total number of executions for the day. It was all in the name of liberty, equality and a better world.

Applying a classic restraint to technique as well as subject matter, David dispensed with all painterly qualities, with Baroque showmanship, with virtuosity and with brilliant facility. These were bourgeois and decadent elements unsuited to his austerity of purpose which demanded a return to the truth of the model, to the fundamental majesty discoverable beneath the rouge and powder of a sadly pampered race of males. But being absorbed as he is in the ennobling passions attendant on great human ideals, he is more successful as a historian than as artist. With him the historical subject, like *The Lictors Bring Back to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (Plate 512), becomes an end rather than a point of departure—as even a bowl of fruit may serve—for a study in colored light, exquisite pattern and significant form. His scenes of Graeco-Roman history are tableaux bereft of movement. Expressive attitude and pose conveying the fortitude and resolution of strong men, count for

everything. Figures are made creditable by the tough sinews now restored to the human frame. But one looks in vain beyond these declamatory poses for the drama of movement or the appropriate play of light or atmosphere. Forms are carefully drawn while color is merely added indifferently, as an afterthought.

David's finest work remains his portraiture, in which he communicates a good deal of his own enormous vitality and intensity to thoroughly original readings like the *Madame Recamier* (Louvre) or *Mlle. Charlotte du Val d'Ognes* (Metropolitan Museum). In these the doctrinaire has subsided into mere artist, with the inevitable gain of considerable charm as well as poetic intensity and of human rather than archeological truth.

David's revolt against the old Academy was rewarded by the new *Institut* which promptly academized his classic style, rendering it authoritative as well as requisite. Outstanding among his pupils was A. J. Gros (1771-1835) who was attached to Napoleon's staff, and devoted himself to exhilarating martial scenes and battles with something of Rubens' brilliant color and sweeping brushwork. The heat of these canvases is borrowed from the impetuous fire of his execution, and if there is a consequent lack of restraint and taste, he nevertheless carries the seed of an undisciplined Romantic reaction which is shortly to burst into riotous flowering.

If David felt that he had been betrayed by his foremost pupil, Ingres (1780-1867), who protracted his Prix de Rome scholarship to a sixteen-year study of Renaissance and Gothic masters at Florence and Rome, it was not without ample justification. For Ingres had turned from the study of Classic sculpture prescribed by David's art school to the study and imitation of Italian painting, that of Raphael, in particular, earning his way by drawing remarkable pencil portraits of native and visiting individuals and their families. These drawings, as David himself suggested, have the delicacy and fineness of Chinese lines. His *Jupiter and Thetis* and perhaps his finest portrait, *Mme. Rivière* (Louvre) exhibited in the Salon of 1806, were denounced as an unhappy return to the Gothic realism of Giotto and the Van Eycks. Certainly the *Francesca da Rimini* (Chantilly) might have come out of the early Renaissance. The *Odalisque,* exhibited in 1814, of which a version in grisaille is at the Metropolitan Museum (Plate 488), with its rather fulsome modeling, pleased his critics even less. Here, they felt, was an artist concerned with form and rhythmic contours rather than the supreme authority of classical balance and repose. But Ingres' first great history picture, *The Vow of Louis XIII* (Montauban), exhibited in the Salon of 1824, won the acclaim of his earlier critics. Perhaps it was just as well now to accept this modified Academism, for the gauntlet of Romantic art had been flung down in that same salon, with Delacroix's *Massacre of Scio.* Upon David's death the following year, Ingres acceded to his former master's position of authority, opened his own art school and was now hailed as the continuator of the Davidian

tradition. Ultimately he became Director of the French Academy in Rome, a bulwark of conservatism saving France from the fantastic excesses of the Romantics. Yet Ingres himself is romantic in the sense that while he preached and regularly conformed to classic doctrines, adhering to the truth of the model and clothing it in the antique garb, or for that matter imitating or borrowing from the old masters, his final products remain highly personal creations. If he is never profound or penetrating, he yet ranks among the very great draughtsmen, unerring in line, faultless in pattern, exquisite in his planned compositions. David's modeling beside that of Ingres is hard, his forms appear lifeless.

But it is essentially in his portraits and drawings that Ingres proves himself incontestably the master. No clearer evidence than the *Guillon-Lethière Family* (Plate 507) or the *Mme. Simard* (Plate 508) is needed to establish the fact that his sinuous line with extraordinary precision, preserves the supple flow of living form. It is a line which is perhaps most compelling and evocative in nudes like his masterpiece, *La Source* or the *Odalisque* or the *Bather* (Louvre). Indifferent to color he uses it as an adjunct to the all-important design which is compounded of the most subtle and graceful rhythms. Invariably his preoccupation is with lines, sensitive, nervous, precise, infallible; they achieve the rare perfection and clarity of a bas-relief, the delicate smoothness of a cameo. These rhythms, aptly enough, seem not so much imposed as deriving their source and direction from the features and habit of mind of the subject. The *Comtesse d'Haussonville* (Plate 506), a literary figure who wrote a two-volume "Life of Byron," for example, is not a penetrating study in psychology, but it tells us, in its sweeping rhythms and attitude of pose, re-enforced through the mirror, all we need to know of the Countess. The suave flow of the neck-line and back forms an arabesque with the exquisite facial contours, the graceful curves of arms and fingers leading back to the oval of the ingenuous face. The pyramidal structure is steadied and set off by the rectangle of mirror and the interesting slope of the dressing table. One cannot imagine how the wistful pose might be altered for the better. Like the *Mme. Rivière* and the *Mme. de Senonnes* (Nantes), it is Ingres at his most felicitous—a perfect juncture of artist and subject.

If Ingres was indifferent to his own age and could sit at a window applying the latest caressing brush strokes to his Venus while shots were being scattered outside in a street riot, he nevertheless accepts the romantic possibilities of a countenance like that of the sculptor *Paul Lemoyne* (Plate 510). We find a similar romantic note in David's *Roman Youth with Horse* (Plate 511) for all its antiquity. In a sense, the revolt against an effete and rococo academism which David sponsored and Ingres in part sustained, carried the seed of reaction within its being. The return to antiquity had provided certain contemporary values for the Revolution which saw its struggle mirrored in an earlier Republic at Rome. But in the end the Revolution had turned out a sad disappointment.

A cry now arose for complete individual liberty. Rousseau helped to fire the romantic imagination with his notion of a dignified and noble savage, like the Indian, uncontaminated by the barbarities of civilization, a natural man uninhibited by absurd and artificial social restraints. A romantic urge for distant places was echoed in Byron's feverish pilgrimages, in Scott's historical novels, the retreat to Gothic romances, the delight in novels dealing with mystery and horror. All these were proper to the reaction which now set in against order, restraint and disciplined control. The literary revolt was announced in Hugo's *Hernani;* the agony of the sensitive soul was voiced in Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther.* In real life the romantic now abandoned himself to a hatred of the commonplace, and indulged in a wild disorder of dress; in literature his taste was all for lurid atmospheres, wild and exotic landscapes, foreign lands and strange costumes, scenes of fierce movement, tempestuous action, brutal strength and reckless courage. The sensitive artist above all now grew contemptuous of bourgeois conventions; the appeal of his art, he felt, should be emotional rather than formal or purely esthetic. The Academy and Ingres were more than a little concerned for the preservation of what now more than ever seemed a precious heritage of social and artistic convention.

Like a proper romantic and in the best traditions, Théodore Géricault (1791-1824) was dead at thirty-three as the result of a fall from a galloping horse. A well-to-do dilettante, he had set off for Rome to study the Renaissance masters and returned to initiate the Romantic movement with his *Imperial Guardsman* mounted on a spirited horse doing a *volte-face.* One notes that from the outset, in these canvases done in his early twenties, Géricault has chosen his masters aright, incorporating the charged movement of Rubens, the spiritual tenebrism of Rembrandt, the musculature and dramatic lighting of Michelangelo and Tintoretto. The last named are again directly and patently imitated in the *Hercules Slaying Lichas* (Plate 513). Most celebrated if not his finest composition is the *Raft of the Medusa* (1818), which in its day created a sensation on the Continent. A writhing mass of dead and dying humanity are shown sprawled on a raft, the remains of a shipwreck; some are scattered at the outer edges slipping into the heaving sea, others toward the center are densely packed in an ever-mounting pile until at the pyramidal apex a single figure emerges, silhouetted against the sky, upheld by dead and living, waving his arms in a forlorn signal for help. Throughout, the churning energy of the waves is echoed in the writhing, naked forms. As drama, every inch of the canvas is explosive; as painting, it attempts the ultimate expression of human emotion keyed to hysteria. As an actual sea disaster the event was being used as a political argument to attack the Government, so that its timeliness added to the sensational impact on the public. During a trip to England Géricault was fascinated by the sodden skies, the universal attachment to hunting sports and horses. He made studies of spirited

animals and ferocious beasts, or again, as in Italy, he painted scenes in which cruelty is exalted, anguish and madness clearly portrayed. These are conventional literary themes, appealing to the emotions and shocking them into response. A comparison of so innocent a subject as his *Portrait of a Youth* (Plate 514) with Ingres' *Paul Lemoyne* is sufficient to demonstrate the new spirit. Had Géricault not untimely met his death, the course of the Romantic movement in art might have had enormous consequences in various directions. As it is, his "early works" and the production of Eugène Delacroix constitute its major achievement.

Delacroix's life (1798-1863), like Géricault's, was not without its element of romantic drama. The son of an ambassador, he was studying painting as an amateur when he found himself suddenly, at the age of twenty-one, penniless as well as orphaned. His hobby had now to serve him as vocation. On seeing Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa,* so close did it strike home that, as he wrote in his Journal, he went tearing through the streets like a madman. Six years later his own famous *Massacre of Scio* (Louvre) repainted, as he declared, after seeing Constable's *Hay Wain* (Salon of 1824), was denounced by the critics as a "massacre of art." The artist had loaded his palette with brilliant colors, scumbling with pure pigment to evoke a lurid scene of death and imminent disaster. It sounded the battle cry of the romantics versus Ingres and the neo-classicists. After a sojourn to England, Delacroix painted the *Death of Sardanapalus,* showing the dying Assyrian King ordering the destruction of his wives, eunuchs, pages, etc., that none may survive him. A rich canvas full of dramatic tumult, it exhibited the undisciplined use of the "drunken brush" and gained for Delacroix the virulent scorn of the Academy. Now followed the inevitable: a trip to Morocco and Spain with the result that the new exotic and oriental note was confirmed in Western painting. *The Lion Hunt* (Chicago and Boston), *Algerian Women* (Louvre) and others established the new mode. It was a passionate rebellion against the chaste and cold beauty of the Graeco-Romanists, from Poussin to David. To that sober refinement and calculated charm Delacroix opposed the desert airs of Arabia and Morocco, the fierce countenances of Corsairs and bedouins. Or again he turned with joy to illustrating the works of Byron, Goethe and other romantics. Exhibited throughout these are the vagaries of an erratic artist-personality who vehemently declares "I hate systematic painting." With the passage of the years, Delacroix's personal dignity and sincerity won for him a measure of recognition. Moreover, since his imaginative powers were obviously very great, he was now commissioned to decorate various churches and public buildings like the Apollo Gallery in the Louvre. It was even deemed safe, now that the movement had failed to create a school and rested almost solely in his hands, to elect Delacroix a member of the *Institut.*

The *Christ on the Cross* (Plate 517), a version of one in the Louvre, and the two examples of *Christ on Lake Gennesaret* and the *Sea of Galilee* (Plates 515,

516), are superb illustrations of Delacroix's work at its best. They represent an approach to art that begins in a direct line from the Venetians and Rubens, whom he copied; but the tumult and agitated rhetoric of these scenes often carry more fire than substance, more improvisation than deliberation. Living in a state of febrile exaltation the artist has externalized his excited visions on canvas. "The most real thing in me," he explains, "are the illusions I create with my painting." His use of broken color, which may be traced to Watteau, forevermore sets the precedent for a highly original and personal painting technique. In his canvases pigment is used not decoratively but emotionally, registering stages of intensity up to an hysterical purple-and-crimson. Often he overdoes it and his construction tends to break down in a mass of riotous color; lines and forms are frequently uncertain. Always it amounts to painting at the top of the voice, urgent and overstated, the work of an intensely emotional artist who confesses, "I start out to paint a woman and end with a lion." And in a way these fierce horsemen, oriental women, lions and tigers are of a pattern.

To the degree that all romantics are exhibitionists, Delacroix's art suffers from these personal spasms and torments, but it is after all a reflection of his own state of mind and a splendid commentary on certain valid aspects of human behavior. In this sense his art is no longer individual but social and universal.

The Romantic movement had earlier called for a return to nature, not in Claude's sense but in the sense of an intimate communion with the "still small voice" which Wordsworth declared offered more wisdom than all the sages could teach. Man, in other words, can find the image of his most intimate moods and thoughts reflected in the broad face of nature. In her presence are clarified the confused promptings of his heart and brain. In this "back to nature" mood the so-called Barbizon painters for the first time set their easels out of doors, in the region of Fontainebleau forest near Paris, and eagerly followed the example of the English and Dutch landscape schools while attempting to arrive at a poetry of their own. Jules Dupré, Théodore Rousseau, Diaz de la Pena, Charles Daubigny among others, proposed to restore nature to the consciousness of men, portraying her sentimental and emotional moments, the play of light on trees and rustic dwellings, the idyllic aspects of duck ponds and assorted bovine activities.

Though he moved to Barbizon where he produced most of his work, François Millet (1814-1875) is only indirectly connected with that landscape school. He is concerned rather with man's unremitting toil to wrest his sustenance from nature. Having spent his early years laboring on the family farm, Millet naturally turned his brush to recording the occupations of the honest peasant and his family in the field and kitchen. For the artist "sowing, reaping, grafting, are all of them sacred actions and have a beauty and grandeur of their own." That his *Sower,* of which a

version is in Boston (Plate 519) should have been taken for socialist propaganda is a reflection rather on the era that produced the popular revolutions of 1848. Millet has, however, sanctified the lives and labors of the fieldworkers wherever land is cultivated. His characters are part of the sod, risen out of it stiff and awkward for their brief moment to carry on time-honored tasks with the hoe, the plowshare, the harrow and scythe. In the rear one may note a rude shelter of stone and thatch and near by an oaken bucket at the well. These largely constitute the *mises en scène.* Painted in broad firm contours, the rugged folk of the popular *Angelus* and *Gleaners* (Louvre) are often silhouetted through a gentle haze, but they are sure to be solidly modeled and generically endowed with a severe and noble simplicity. The seasons of the year, the basic occupations of an agricultural people are calendared and enumerated as in *The Cooper* (Plate 520) and the *Return of the Flock* (Plate 521). If these canvases and drawings or etchings like the *Diggers* (Plate 518) sometimes hover near or beyond the borderline of sentimentality, there is nothing false or maundering in their context, but rather a simple man's forthright, if poignant statement on the changeless character of peasant generations following in the wake of their forbears. Happily for us, one of the world's finest collections of Millet's work is to be seen at Boston.

Most important of the landscapists was Camille Corot (1796-1875), a simple individual who professed to know little of art but occupied his lifetime quietly recording on thousands of canvases the multitudinous aspects of nature as he found them. Fortunately, since he failed to sell a single canvas before he was forty, only his frugal habits and modest needs enabled him to subsist on a small stipend from his father who also financed two trips to Italy in 1825 and 1834. Unable to marry his son off, M. Corot, who indulged Camille's prolonged idleness, apologized to friends for his lack of purpose and gainful employment. *Il s'amuse,* he declared negligently to sympathizing relatives.

Meantime Corot lived with his easel out in the fields. His early slight compositions gradually give way to scenes like Claude's and Constable's in which the light falls softly, only barely defining the objects. Especially in the early dawn or twilight hours he loved to paint tonal arrangements with soft shadows and diaphanous mists. His selections from nature are seldom made with studied care and he is after no formal unity in the manner of Claude's landscapes. Yet frequently the scene itself breathes a quiet lyricism. In canvases like the *Montigny les Cormeilles* (Plate 533) he clearly anticipates the geometric structures of Cézanne, while the Italianate *Landscape* (Plate 523) reflects the subtler harmonies which obtrude themselves only after the artist has spent hours of devoted attention to the scene. In his maturest work the foreground and trees are saturated in a gray mist keyed to silvery harmonies of tone, with touches of bright relief lent to isolated objects. The shimmering reflections and the fuzzy quivering out-of-focus appearance of foliage he reproduces with

singular effect and contributes a truth to outdoor vision which escaped the more literal Dutch landscapists. Occasionally, however, these landscapes are overcast with sentimental or poetizing effects as concessions to the vogue for "emotional appeal" and thereby lose their virility. Elsewhere and more often, the artist holds to his vision and in these his atmospheric envelopment of the scene carries him to the very threshold of Impressionism. No clearer evidence of his mastery of form and structure may be had than in those occasional figure studies and nudes like the *Bacchante by the Sea* (Plate 524). How superbly modeled is the figure and how rightly placed between the land and open sea.

Fortunately, the critical storm that howled about his head, let loose by Romantics and Academicians, subsided by the time Corot had reached his sixtieth year. One of the gentlest personalities in art chronicles, this naïve and childlike soul loved to visit his fellow artists and chat about their work, or now that he had received the Legion of Honor medal, to send the younger men's efforts to the salons along with his own. And what pleasure must he have felt in discreetly buying Daumier's cottage and sending him the title deed as a little jest, so that Daumier might spend his impecunious but fruitful old age sketching and painting, free from monetary cares.

The reaction which now set in against romanticism was as inevitable as the revolt of the Romantics against the neo-classicism of David had been. The extravagances and torments of romantic youth now subsided and gave way to a forthright, stubbornly matter-of-fact, "prosaic" view of the environment. The cold eye of adulthood appeared in the gruff burly figure of a peasant born in the village of Ornans in the Jura, Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), the son of a well-to-do farmer. Along with Millet's *Sower,* Courbet's *Burial at Ornans* and *Rock Breakers* were politically and technically suspect and gained for their author a reputation as radical socialist that was wholly undeserved. He had merely painted proletarian scenes because they were familiar to him; but as one who instinctively insisted on adhering to the visual facts, he was championed by the socialist leaders. For their part, they recognized the value of such realistic themes in any drive for Revolution based on social and economic injustice. Courbet was pleased with his *succès de scandale,* delighted with the acclaim. Inordinately vain, a little absurd in his volubility and boastfulness, he spurned the salon crowds and flaunted his appearance in the company of the socially non-elect. He loudly and offensively refused a Legion of Honor award when it was proffered. During the Revolution which finally disposed of the Second Empire, Courbet was hailed as a militant socialist and chosen Deputy in the National Assembly of 1871. He dreamed of assuming the power once held by David, but with the fall of the Commune these fond hopes vanished. As a result of the destruction of an Empire monument, it was Courbet as revolutionary Director of Arts who

was fined a fantastic sum of money for reparations. Unable to pay such a sum, disillusioned over the outcome of the revolution, his ambitions shattered, Courbet escaped to Switzerland where he died a broken man.

Courbet is enormously significant for he dominates the school of Naturalism. His figures and landscapes are painted with little thought beyond a simple desire to record these things as they appear to him. He leaves his sentiments, if he has any, out of the picture, yet the result is not photographic naturalism but the casual perception of the artist responsive to a fundamental unity and design, or to certain qualities of form, their resilience or obduracy, their fullness and surface suggestion of weight. His native *Rocks at Ornans* (Plate 536) bulks large, crude and sombrely imposing on the vision and so he paints its structural planes and dense masses. For all his naturalism Courbet remains original in his approach, suggesting the solidity of form without niggling the details. He has a wonderful eye for pattern but omits the enveloping haze of sentiment. He is objectively faithful to the model insofar as it presents a composition, without adding the burden of poignant reflections to lend it validity. In most of his magnificent figures like the *Mère Gregoire* at Chicago, the *Boy with Jumping Jack* at Vassar (Plate 534) and his studio nudes painted into landscapes, like the Detroit *Midday Dream* (Plate 522) Courbet moves a long step beyond even much of Corot's work in the direction of realism. Yet he retains the poetry of paint as distinct from the poetry of emotional sentiment. He gives free reign to his creative instincts without violating the visual truth, and rarely fails to touch off a certain lyrical note, inherent in the scene and never imposed.

The most trenchant of realists, and a revolutionary political and social satirist ranking in the great tradition of Bosch and Breughel down through Callot, Hogarth and Goya, Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) spent most of his life grinding out lithographic cartoons for a newspaper named *Charivari.* It was a miserable enough income that he earned for these political and social comments, but having in the course of things delivered himself of a cartoon depicting Louis-Philippe gorging himself with the people's money, Daumier was clapped in jail for six months. As a youth who had spent his earlier days roaming the streets of Paris a half-starved gamin, he was hardly one to be deterred by this sentence. Upon his release he returned to his caricatures, turning out some four thousand lithographs over a period of forty years, often toiling into the night so that he might win some spare moments for the work he infinitely preferred—painting. It was to Goya that he went directly for much of his inspiration; to Michelangelo he paid a lifelong and passionate devotion; while to Rabelais, Molière and especially Cervantes he turned for literary fantasies like *Don Quixote,* a character whom he had reason enough to venerate. But as a proletarian artist his most personal subject matter he gathered out of the teeming streets of Paris, and the river front life of the Seine: the mountebanks, washerwomen and third-class travelers, acrobats, musicians, pathetic figures at the

Palais de Justice as well as the pompous gowned traffickers in human misery (Plate 527), or humor characters like *The Connoisseur* (Plate 526), proud of his acquisitions and the astuteness with which he has secured them. Daumier's detestful grind as caricaturist had at least taught him an amazing directness and economy of line and trained his eye to select salient and vulnerable facial characteristics and contours of frame. With these as a norm he was able, with consummate vigor and incisiveness, to distort certain elements, the bleary eye, the long mournful nose, the cadaverous hollows of wasted cheek, gnawed by remorse or hunger—and by these means to convey a latent dramatic power that sharply reveals Michelangelo's modeling. The emotional impact of these silhouetted forms is conveyed through a language of skeletal contours bulging beneath cloaks and garments less picturesque but endowed with greater spiritual force than those of Callot's beggars. Especially in those scenes which engage the artist's strongest sympathies, the *Acrobats Moving* (Plate 525), *The Uprising* (Plate 530) or the *Third Class Carriage* (Plate 532), his eloquence is by no means merely literary. For if the artist has been indignant with the travesties of social justice, his anger has never taken precedence over an instinctive and unfailing mastery of formal relations in design. Through these bare outlines concentrated in heavy impasto, with only the meagerest suggestion of detail and a mere tracing of light, his simplest figures, like Millet's, overcast with a certain tragic air, are somehow majestic as they loom out of the canvas in plastic relief. Not unlike Michelangelo's and Rembrandt's figure-types, these might well serve in modern illustrations for the Bible. That Daumier should not have been able to sell a single canvas during his lifetime and should have had to be rescued from direst poverty by friends like Corot is a commentary on the estranged relations between art and the public during the nineteenth century.

It is pleasant enough today to find the most stultified and reactionary souls rhapsodizing over Edouard Manet's contributions to Impressionism (1832-1883) and offering to trace, stroke by stroke, the miracle of evolution by which the new style came into being. By that very token it now appears incredible that such a quantity of virulent abuse and bitter hatred should, for a period of almost a quarter century, have been heaped by critics and salon public alike on the all too innocent head of this fastidious gentleman-artist, accusing him of puerilities, rank indecencies and insanities, until, obsessed by a persecution mania, he fled to Spain. The record of revilement is an unconscionably long one—beginning in 1859 when his former master, Couture, declared his *Absinthe Drinker* to be the work of a drinker of absinthe, and extending to the year of the scandalous *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (1862), based on Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre,* and in the tradition of Titian's *Venus and the Lute Player* (Plate 317), showing two nudes and two clothed gentlemen at a picnic; it continued at the showing of the equally notorious nude *Olympia* (1863) based on

Goya's *Maja,* through a rather long series of masterpieces invariably howled down by the public, to the final derision heaped on the *Père Lathuille* in the Salon of 1880. Almost the only solace sustaining him in those nightmarish years came from Baudelaire, who wrote appreciative notices; from young Émile Zola who was cashiered from his newspaper for a laudatory review; from the valiant critic and friend, Théodore Duret; and ultimately Durand-Ruel, the Parisian dealer who came to his rescue when he was almost destitute, by purchasing twenty-odd canvases. These friends provided bare enough shelter from a storm that howled about his head even after he had, by utter hazard, been awarded the Legion of Honor (1881); and by that time he had been seized with paralysis and had but two years to live.

If the public in bourgeois France had been shocked by Manet's nude grisettes, the critics were equally disturbed by his unorthodox use of flat illumination and shadowless contours. The artist's constructional planes were laid in by a juxtaposed pattern of light and dark areas similar in technique to Velasquez' realism, but omitting his use of softly modulated local colors and half-tones of transition between the areas. Such a method produced scenes that struck the eye in a new manner, for without the normal tonal gradations and shadows the structural areas stood out with startling clarity, impinged on the retina and clung there, even after one turned away, like the sound of a clear bell in hushed silence. It was Courbet's realism scientifically advanced. The flat, almost oriental pattern of paintings like the *Girl with a Parrot* (Plate 538) exerted marked influence on Whistler's "arrangements." *The Dead Toreador* (Plate 540), part of a larger canvas cut in two after a stinging criticism, the upper half eventually going to the Frick Collection, is closer to Courbet in its plastic modeling, but like many others, the *Kneeling Monk* at Boston (after Zurbarán), *The Balcony* at the Louvre (after Goya's *Majas on the Balcony*), it was inspired by one of those Spanish paintings which Manet studied at the Louvre and in Spain. To the extent that Manet discovered a visual lyricism in the atmospheric interplay of vibrant planes and light areas, he was immediately hailed by another group of experimenters as their natural leader.

In protest against the prejudices of the Salon Jury a group of artists including Pissarro, Sisley, Renoir, Degas, Cézanne organized an exhibiting society. While Manet, as an older artist, did not exhibit with this group, he assisted them throughout his career; and in time, as their leader, he adopted their broken-color technique; although, as Roger Fry points out, it was not a style especially suited to his native talents which called for a rich handling of broad surfaces in bold patterns and outlines.

Throughout a series of eight exhibitions, the first in 1874, the last a dozen years later, the members of this group sustained, encouraged, and often fed one another in their common struggle against a hostile public. From the moment when Manet's *Impression: Soleil Levant* was seized on by a bright critic who mocked the entire showing as *Impressionist,* the group itself proudly and defiantly adopted the name.

And in the end they won. By the time Manet received his Legion of Honor award in 1881 Impressionism had gained ground. The Durand-Ruel shows for Manet and Renoir in 1883 (1886 in New York) won for these men wide enough public approval to assure their livelihood. By 1900 Manet was already an "old master."

The painting of sunlight, which Turner had undertaken, and the scumbling, by which Constable had caught the glint of sunshine, were clues in the development toward greater realistic truth. Courbet's photographic naturalism was born of his insistence on the facts of sight rather than the knowledge of the mind. But his work at least could be accepted in a materialistic age by a bourgeoisie that readily understood such literal representation. Corot had made tentative advances in his studies of light. Manet had touched on a fresh aspect in his refusal to model beyond the casual requirements of the eye. At this point artists like Monet, Pissarro, and Sisley determined to render full value to light, which science recognized as the source of all visual appearance. Since, therefore, "The most important person in the picture is the light," as Manet declared, they proceeded to dissolve the phenomena of nature in the vibrant, shimmering glare of outdoor sunshine, painting not so much the form, as the prevailing colors of objects or landscape, by which means they secured a pattern. Scientific analysis had further demonstrated that certain colors change in intensity and hue when placed beside others, that the brown tree trunk in the meadow is an olive green, and that a black cow against the sun, as Turner remarked, is actually purple. In developing these nuances of light, another observation was made. Heretofore the artist had mixed varying quantities of yellow and blue to secure the green for grass and foliage; he now discovered that by setting down alternate dots or thin stripes of the two pure colors and letting them fuse in the vision of the spectator at a distance with the actual light in the air, a fresh-colored green, vibrant and brilliantly pure, resulted.

Fascinated by the delightful possibilities of this new technique, encouraged by hints to be found in Rubens and Watteau, in Hals and Velasquez and Goya, the artists now banished all dull colors and stippled their canvases with complementary spots of pigment, tinting faces in red with green shadows borrowed from neighboring objects. Courbet's naturalism, in this search for the ultimate in realistic truth, now gave way to an absurd estimating of the wave lengths of various colors; while the sole element of unity in a composition became a colored atmosphere which enveloped the scene in a universal deliquescence. The object in itself was not intrinsically important and so the artist took his easel to the commonplace areas hitherto overlooked; narrow winding streets or railroad yards were now hailed as interesting subject matter. It was further recognized that appearances change with the degree of intensity of light (the time of day) and with the variation of distance from the observer; or depending on the accidence of color in near-by objects always casting their own light. Since visual appearances were constantly changing, then, the closest approach

to truth was a rapid record of visual impression. Monet spent a dozen years painting the same haystack or pond of lilies at various hours of the day and under various skies. All modeling and pictorial architecture were abandoned to the blurring effects of sunlight. Only rarely, as in some of the *Rouen Cathedral* studies, in a few of the many poplar studies, in some of his garden at Giverny, and at Argenteuil (Plate 564) and in the remarkable *Old St. Lazare Station* (Plate 537), does he allow his forms to solidify brilliantly and expressively. For the rest, a major portion of the work subsided into mere parade of technique, empty of content, divorced from human significance. Yet, if this scientific formalism could not of itself make for great art, it brought the sunlight and fresh air as well as awakened perceptions into the galleries and museums. Of the spectator it asked nothing but the willingness to enjoy visual harmonies, melodic and gay. It was a realism turned delicate, effeminate, luscious, with its pale blue and madder rose, but it took the critics more than a decade to abandon the notion that children could do infinitely better with a color box.

Camille Pissarro was not entirely seduced by the brilliant effects which captivated Monet, and even less so was Alfred Sisley. Both retained some semblance of architectural design and often so far forgot the doctrinaire procedure as to produce a solid and thoroughly acceptable scene like *Snow at Louveciennes* (Plate 548); Pissarro's modesty and reticence are invariably appealing, and while he lacks vigor and often succumbs to total *plein-air* effects, he achieves occasional lyrics like the *Peasants Resting* (Plate 535).

Renoir is easily the greatest of the Impressionists. The son of a tailor at Limoges who secured him a position as painter in a porcelain factory, Renoir later entered the art school of Gleyre where he met Monet and Sisley. In the seventies Renoir became interested in the Impressionist palette and painted the Chicago *Two Little Circus Girls* (Plate 541). At the same time he engaged in more realistic portraiture (*Mme. Charpentier and Her Family* [1878], Metropolitan Museum), as a source of livelihood. A trip to Italy in 1880-81 resulted in a radical alteration of his style; for he now turned indoors to studio lighting and a concentration on linear rhythms which developed into a tight, dry manner. While he retained the luscious contours and sensuality of form, he avoided the broken color and liquid brushwork in these paintings which are inferior to the canvases created with the spectrum palette in *plein-air*. *Le Déjeuner des Canotiers* (Plate 550) is nevertheless a masterpiece of this period (1882), done in the earlier manner and including some of the individualized portraits. It remains a brilliant synthesis of the best features of the entire school. And it is in this manner, in the gorgeous *Bal à Bougival* (Plate 552) and *The Dancer* (Plate 549), that he achieved his greatest work. In these he has retained a sense of sculptural form and rhythmic pattern in the old traditions. His last thirty years were devoted almost exclusively to the painting of nudes and flowers—the sensuous beauty of the ripe, feminine form could be matched in opulence only by the voluptuous softness and

sensuous coloring of pink rose petals and mauve lilacs. Only these were adequate to the kind of visual feast he wished to serve. The appeal of dimpled contours is frankly sensual, the connotation seductive; there is no attempt at individualization among these lusty wenches, but the solid structure is inevitably felt under the glaze of iridescent color that almost exudes warmth and caresses the senses. It is a healthy animalism, the theme and context unvarying, and for that reason a roomful of Renoirs, such as those at the Duveen exhibition of 1942, is likely to become very close and sticky. Roger Fry calls Renoir "the great modern master of the commonplace in the sense that he expressed the joys of life of the average, healthy unsophisticated man. . . ."

An uncompromising realist, Edgar Degas (1834-1917) may be said to culminate the traditions inaugurated by Courbet, since he is steadfastly true to visual facts even when confronted with the most highly romantic subject matter. Educated for the practice of law, he digressed upon a wholly different career at the age of twenty-one when he entered the École des Beaux Arts and subsequently made the inevitable tour of Italy. Upon his return he exhibited with the Impressionists, but never lacking funds he withheld his canvases after the group's successes and closeted himself in a studio of his own, maintaining little contact with the outside world. Possessed of an acerb wit redeemed by few graces, sardonic in his strictures on the work of fellow artists, he was left rather severely alone.

Especially in his earlier years, Degas had frequented the entertainment spots, the cafés and cabarets, the racetrack, the theatre, and particularly the wings and back-stage of the ballet, jotting down his observations in oil and pastel. In these pictures, as a kind of disillusioned romantic, he records the gay scenes, the glitter of lights and colorful costumes; his brush, chalk or crayon is apprehensive of decorative elements, of graceful attitudes in limb and figure; but his cold eye is equally quick to note the fatigued or strained muscles, while with his green shadows he traces the hollows of dissipation and excess in jaded features. He refuses to compromise with the homely face of the graceful ballerina and often accents the discrepancy between her plain visage and her glamorous act with a kind of malicious humor. He studies these performers, whipped by the exigencies that all artists and public figures suffer in common, the exorbitant demands on their energies, which for Degas are symbolized in the extreme distortions of limb required of ballet dancers and trapeze artists—or, for that matter, he is fascinated by the awkward stance of women carrying wash-baskets, or laundresses bending over their ironing boards. Always, as in the scintillating and rhythmic pastel, *The Dancers* (Plate 542), he prefers to sketch them unawares, in poses that are casual or accidental, to portray them in moments when they are wholly unself-conscious, whether in such a view as *The Millinery Shop* (Plate 543) or in their dressing rooms, or taking a tub bath. His point of view is often

that of a wide-angle candid-camera shot, or again he uses the striking emphasis of an abrupt close-up, part of the figure enlarged or sharply cut out of the frame by an acute focus. But generally he waits until the subject has assumed a characterful pictorial arrangement, while on occasion he reflects his interest in Japanese prints by treating the figured pattern in a flat, decorative style.

One of the world's great draughtsmen, Degas, unlike Ingres whom he reverenced (*René de Gas* [Plate 544] might almost be taken as a work of the classicist), employs a soft sweeping line that is equally accurate and instinct with actuality and that renders by the most delicate nuances, a clear statement of volume as well as texture. Unsurpassed for brilliant economies, for casual grace in rhythm and subtly modeled plane sequences, are his masterly drawings and pastels of nudes at their ablutions. But whether derived in a romantic setting or amid the drudgery of commonplace lives, draughtsmanship remains the primary means by which he sets forth those poignant paradoxes of beauty that unfailingly appeal to the romantic-realist.

Following Degas' choice of locale, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec extends his interests to the cafés and dives of Montmartre, painting the habitués, the absinthe drinkers and torch singers in places like *Au Moulin Rouge* (Plate 551) or *À La Mie,* sketching notorious dancers like La Goulue or Yvette Guilbert, or recording scenes from the opera and the circus. At other times his skill is lavished upon the inmates and guests of the Parisian bawdy-houses. Before he had succumbed to drink and dissipation at the age of thirty-six, Toulouse-Lautrec had covered the low-life of Paris, its gaiety, glamor and frightful debaucheries as the ranking realist in Bohemia. Interested less in plastic form than in the atmosphere of locale and in gay, linear patterns, he enlarged the scale of the Japanese print to poster size, and in his famous billboard notices raised that craft of illustration to a fine art.

With naturalism scientifically explored and its farthest reaches annexed by the Impressionists, a wave of rebellion and outright secession on the part of various contemporaries, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh, Seurat, was inevitable. It was Cézanne more than any other who early sensed that Impressionism of itself constituted little more than a parade of technical virtuosity, that lacking substance and form it was only less evanescent than the light it portrayed. If as an art movement it had produced a number of brilliant masterpieces, these were attended by a welter of canvases totally formless, disorganized and meaningless. Recognizing, then, both the limitations and possibilities of the method, Cézanne endeavored, while retaining the spectrum palette and the broken-color technique, to rest on older traditions of form. His aim, he declared, was "to make of Impressionism an art as solid and durable as that of the museums." But it was not enough, as he saw it, merely to paint in the manner of Sisley rather than Monet, or Renoir rather than Pissarro. He wished to create a sense of reality, to get back to nature, not through mere illusion of space and

volume, but through a structural synthesis of component elements in the manner of Poussin. One notes in the still-life studies or the portraits, the *Uncle Dominic as a Monk* (Plate 560) or the *Madame Cézanne* and the *Self Portrait* (Plates 545, 546), how he has retained the Impressionist technique but used the same strokes to suggest, by a painfully accurate and subtle overlaying of color tones, the shadowed depth and mass in a succession of three-dimensional areas. The color, modulated in an infinity of planes, has become structural and plastic.

It was an attempt, as he explained, to "realize his sensations," to arrive at the organic essence of the subject by abstracting certain formal, geometric structural patterns. For, studying with inexhaustible patience the landscape of his favorite *Mont Sainte Victoire* (Plate 567) or *Village of Gardanne* (Plate 556), he perceived that it was not a smoothly flowing transition of tones and graceful lines but a myriad of broken geometric planes, cylindrical, rectangular, cubical, like the glittering facets of a crystal, with light meeting light, the reflection of local color acting upon neighboring color, mutually and subtly altering each other and by this change affecting adjacent shapes and colors. Thus a meadow, turned aquamarine with the blue of the sky, contains another shape and shade of tree, for example, than does the same glade under a clouded sky. In this sense that same tree has its share in the visual aspect of an entire mountain, altering by its presence an infinity of local tints, so that the whole becomes in a profounder sense the sum of the parts. A landscape thus viewed in terms of its density and mass presents an aspect of the eternal within the particular. Cézanne attempted to touch upon this cosmic relationship, to discover in appearances "some underlying structural unity which answered a profound demand of the spirit . . . ; without missing the infinity of nature, the complexity and richness of its vibrations . . . to build that solidly and articulately co-ordinated unity in which the spirit can rest satisfied." The Philadelphia *Bathers* (Plate 547) thus becomes not merely a study of luscious nudes, but as with Poussin, a formal and abstracted pyramidal structure, counterbalanced and interrelated both in color and form with the trees, the landscape and atmosphere.

For Cézanne every new study presented its own peculiar problems in structural design. Groping desperately in the direction of his "sensations," dissatisfied with his results, uncertain what it was precisely that he sought, the artist's tormented soul left him no peace. Often he tore up his canvases, gave them to his son to cut into puzzles, or forced them upon his townsmen at Aix. At Paris his early Impressionist canvases, done at the instigation of Pissarro, were subjected to calumnies more foul than those heaped upon his companions, and when he attempted to exhibit his newer conceptions, the cruel gibes turned to outright laughter. Inordinately sensitive, the artist fled Paris, returning to Aix where, since his father was town banker, the natives were less likely to be uncivil. A shy, impractical person, gauche and ill at ease among his fellow artists, he lived a lonely life, married to a simple woman who doubtless

understood him little better than did his colleagues and contemporaries. But his masterpieces have opened modern eyes to new ways of seeing, and continue to exert profound influence on a variety of art "schools."

Cézanne's repudiation of Impressionism was echoed in other directions by Gauguin and Van Gogh, both of whom, like the master at Aix, invited the disaster that attached to their rebellious innovations; for in their careers we encounter instances of extreme self-sacrifice finally stretched beyond the limits of human endurance. Gauguin abandoned his successful banking career, his family and finally his native land and civilization in a romantic search for self-realization as both individual and artist. Van Gogh dared and suffered more in his mad career to win through heartbreaking frustration toward some form of personal expression than perhaps any other artist in history. And in the process of their creation, goaded by their own eccentricities, beaten by an alien and unfeeling world, both men drained their vitality and ultimately their lives, Gauguin dying in the South Sea Islands at the age of fifty-five, Van Gogh, his sanity and energy exhausted, ending his life with a pistol shot at the age of thirty-seven. For each, death had appeared as an only solution to the inimical modern existence which he found so unendurable.

A romantic rebel, boastful and often barbaric in his personal relationships, Gauguin flaunted his contempt for the sophisticated civilization of Paris and won the admiration of the younger men by sailing off to Tahiti in search of a simple life among Rousseauesque "noble savages." Here among the natives he found the milieu appropriate to his brilliant decorative style. These half-naked South Sea Islanders, whose skin matched the brown of earth, whose placid countenances, easy grace of motion and natural poise seemed to "breathe the calm of the spirit," precisely suited his tastes. Where life expressed itself not in terms of action but of stately and formal pose, that realism in perspective and modeling so instinctive in Western painting appeared out of place; moving silently and with natural dignity these simple folk might appropriately be pictured in flat linear patterns—and at these Gauguin is supreme. He has, in paintings like the *Ia Orana Maria* (Lewisohn Collection), the *White Horse* (Luxembourg) or the *Tahitian Landscape* in the Frick Collection (Plate 555), recorded the tropical sunlight and luxurious foliage, matching the native love of bright-colored garments in his own brilliant blues and exotic oranges, and reproducing their sense of pattern in his own melodic arrangements. The figures, too, are flattened and even distorted to accommodate the rhythmic lines of his design. Broad and suave in treatment *Reverie* (Plate 557), a portrait of his native mistress Tahoura, carries the characteristic notes of calm and peace. The brooding *Moon and the Earth* (Plate 553) exemplifies the element of voodooism, frequently accompanied by titles in the native language, which Gauguin injected into many of his canvases. The detail from the masterpiece *D'Où Venons-Nous? Que Sommes-Nous? Où Allons-Nous?* (Plate 554) poses a personal query that obsessed the artist. If, by returning to Tahiti

after a brief but disappointing visit to Paris, he reaffirmed his original preference for the unsullied primitive life, he nevertheless carried with him the disease of civilization which rarely left him at peace in body or spirit. Among the natives, so self-possessed and instinctively attuned to nature, his own restless spirit, despite the pose and braggadocio, sank into ever greater miseries from which death alone finally brought him release.

Throughout his career Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) careened precariously from one extreme of misadventure to another, failing hopelessly at whatever undertaking he attempted, whether selling for the art firm of Goupil, a position he procured through his brother Theo, only to be discharged; or fumblingly declaring his love on several tender occasions, only to be regularly rebuffed; or lay-preaching to miners, to whom in an excess of zeal he began to give his own clothes, so that he had to be disavowed by the missionary society that gave him the post. Forever overstating himself, lacking all sense of proportion in his enthusiasms and fervid sacrifices, obsessed with a savior complex, yet delicately sensitive to repulse, he struggled pathetically to satisfy the urge within his soul, to "be of some use to the world," as he wrote Theo. In desperation he turned to painting at the age of twenty-seven and, with the aid of Theo, who sent him money, prints to copy and study, and steadfast encouragement, Vincent began in direct imitation of the Dutch genre scenes and the proletarian subjects of Millet. Shortly thereafter he met Gauguin, Seurat and others, and in adulation lightened his palette of the murky browns, to produce his first canvases in the Impressionist manner. It was at this time that he moved to Arles, in Provence, where he seemed miraculously to take on new life under the blazing Mediterranean sun. Here among the simple untroubled peasants he himself gained at last a measure of peace and even of happiness. And here, as well as at Saint-Rémy where he was later removed to the insane asylum, he painted his greatest canvases within a period of five years, often working furiously all day under a broiling sun.

To that sun which had become the source of light and life to him he now paid tribute in an outburst of glorious light-drenched canvases of sunflowers, marigolds and tremulous trees.

Using color as a medium of thought, Vincent retains the Impressionist technique of separating pigments, but with heavily loaded brush he dashes his nervous, arbitrary lines to the canvas, each stroke carrying its own fervent intensity while all of them together are caught up in a larger rhythmic dance of dazzling light. Forms are heavily compounded out of the colors, and since the intense heat and light of day permit only a blinding, rather than a clear and cold vision, he abandons the prosaic truth-to-model for a more poetic and intense truth. In the London *Sunflowers,* the Chicago *Bedroom at Arles,* the New York *Starry Night* (Plate 558), there is a clear development of rhythm and formal patterning, but these are subject to his own irrepressible emotion keyed to trembling ecstasy. The throbbing rhythms and pulsating lines

swirl in a headlong dance, while the unity that binds them is the consistency of the fever which consumes the artist in the act of creation. His colors, molten in the sun, do not rely on El Greco's spiritual symbolism, but rather in a Franciscan sense they endue nature herself with a spiritual message that is not very different from that preached by the Saint of Assisi. That message, coming from a tortured visionary, invites us to see anew and with wider eyes the world of cornflowers and cypress trees and the spinning vault of heaven. We see them even as they were painted, with the intensity of one who tells himself he will never see these things again, who sets them down with every fibre of his being so that they may remain everlastingly and unalterably *seen*. It is hardly to be wondered then if, under such emotional pressure amounting almost to hysteria, the result should partake of the clarity and shimmering fixity of hallucination. Nothing less would be adequate to the mad urgency that crowds a lifetime or an eternity of passionate visual response into one blinding impression. Having recourse to no formal conventions or laws except those dictated by the inspiration of the moment, the result must be classified as highly romantic. But within these extravagances of deformation, the swirling lights, undulating tree trunks and lopsided human figures like that of *The Postman Roulin* (Plate 559), the artist, by a form of emphasis as legitimate as that of Michelangelo or El Greco, has arrived at a heightened poetry that leaves the world heavily in his debt. He who had been so miserable a failure at "normal" activities, who could never quite achieve that rapport with his times so fundamental to one's sanity, could at least in his paintings pour out his consuming love of life, his intense humanity and passionate devotion to his contemporaries, in a manner that lights up the universe to its jaded inhabitants and awakens a spirituality that betokens perhaps the highest kind of preaching.

Van Gogh's passionate compulsion to serve humanity was curiously duplicated in the career of his contemporary, the fourth in the great quartet of Post-Impressionists, Georges Seurat (1859-1891), who sought to take apart the art of painting, to break down the entire procedure into sets of standardized and abstracted forms and color combinations, so that anyone desirous of creating pictures could simply work out his own scheme for synthesizing these elements to suit his private taste. Laboriously he studied and analyzed treatises on color and design, and formulated elementary guides to their use. But during the decade of his creative life, from twenty-one to thirty-one, in which with incredible industry he composed his several masterpieces in the classic mode of Poussin, he demonstrated that his method involved more heat and light than the uninspired layman with the best intentions in the world could well provide. Seurat himself fortunately received a small stipend from his father which saved him from serious financial difficulty, since he sold fewer than half a dozen paintings in his lifetime.

His system of building up an entire picture out of so many dots of pigment, called *Pointillism*, is related to the method of Cézanne and Poussin in its formal and

clean-cut arrangement of abstracted elements. Methodically, in a structure of tiny cells, he builds up the tissue of his organism with meticulous care, arriving at a predetermined architectural whole with scientific exactness. The result, whether in the well-known *La Cirque* (Louvre), the *Poseurs* (Barnes Foundation), or his masterpiece, the *Un Dimanche d'Eté à la Grande-Jatte* (Plate 568), is a design expressed largely in terms of linear rhythms and textural patterns, stated formally and with considerable dignity. It is a scientific creation, derived out of the cold laws of color and design, the personal and spontaneous equation having been extracted, leaving only the neat sterilized specks of pigment arranged in clinical orderliness. Yet by a curious paradox, with all this indefatigable elaboration, the artist achieves something wonderfully fresh and delightful. Unlike David's static tableaux, for example, these outdoor characters rigidly fixed in time and space are perfectly acceptable—lending as they do an air of quietude and meditativeness to scenes in which action and movement are only implied in the shimmering light. And it is by the most subtle of tonal relationships, which are only gradually discoverable in the *Grande-Jatte,* as in nature, that these flattened, almost translucent figures, so methodically spaced at rhythmic and exquisitely balanced intervals, are co-ordinated and unified. For by eliminating detail and silhouetting his contours Seurat has laid new and evocative emphasis on the sheer beauty of design in everyday appearances, and by his quiet insistence on these casual charms he pries open the eye of even the most indifferent observer of nature. Had Seurat not been seized with the infection that carried him off in his thirty-second year, he must surely have equaled the achievement of Cézanne in a manner perhaps less solid but equally durable in terms of significant design and meaningful composition.

The glittering froth of Impressionism had subsided, as the main current of expressionism drained off the exuberant flow into other channels—often, in turn, breaking out in separate and wholly delightful rivulets. Such a separate stream may be found in the production of Henri Rousseau (1844-1910), whose work is not only divorced from Academism and salon authority but further serves to take art out of the hands of the esoteric practitioners and the professional esthetes and to restore it to the simple and unpretentious craftsman. Rousseau *le douanier* (the customs inspector) is without doubt the greatest of our untutored "primitives," that ever-growing race of "natural" artists who without training or reference to traditions paint their own naïve visions with childlike freshness and, incidentally, since they are of no school, stimulate the artist's confidence in his own painterly instincts. Busy at his job as customs officer, Rousseau had only his Sundays in which to paint, and at that he began when he was past his middle years. Encouraged by Picasso and others, he later gave up his employment and devoted most of his time to painting, earning his subsistence by giving violin and drawing lessons, or exchanging a picture for some needed object. It was only the keenest admiration and approval that kept his visitors from laughing at the absurd antics of this curious old fellow who, like Blake, was given

to hallucinations and dream-messages from his dead wife. But his remains one of the most extraordinarily gifted and poetic imaginations in all art. For freshness of child-like vision and unalloyed poetry few things can compare with *On the Banks of the Oise* (Plate 563) or the *Notre Dame* (Plate 565) or the *Spring in the Valley of the Bièvre* (Plate 561). But the full and exotic flowering of a truly original creative imagination is evidenced in those astonishing visions of jungle life like the *Sleeping Gipsy* (Plate 562), or *Jungle with a Lion* (Plate 566), which exude the potent mystery of magical yet thoroughly believable dream lands. Within their flat surface space Rousseau's canvases are highly decorative and primitive in their bold fresh coloring. An instinctive feeling for scale and proportion and an uninhibited sense of color harmony enable him to lay in all parts of his scene with unfaltering precision, while his luxurious patterns consisting of simple planes at once astonish and delight the eye.

That hint of geometric construction observed in the work of the Post-Impressionists, Cézanne, Seurat, even Rousseau among others, sufficed to call into being a revolutionary style based on wholly new principles and forms, and jointly introduced by Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso (1881-). Its official spokesman, Guillaume Apollinaire, named this style Cubism. Picasso arrived in Paris from his native Spain (Malaga) in 1900 and for almost half a century since has dominated the art of the Western world. If he has more recently become very, very fashionable, he has never failed to call forth the strongest abuse on the part of modern critics who at best catalogue him as a clever copyist or adapter. On the other hand, he has been apotheosized by modern artists who have spent themselves in abject imitation of his prodigal and inventive "borrowings." Withal, Picasso has at least consistently managed to breathe new life and fresh charm into the most hackneyed forms.

His first six years at Paris and on visit to Barcelona (1901-1906) were spent painting pathetic-sentimental scenes, the emotionally surcharged and often morbid thoughts of an unhappy youth. Overcast with a prevailing color tone, these studies are known as the Blue Period and Pink Period canvases. The best of these are the famous Grecoesque *Guitar Player* (Plate 579) at Chicago and the statuesque, rhetorically posed *La Vie* (Plate 576) in Providence. One of the finest Pink Period canvases (1906) is *La Toilette* (Plate 573), instinct with the graciousness and tranquil beauty of a Greek vase painting. These paintings were varied with extraordinarily sensitive studies of harlequins (Plate 571) and *saltimbanques,* each of them bearing the impress of brooding melancholy. Following these the innovator Picasso became interested in Negro sculpture and produced the famous *Demoiselles D'Avignon* now in the Museum of Modern Art. This was also a transitional painting that confirmed his interests in the Cubist movement, which he now (1910) launched with Braque (Plate 577) and which created the furor that has hardly abated, while behind it a host of pseudo-artists and charlatans have taken refuge, covering their deficiencies in the general confusion and the simple "tricks" of the style.

Analytical cubism seeks to analyze or "decompose" the planes of objects and

by rearranging or telescoping them to secure a totally fresh and equally valid point of view. By this means the artist can present an instantaneous impression of the several dimensions and aspects of an object. Thus a multiple or "two-faced" frontal and profile view of the same head creates an illusion of movement by providing a circuit tour of the subject. In other canvases the human figure is disintegrated into a mass of cubes and cones with recognizable vestiges of ears, eyes and slices of physiognomy floating at the surface to help identify the studied arrangement. Whatever else, most of these are carefully composed and often highly plastic and sculpturesque, and on them the artist lavishes the most delicate color harmonies and the most abstruse craftsmanship—as in the famous *Three Musicians* at the Museum of Modern Art. On other occasions the Cubist takes special delight in arranging familiar household objects in a pattern that somehow gratifies his instinct for orderliness in a disordered world, and his personal desire to "reconstruct" a shattered world that refuses to be remolded to the heart's desire. The smoking pipe, musical instruments, bits of cloth and newspapers or playing cards and fruit are objects for arrangement (Plates 577, 578).

In canvases like *Composition* (Plate 580) the abstractionists discard all subject content as delimiting and confusing, or at least non-essential to the true character of art which, they assert, is solely an arrangement of color harmonies and rhythmic patterns. Abstract art, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., points out, "is based upon the assumption that a work of art, a painting, for example, is worth looking at primarily because it represents a composition or organization of color, line, light and shade. Resemblance to natural objects, while it does not necessarily destroy these esthetic values, may easily adulterate their purity. Therefore, since resemblance to nature is at best superfluous and at worst distracting, it might as well be eliminated." The validity of this thesis is so far supported as to have won the exclusive patronage of the Guggenheim Museum in New York, where canvases bear no resemblance to mundane objects, and where all is visual music—a celestial harmony of the spheres.

Picasso has ranged well beyond the general field of abstraction and the particular pasture of Cubism into new folds, but repeatedly strays back to familiar ground. During the nineteen-twenties he returned to the neo-classic and monumental forms of Poussin, inevitably adding, as in *Woman in White* (Plate 570), painted in 1923, his own distinctive note of freshness and grace. A sensitive colorist and draughtsman, he has turned out masterly canvases almost at will, while even his most casual abstractions bear the imprint of an original and imposing personality. The famous *Guernica* mural, based on the ruthless bombing of that city during the Spanish Civil War, is a synthesis of the half-dozen styles he has concurrently practiced, and once again it introduces a new emotivity through startling enlargements of symbol areas and fragments of human and animal anatomy. What the final estimate of Picasso may be it is yet difficult to judge, but certainly few artists in history have been the subject of more heated and equally partisan controversy.

Paralleling the career of Picasso and the Cubists in a more restricted field of expression is that of Henri Matisse (1869-) the leader of the *fauves* or "wild animals," an exhibiting group that included Braque, Derain, Vlaminck, Friesz and Rouault (1871-). Borrowing from primitive and Eastern arts for their highly studious productions, these extremists by their arbitrary color patterns and heavy distorted outlines intended to make even the extreme visions of Gauguin and Van Gogh look like timid ventures in composition—Derain turning to Fayum and classic portraiture, Rouault catching the strange phosphoresence of medieval stained glass colors in his studies of Christ (Plate 572), while Matisse elaborated on the extravagances of Gauguin, frequently catching the spirit of African forms or Persian color patterns. Possessed of a highly original and delightful calligraphic style that is more proper to Oriental than Western ways of seeing, Matisse manipulates his material—figures, faces, interior furnishings, textiles or flowers—into motifs for his gay arabesques (Plate 575). Deforming where necessary, he interrelates faces and figures with the pattern of wallpapers and drapes, all equally charming as materials for the general decorative schemes—of which he is the outstanding living master.

The reaction against realism and the pretensions of artist theorists found extreme expression in the work of the Dadaists and Surrealists, who reached into the disquieting world of the subconscious and determined to give objective form to that phantasmagoria which used to be the special domain of the Freudians. For that matter they have produced works that are more often interesting as psychiatric exhibits of the dream world than as works of art. But with all the confusion and clamor of assorted recent factions in French art, it remained the most stimulating and vigorously creative school in the Western world until the Nazi hordes swept into Paris in the spring of 1940.

School of Avignon, ca. 1425

Eight Musical Angels

Plate 468

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

French, 15th Century

The Blue Madonna

Plate 469

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

School of Fontainebleau, 16th Century — *Diane de Poitiers*

Plate 470

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts

School of Fontainebleau, 16th Century — *Birth of Cupid. Detail*

Plate 471

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Corneille de Lyon, ca. 1510–1574 *Portrait of Marechal Bonnivet*

Plate 472

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

François Clouet, ca. 1505–1572 *Elizabeth of Valois*

Plate 473

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665 *Landscape with Nymphs and Satyrs*

Plate 474

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Nicolas Poussin — *Triumph of Bacchus*

Plate 475

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682

Landscape with Piping Shepherd

Plate 476

ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

Toronto, Canada

Philippe de Champaigne, 1602–1674 *Portrait of a Gentleman*

Plate 477

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Nicolas de Largillière, 1656–1746 *Le Marquis de Montespan*

Plate 478

CALIFORNIA PALACE OF THE LEGION OF HONOR

San Francisco, California

Georges de la Tour, ca. 1600–1652 — *Girl Holding a Candle*

Plate 479

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE

Jacques Callot, 1592–1635 — *A Beggar. Drawing*

Plate 480

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

Providence, Rhode Island

Matthieu Le Nain, ca. 1607–1677 — *A Peasant Family*

Plate 481

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Louis Le Nain, 1593?–1648 — *Peasants in a Landscape*

Plate 482

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

Hartford, Connecticut

Jean Baptiste Greuze, 1725–1805 *Girl Holding a Lamb*

Plate 483

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin, 1699–1779 *Les Osselets*

Plate 484

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

Antoine Watteau, 1684–1721 *A Woman Seated. Drawing*

Plate 485

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

Nicolas Lancret, 1690–1743 *Conversation Galante*

Plate 486

BALTIMORE MUSEUM OF ART

Baltimore, Maryland

François Boucher, 1703–1770 *The Toilet of Venus*

Plate 487

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres, 1780–1867 *Odalisque en Grisaille*

Plate 488

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

François Boucher — *Jupiter in the Guise of Diana; and Calisto*

Plate 489

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Antoine Watteau — *Le Mezzetin*

Plate 490. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*

Antoine Watteau — *Study of Heads. Drawing*

Plate 491. PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY, *New York City*

Antoine Watteau — *La Danse Dans un Pavillon de Jardin*

Plate 492

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Jean-Honoré Fragonard, 1732–1806

The Lover Crowned

Plate 493

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Jean-Honoré Fragonard — *Le Billet Doux*

Plate 494

BACHE COLLECTION

New York City

Jean Antoine Houdon, 1741–1828 — *Diana. Marble*

Plate 495

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Jean Antoine Houdon — *The Bather. Marble*

Plate 496

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Falconet, 1715–1791 — *Venus. Marble*

Clodion, 1738–1814 — *Woman Lifting Child. Terra Cotta*

Lemoyne, 1704–1778 — *The Bather. Marble*

Plates 497, 498 and 499. HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY, *San Marino, California*

Charles Antoine Coysevox, 1640–1720

Bust of the Duc de Chaulnes. Marble

Plate 500

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

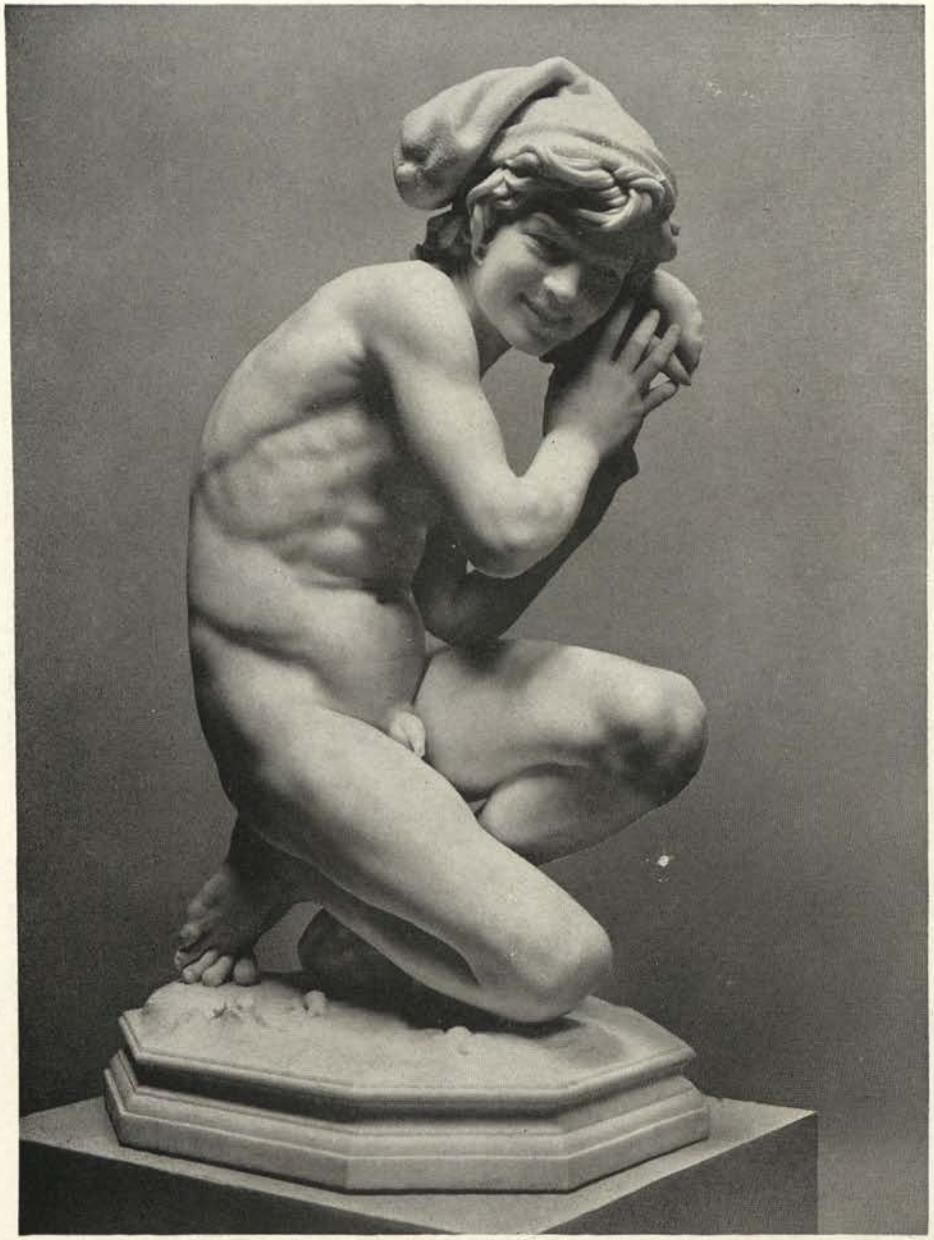
Germain Pilon, 1535?–1590

Victory. Marble

Plate 501

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.



Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux, 1827–1875 *Neapolitan Fisher Boy. Marble*

Plate 502

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
Washington, D.C.

Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux *Girl with a Shell. Marble*

Plate 503

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART
Washington, D.C.

Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin — *The Bubble Blowers*

Plate 504

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Jean-Baptiste Siméon Chardin — *The Young Governess*

Plate 505

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

J. A. D. Ingres — *Comtesse d'Haussonville*

Plate 506

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

J. A. D. Ingres

The Guillon-Lethière Family.
Pencil Drawing

Plate 507

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

J. A. D. Ingres

Portrait of Mme. Simard.
Pencil Drawing

Plate 508

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

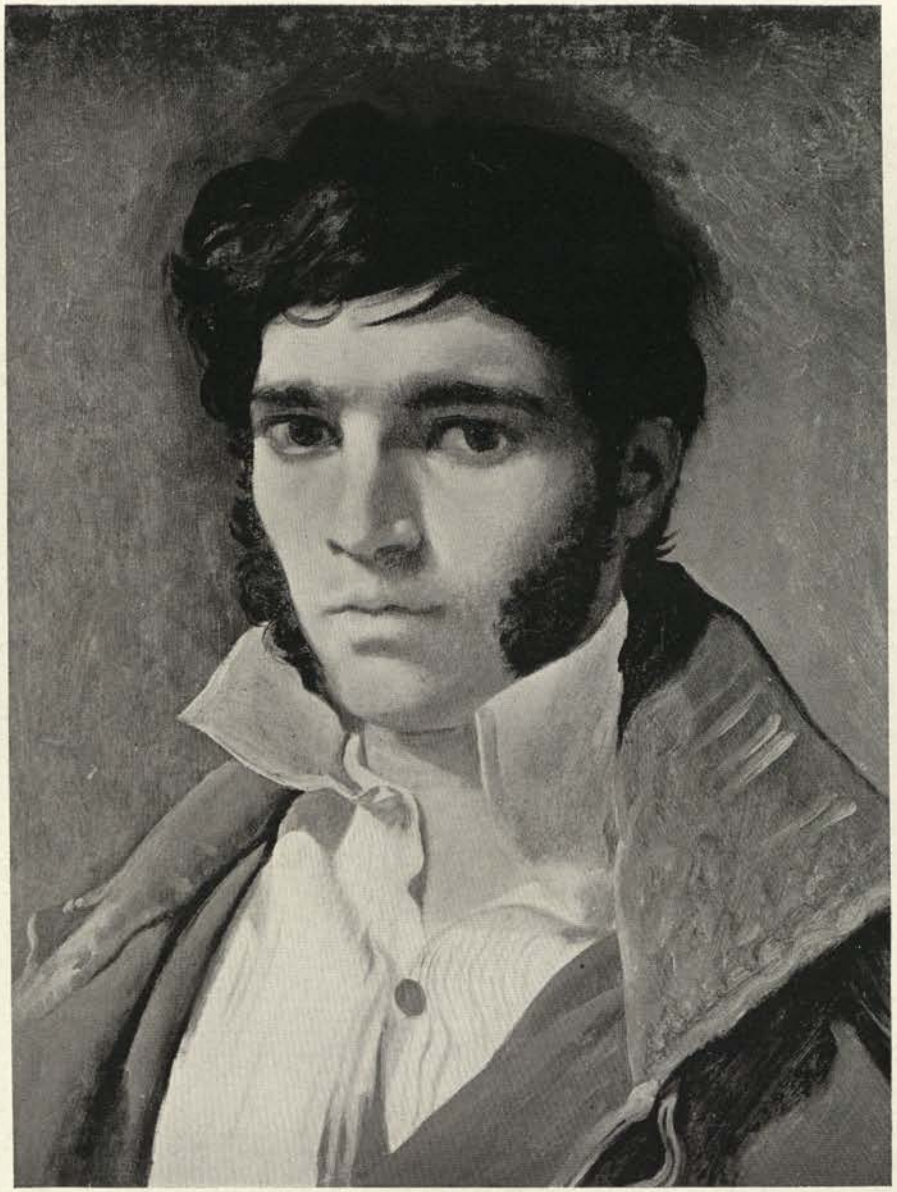
Buffalo, New York

J. A. D. Ingres — *Mlle. Jeanne Gonin*

Plate 509

TAFT MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio



J. A. D. Ingres — *Portrait of Paul Lemoyne*

Plate 510

WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART

Kansas City, Missouri

Jacques Louis David, 1748–1825 *Roman Youth with Horse*

Plate 511

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Jacques Louis David *The Lictors Bring Back to Brutus the Bodies of His Sons*

Plate 512

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

Hartford, Connecticut

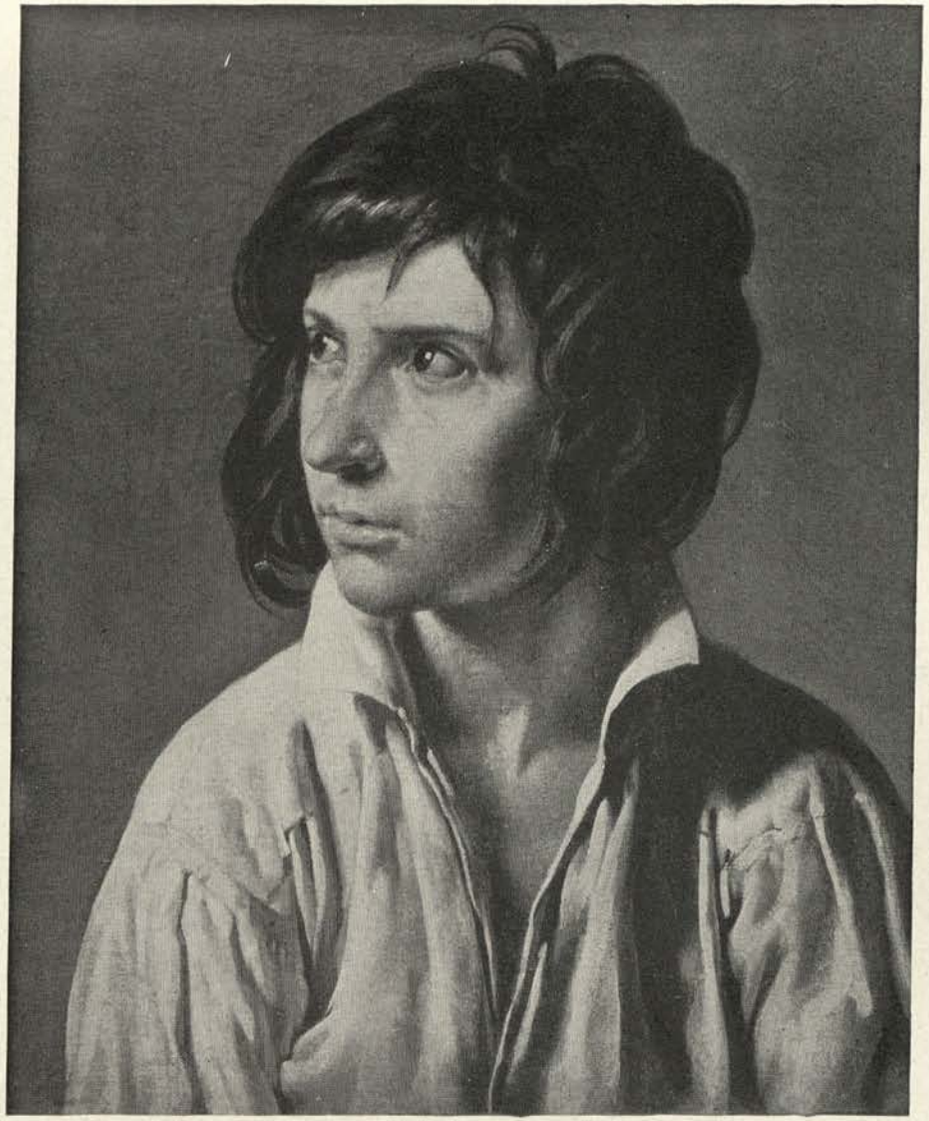
Théodore Géricault,
1791–1824

Hercules Slaying Lichas

Plate 513

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Northampton, Massachusetts



Théodore Géricault

Portrait of a Youth

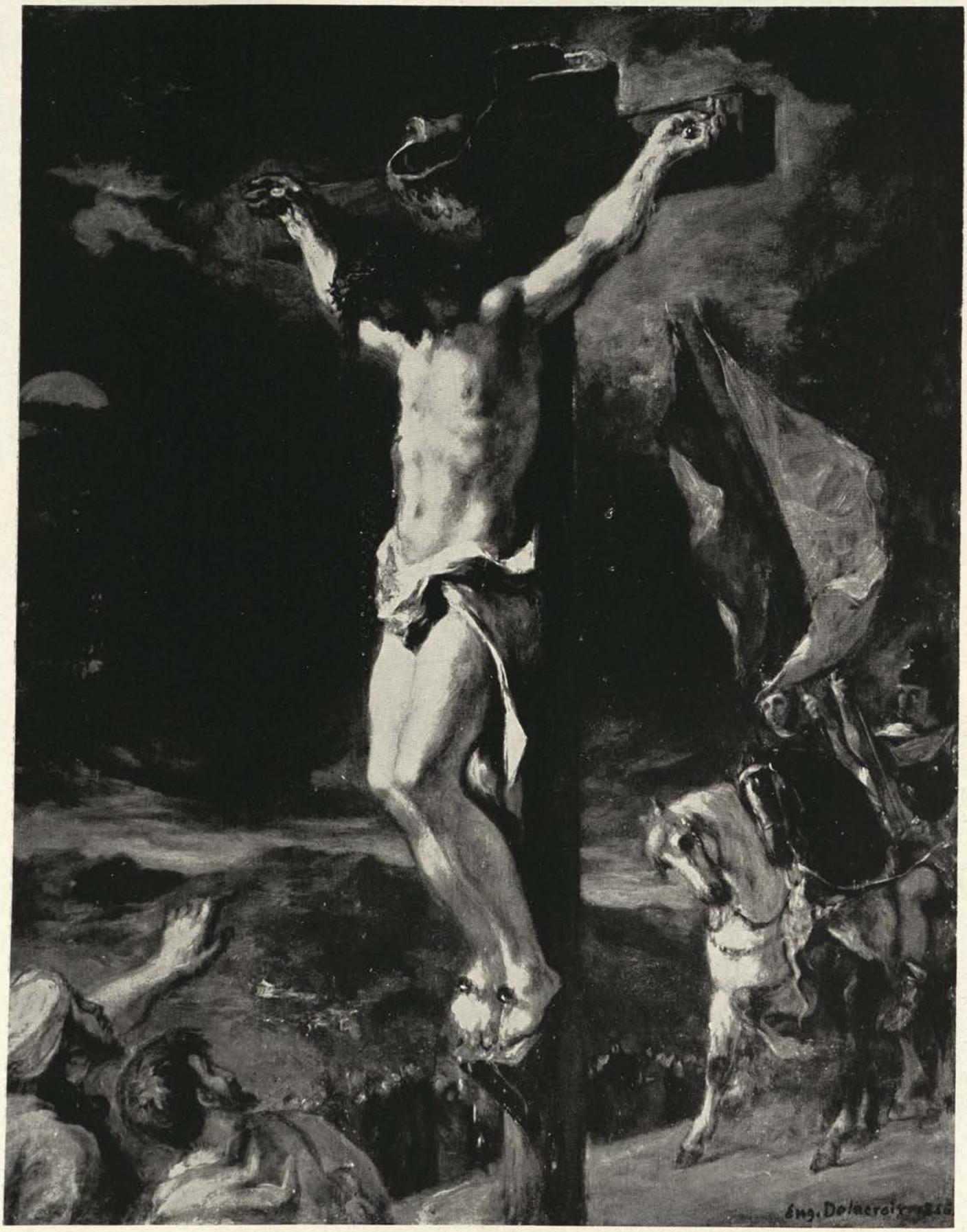
Plate 514

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Northampton, Massachusetts

Eugène Delacroix, 1798–1863 Plate 515. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART *Christ on Lake Gennesaret*

Eugène Delacroix Plate 516. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland* *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*



Eugène Delacroix *Christ on the Cross*

Plate 517

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland

Jean François Millet, 1814–1875

Diggers. Etching

Plate 518

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY PRINT COLLECTION

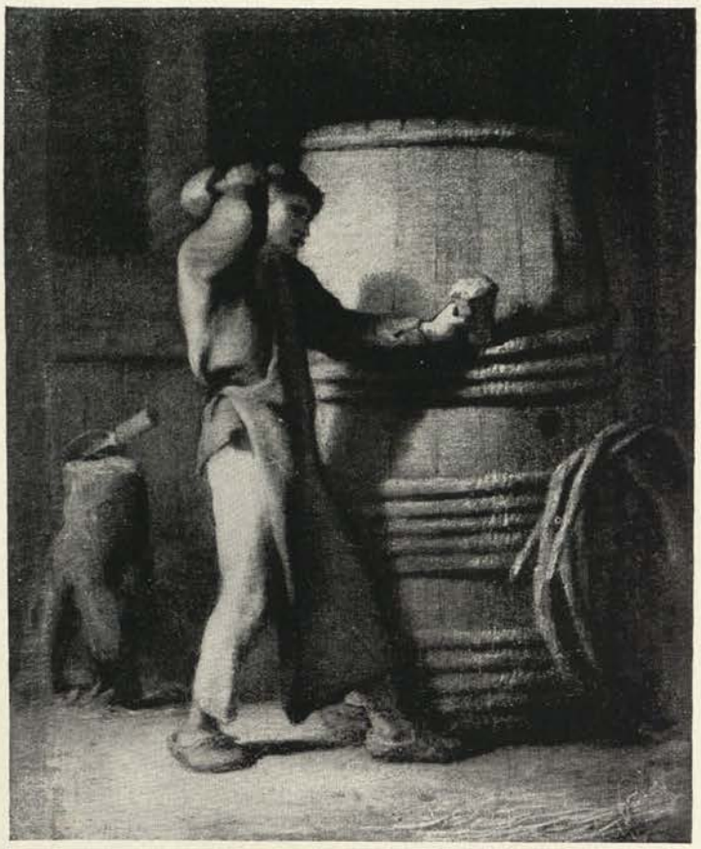
Middletown, Connecticut

Jean François Millet *The Sower*

Plate 519

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Jean François Millet *The Cooper*

Plate 520

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Jean François Millet *Return of the Flock*

Plate 521

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Gustave Courbet, 1819–1877 *Midday Dream*

Plate 522

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot, 1796–1875 — *Landscape*

Plate 523

SPRINGFIELD MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Springfield, Massachusetts

Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot — *Bacchante by the Sea*

Plate 524

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Honoré Daumier, 1808–1879 *Acrobats Moving*

Plate 525

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

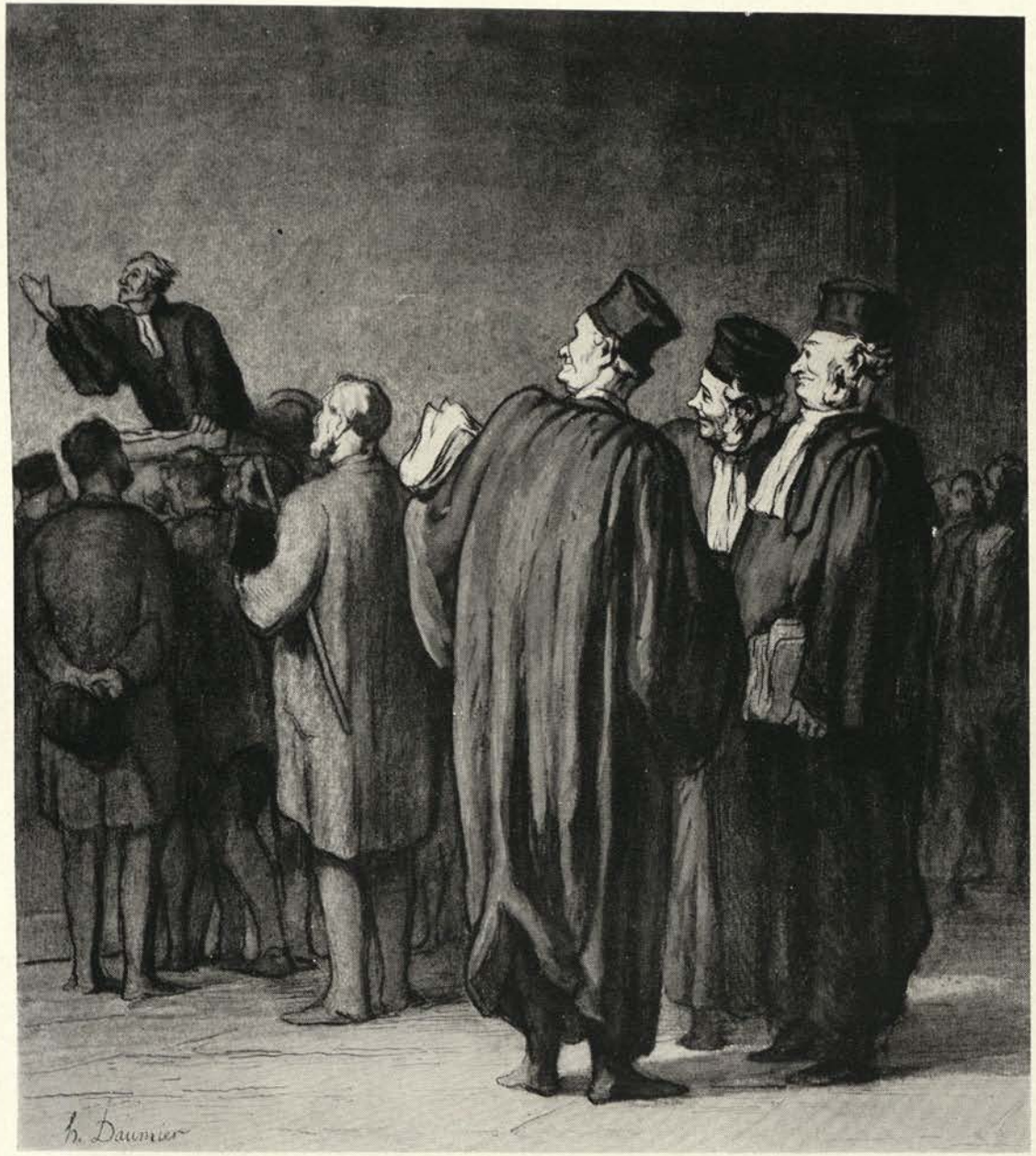
Hartford, Connecticut

Honoré Daumier *The Connoisseur*

Plate 526

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Honoré Daumier — *The Lawyers*

Plate 527

WALTERS ART GALLERY

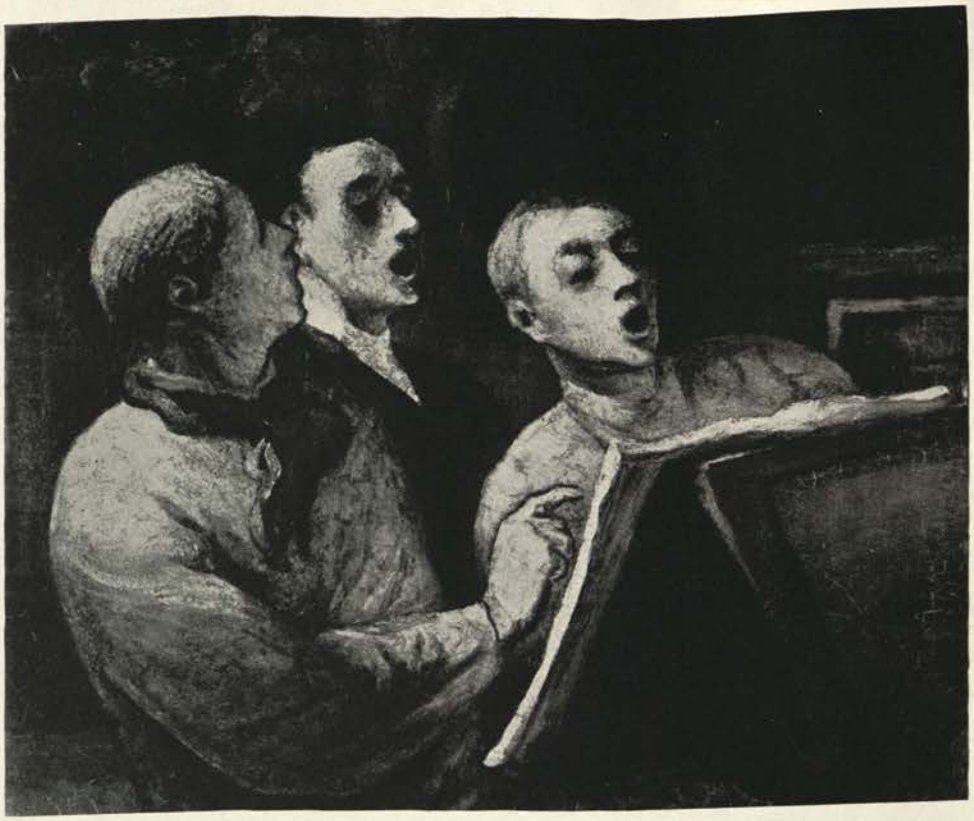
Baltimore, Maryland

Honoré Daumier — *The Amateurs*

Plate 528

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Baltimore, Maryland



Honoré Daumier — *The Prison Choir*

Plate 529. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland*

Honoré Daumier — Plate 530. PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY, *Washington, D.C.* — *The Uprising*

Honoré Daumier *Second Class Carriage*

Plate 531. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland*

Honoré Daumier *Third Class Carriage*

Plate 532. WALTERS ART GALLERY, *Baltimore, Maryland*

Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot — *Montigny les Cormeilles*

Plate 533

FARNSWORTH MUSEUM OF WELLESLEY COLLEGE

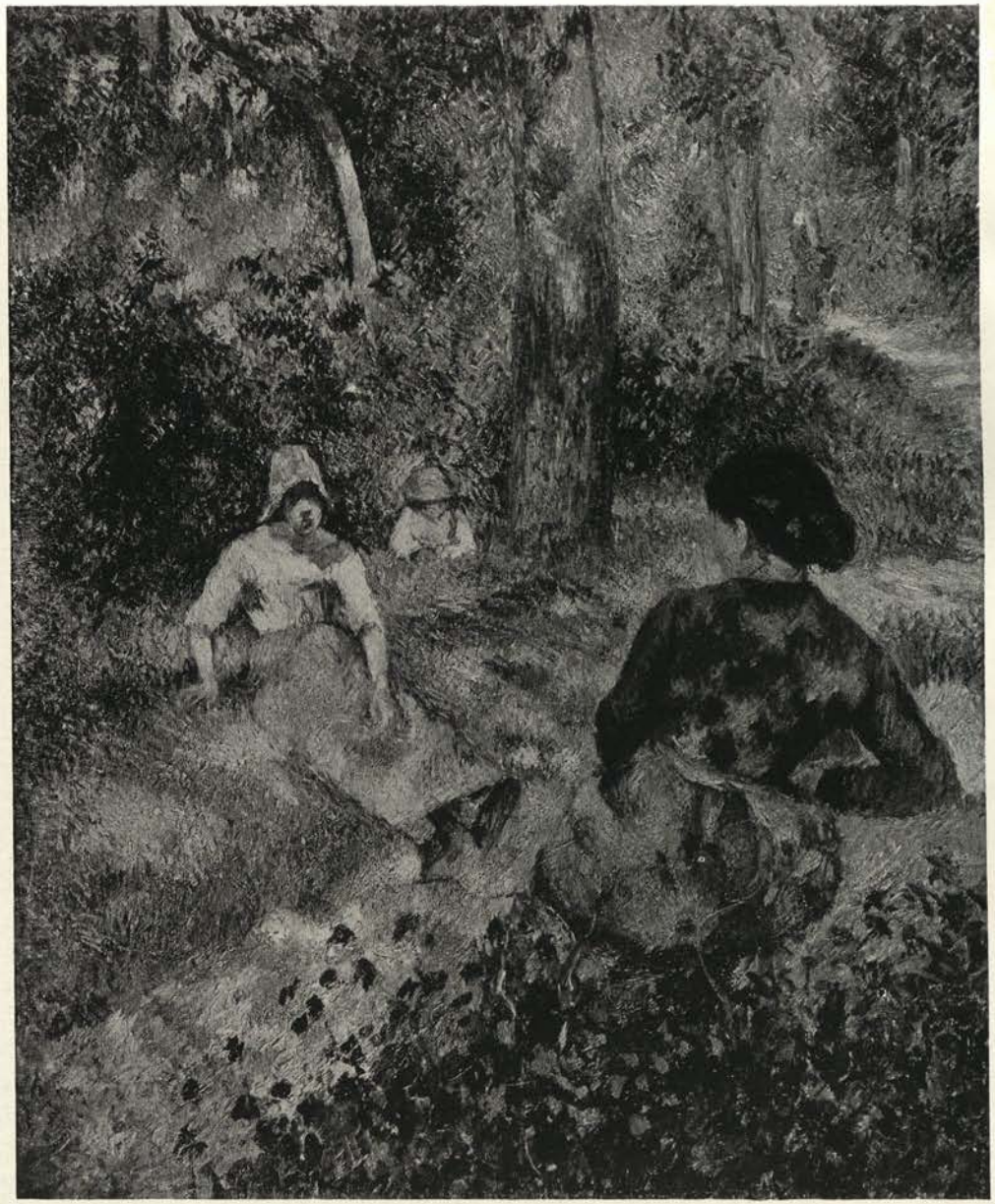
Wellesley, Massachusetts

Gustave Courbet — *Boy with Jumping Jack*

Plate 534

VASSAR COLLEGE ART GALLERY

Poughkeepsie, New York



Camille Pissarro, 1830–1903 — *Peasants Resting*

Plate 535

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Gustave Courbet *Rocks at Ornans*

Plate 536

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Claude Monet, 1840–1927

Old St. Lazare Station, Paris: The Train for Normandy

Plate 537

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Edouard Manet, 1832–1883 — *Girl with a Parrot*

Plate 538

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

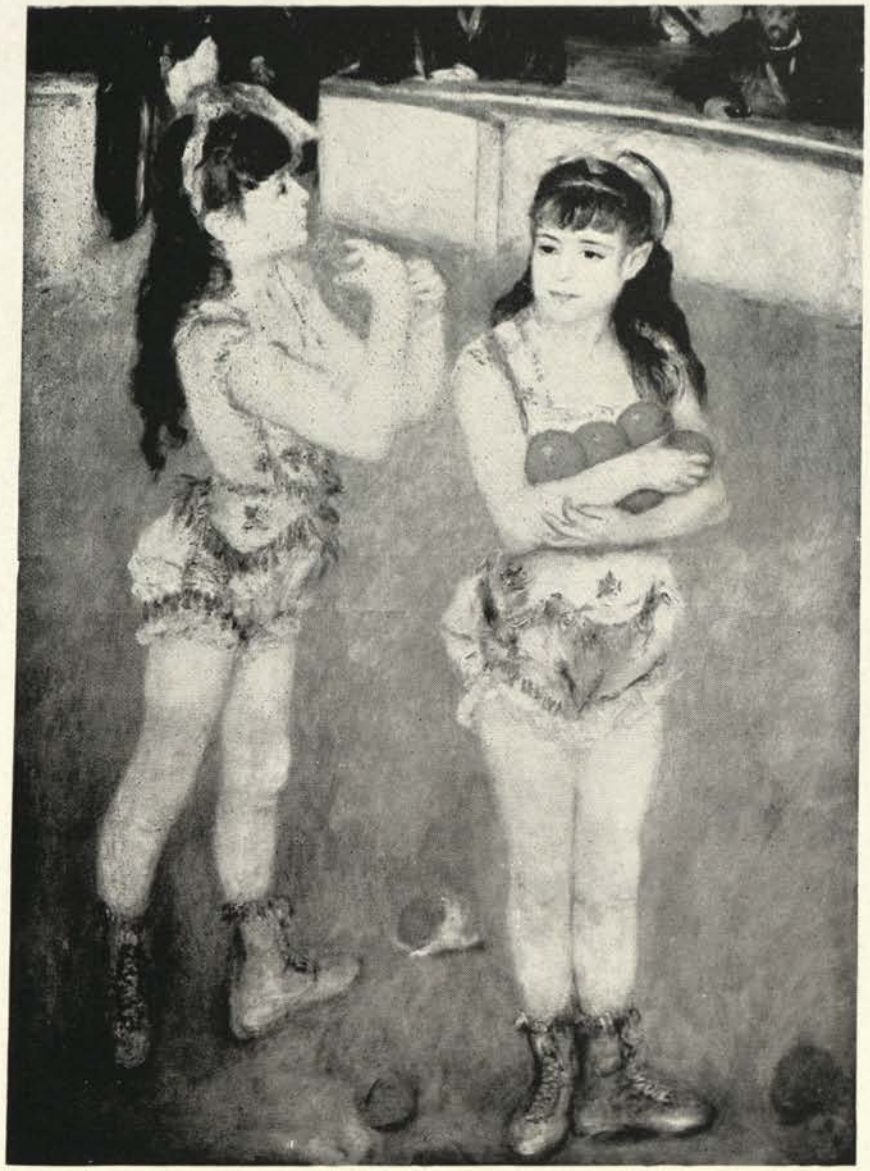
New York City

Edouard Manet — *Head of a Negress*

Plate 539. HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS, *Honolulu, Hawaii*

Edouard Manet — *The Dead Toreador*

Plate 540. WIDENER COLLECTION, *Elkins Park, Pennsylvania*



Pierre Auguste Renoir, 1841–1919 — *Two Little Circus Girls*

Plate 541

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Edgar Degas, 1834–1917 — *The Dancers. Pastel*

Plate 542

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

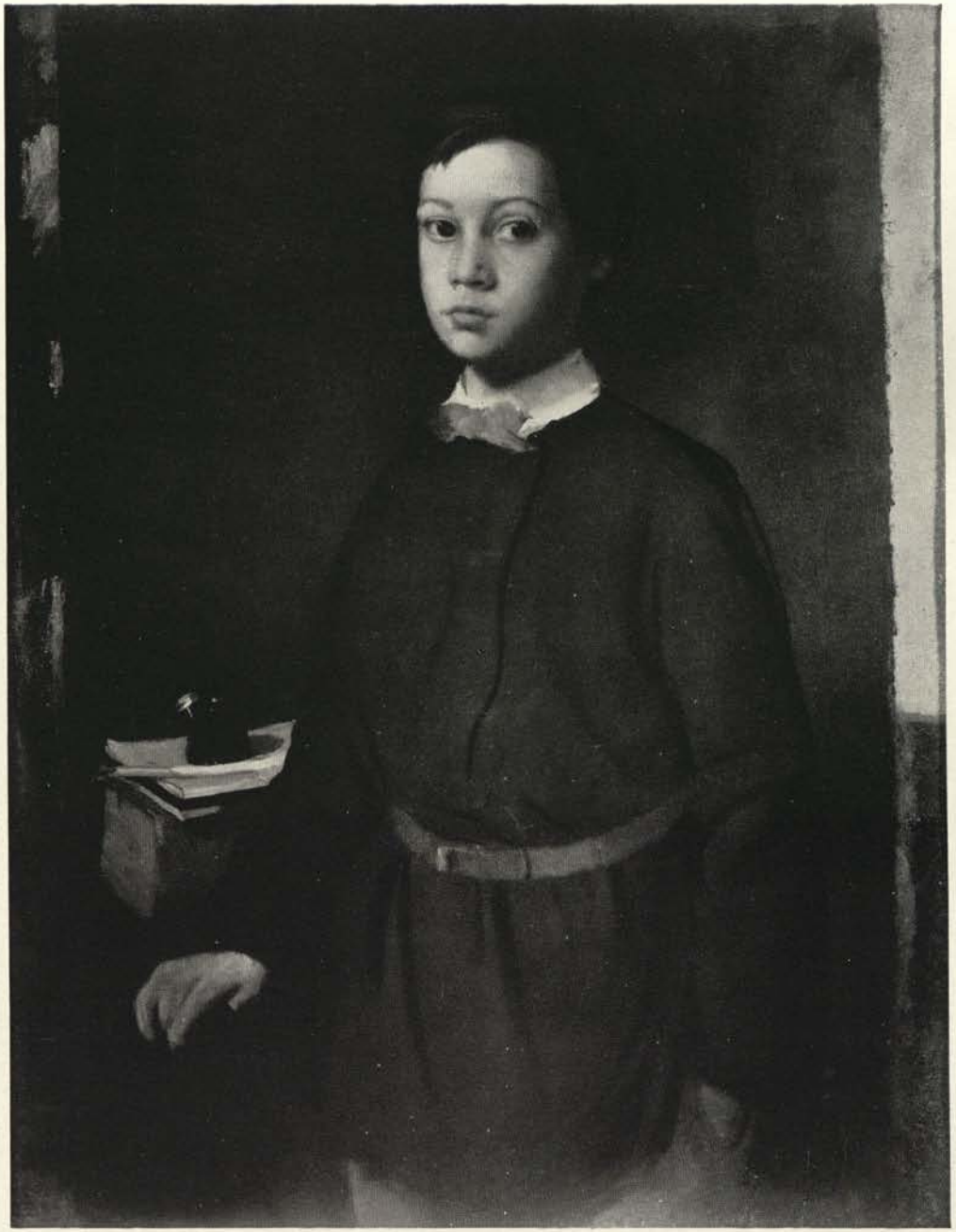
Toledo, Ohio

Edgar Degas *The Millinery Shop*

Plate 543

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

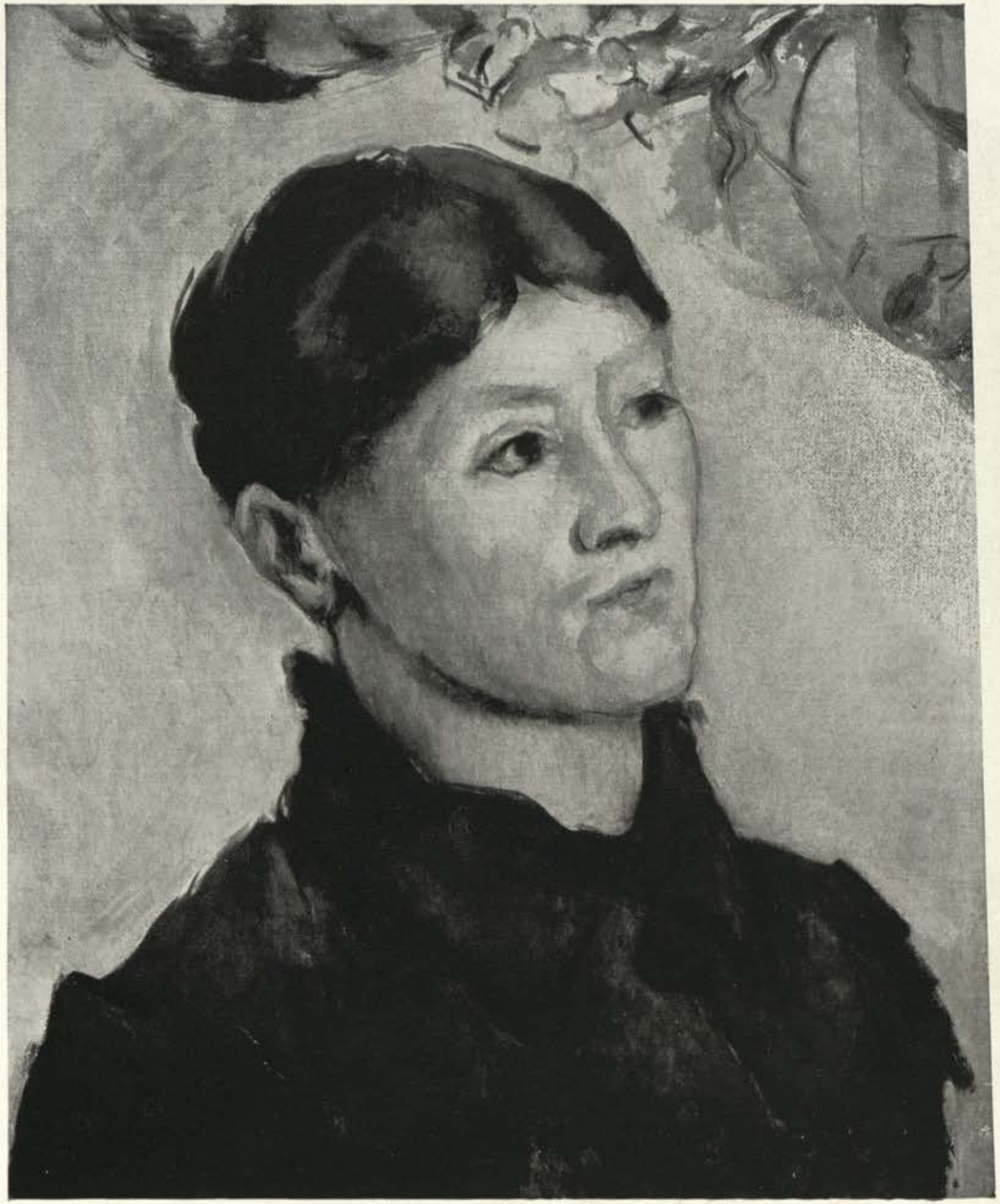


Edgar Degas *René de Gas*

Plate 544

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

Northampton, Massachusetts

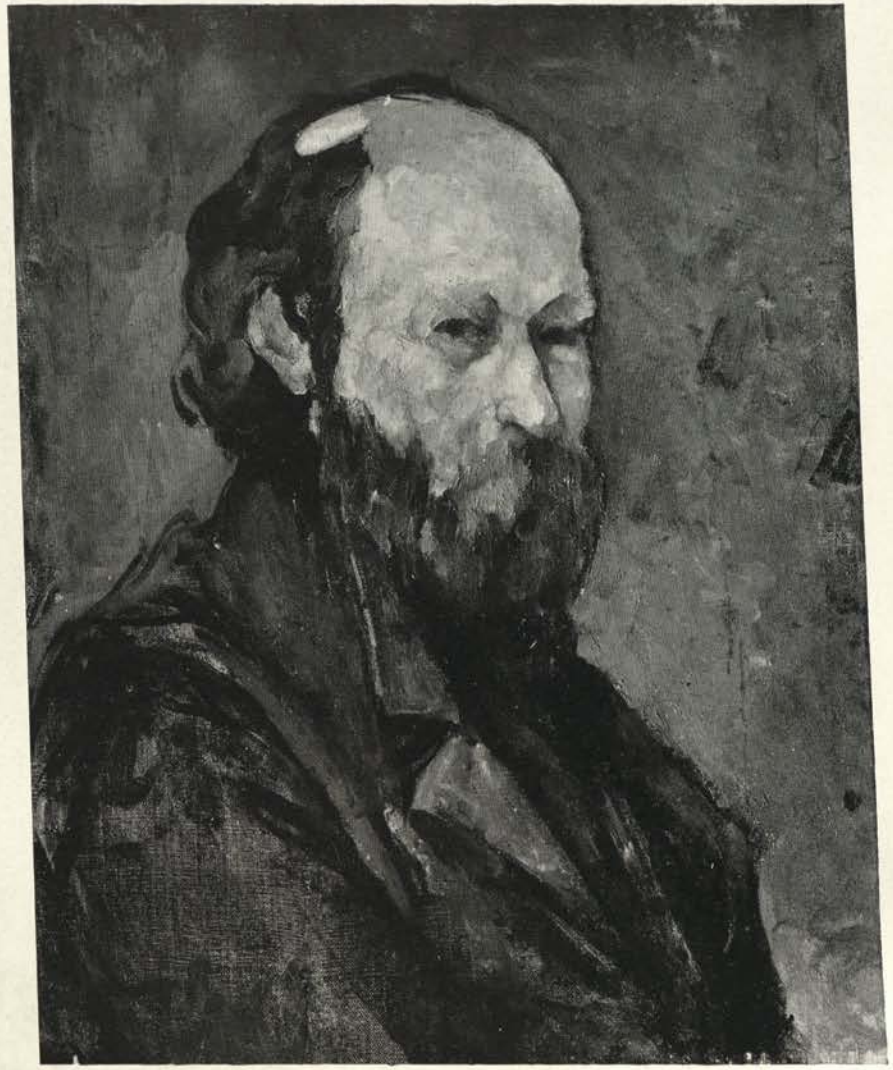


Paul Cézanne, 1839–1906 — *Portrait of Madame Cézanne*

Plate 545

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City



Paul Cézanne — *Self Portrait*

Plate 546

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Paul Cézanne *The Bathers*

Plate 547

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Alfred Sisley, 1839–1899

Snow at Louveciennes

Plate 548

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Pierre Auguste Renoir — *The Dancer*

Plate 549

M. H. DE YOUNG MEMORIAL MUSEUM

San Francisco, California

Pierre Auguste Renoir *Le Déjeuner des Canotiers*

Plate 550. PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY, *Washington, D.C.*

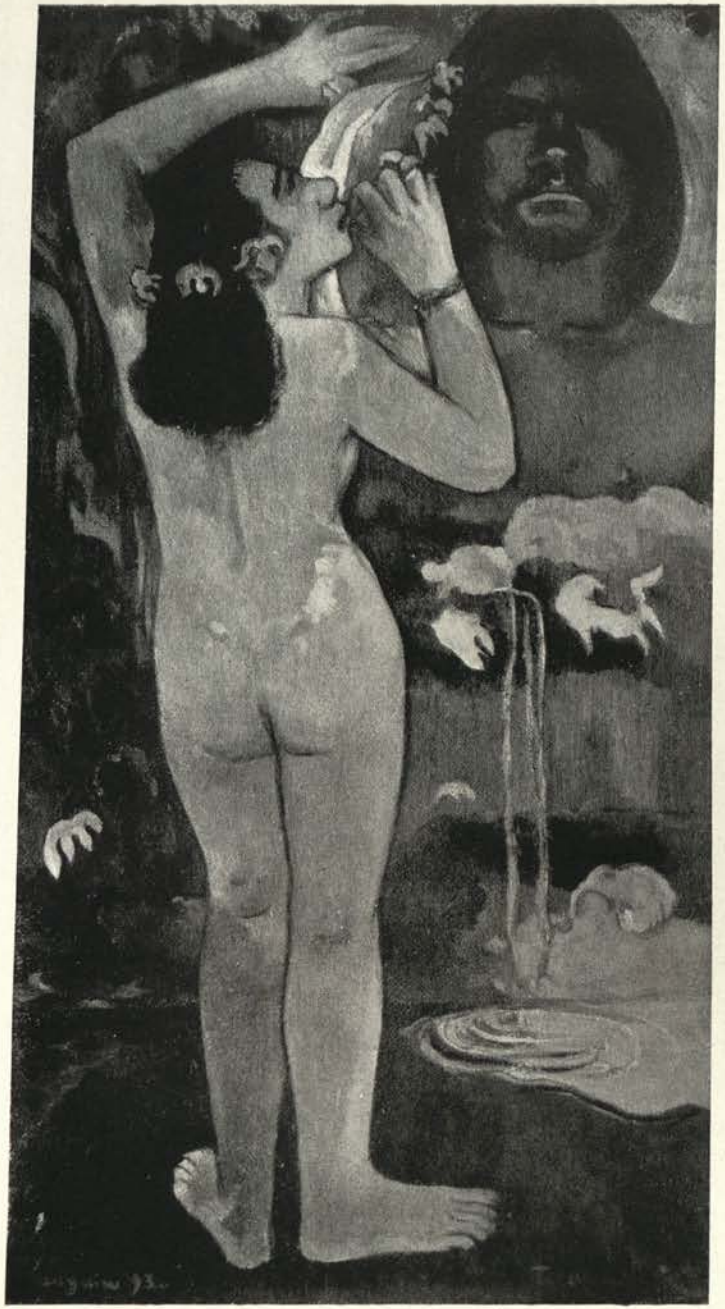
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, 1864–1901 Plate 551. ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO, *Chicago, Illinois* *Au Molin Rouge*

Pierre Auguste Renoir *Le Bal à Boguival*

Plate 552

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

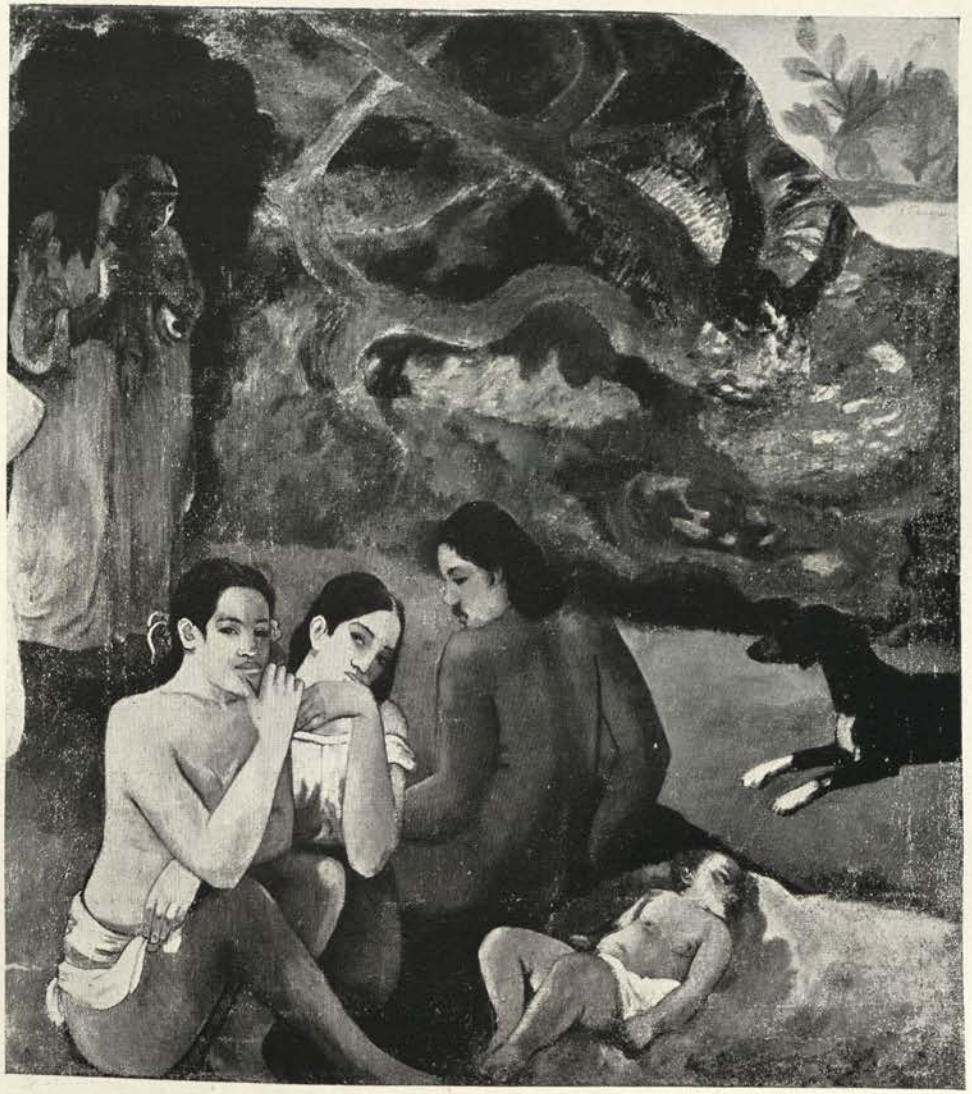


Paul Gauguin, 1848–1903 *The Moon and the Earth*

Plate 553

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City



Paul Gauguin *D'Où Venons-Nous? Detail*

Plate 554

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Paul Gauguin — *Tahitian Landscape*

Plate 555

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Paul Cézanne

Village of Gardanne

Plate 556

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Brooklyn, New York

Paul Gauguin *Reverie*

Plate 557. WILLIAM ROCKHILL NELSON GALLERY OF ART, *Kansas City, Missouri*

Vincent van Gogh, 1853–1890

Starry Night

Plate 558

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City

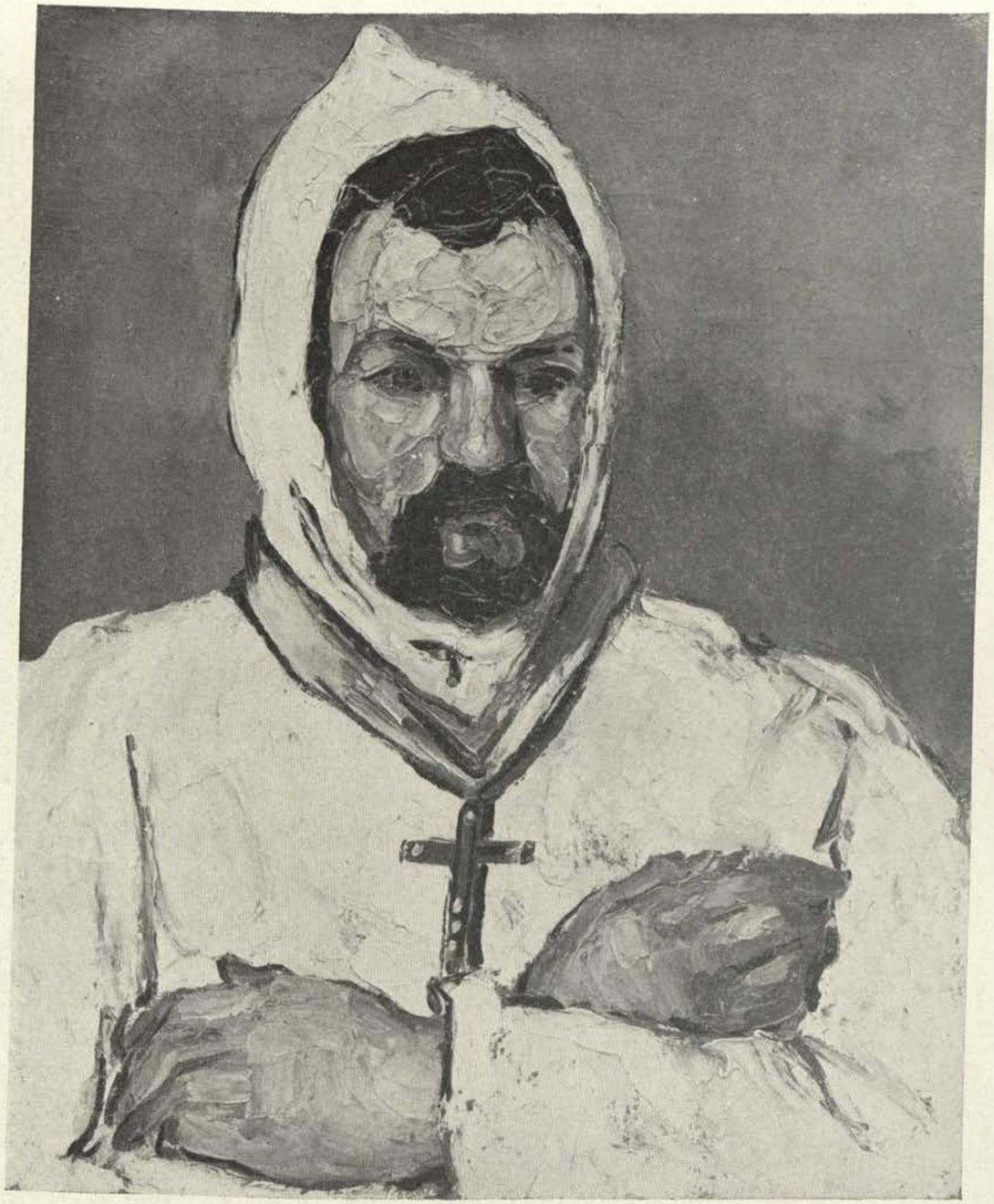
Vincent van Gogh

The Postman Roulin

Plate 559

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Paul Cézanne

Uncle Dominic as a Monk

Plate 560

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Henri Rousseau (Le Douanier), 1844–1910

Spring in the Valley of the Bièvre

Plate 561

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

Henri Rousseau *Sleeping Gipsy*

Plate 562

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City

Henri Rousseau — *On the Banks of the Oise*

Plate 563

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

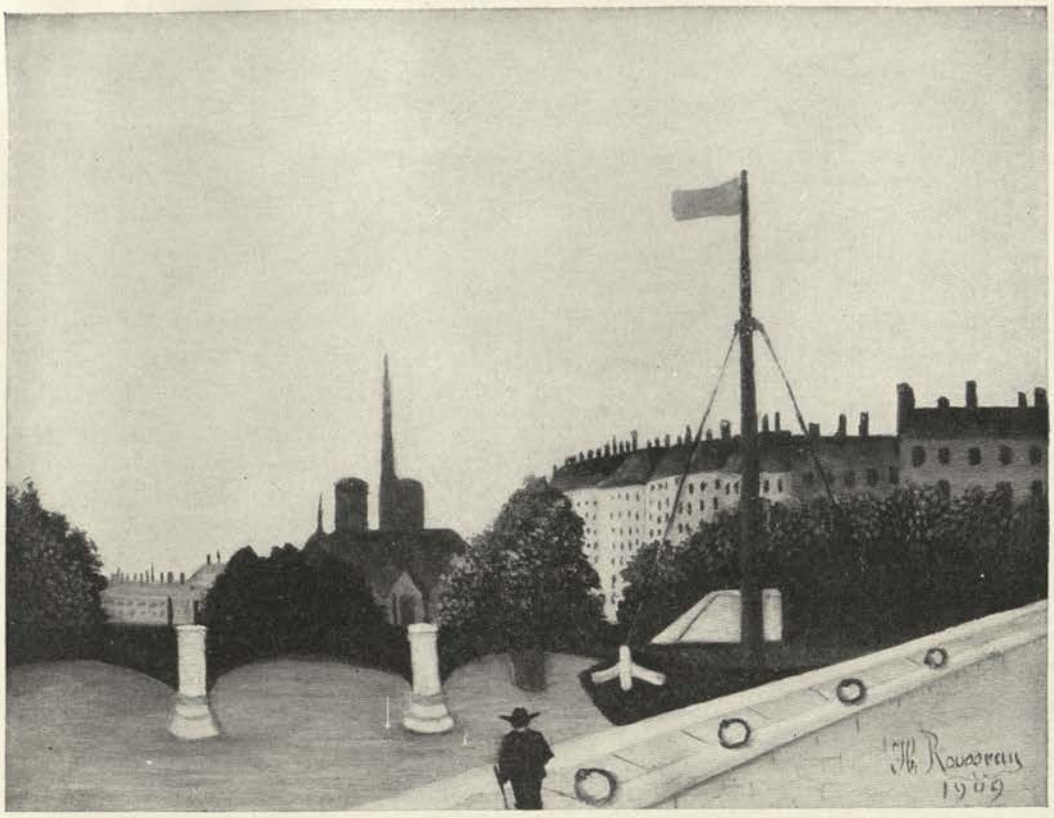
Northampton, Massachusetts

Claude Monet — *Chemin de Plage, Argenteuil*

Plate 564

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

Buffalo, New York



Henri Rousseau *Notre Dame*

Plate 565

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

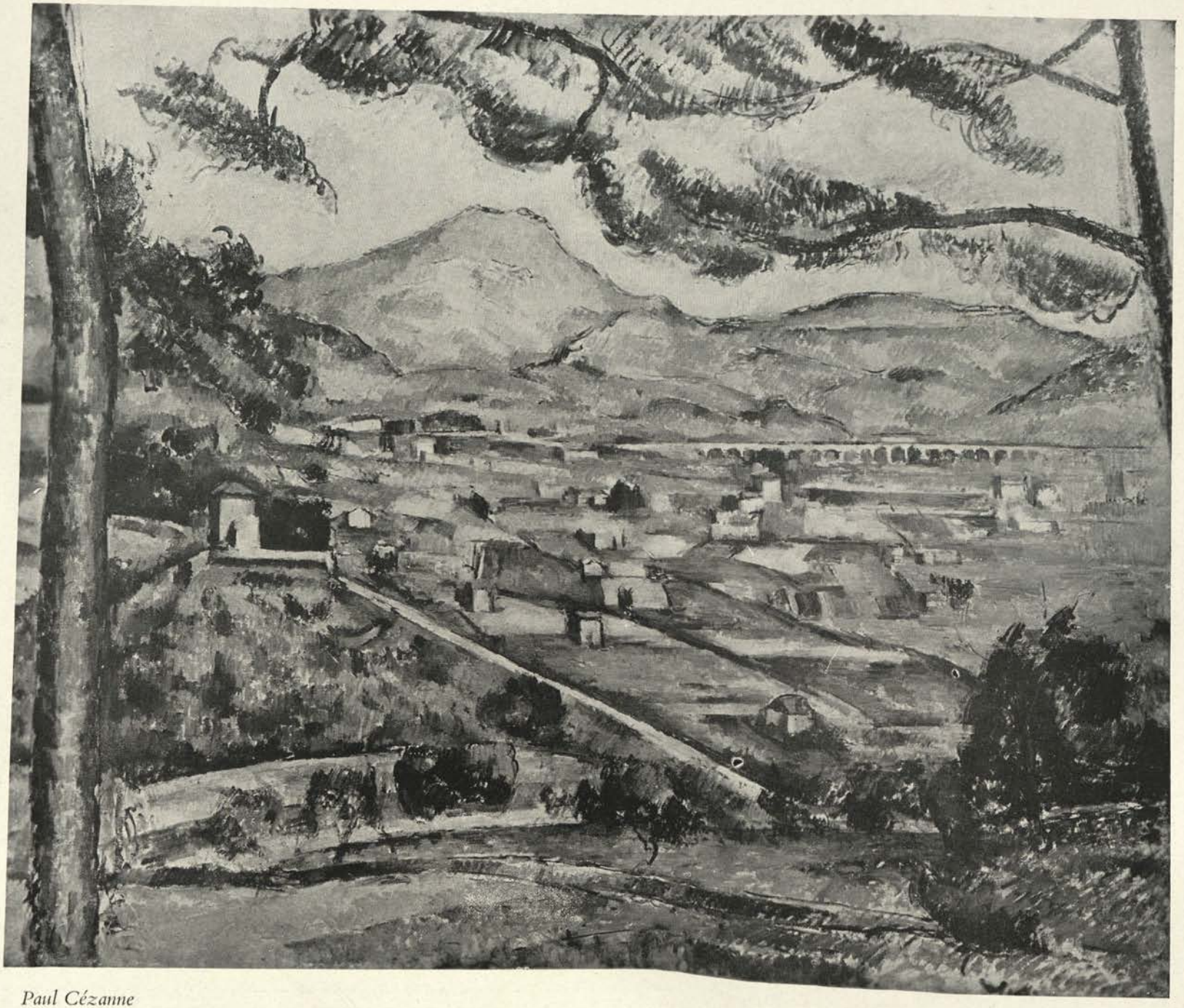
Washington, D.C.

Henri Rousseau *Jungle with a Lion*

Plate 566

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City



Paul Cézanne

Mont Sainte Victoire

Plate 567

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Georges Seurat, 1859–1891

Un Dimanche d'Eté à la Grande-Jatte

Plate 568

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois

Amadeo Modigliani, 1884–1920 — *Anna de Zboros*

Plate 569

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City

Pablo Picasso, 1881– — *Woman in White*

Plate 570

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City

Pablo Picasso *Pierrot*

Plate 571

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

Honolulu, Hawaii

Georges Rouault, 1871– *Ecce Homo*

Plate 572

VASSAR COLLEGE ART GALLERY

Poughkeepsie, New York

Pablo Picasso — *La Toilette*

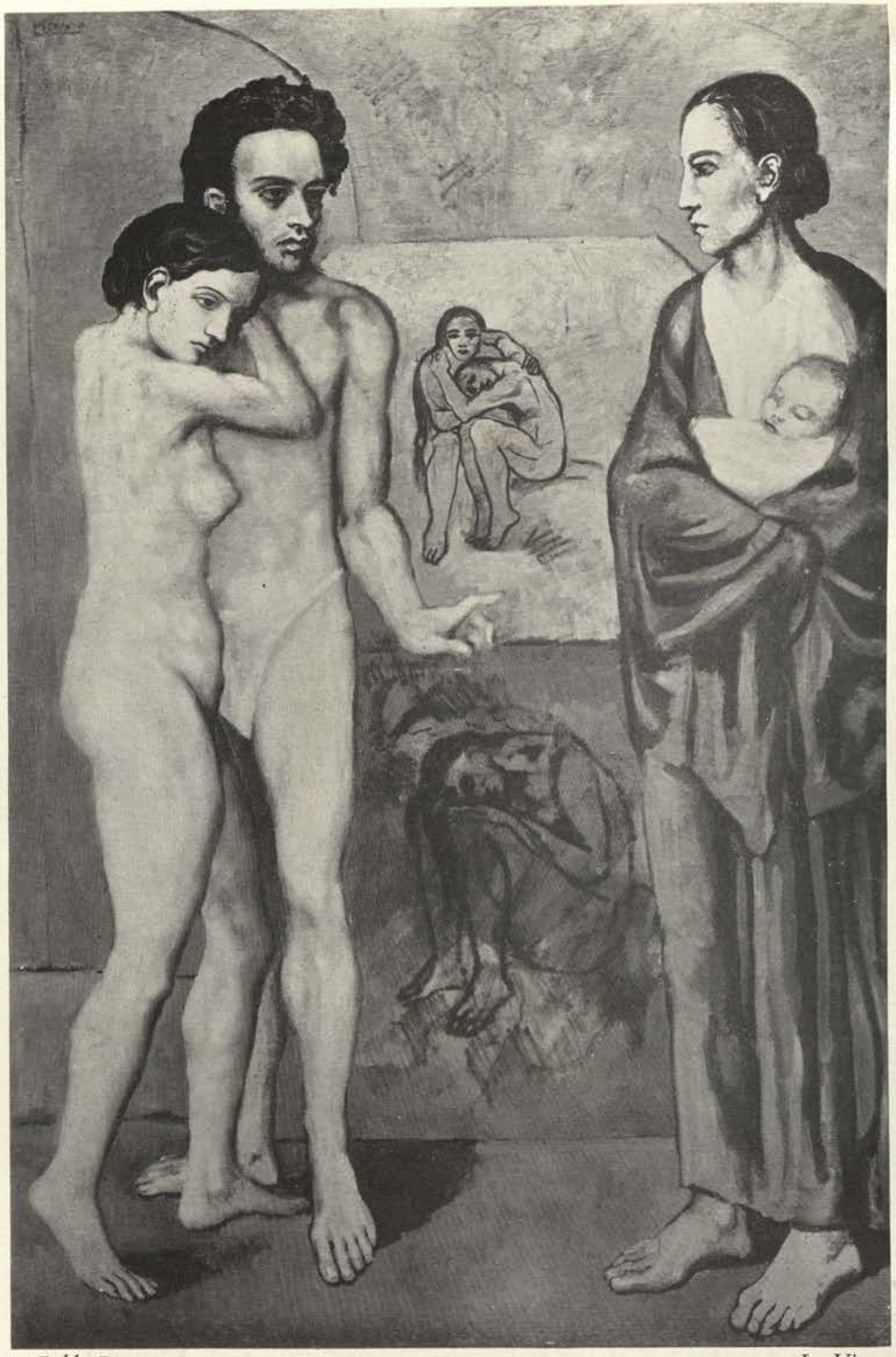
Plate 573. ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY, Buffalo, New York

Odilon Redon, 1840–1904 — *Etruscan Vase*

Plate 574. MUSEUM OF MODERN ART. New York City

Henri Matisse, 1869– *Interior with Violin Case*

Plate 575. MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, *New York City*



Pablo Picasso *La Vie*

Plate 576. RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM, *Providence, Rhode Island*

Georges Braque, 1881– *Abstraction*

Plate 577. PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY, *Washington, D.C.*

Juan Gris, 1887–1922 *Abstraction*

Plate 578

SMITH COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

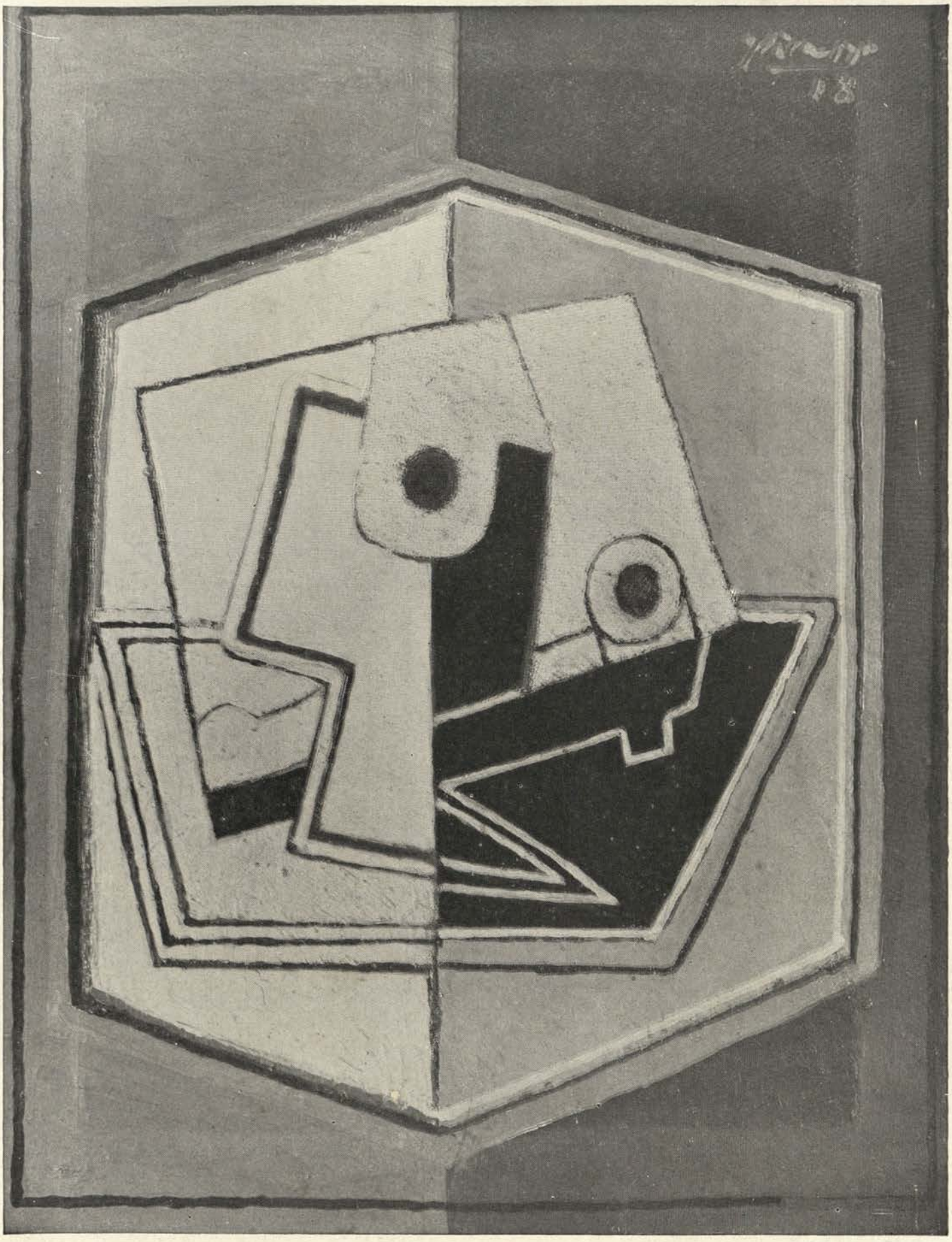
Northampton, Massachusetts

Pablo Picasso *Guitar Player*

Plate 579

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

Chicago, Illinois



Pablo Picasso *Composition*

Plate 580

GUGGENHEIM MUSEUM OF NON-OBJECTIVE ART

New York City

Aristide Maillol, 1861– *Desire. Plaster*

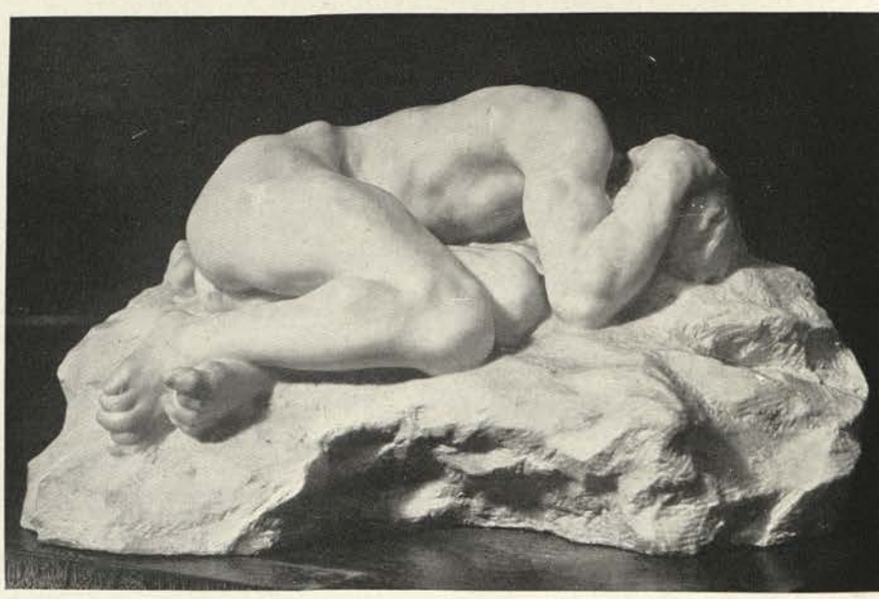
Plate 581. MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, *New York City*

Auguste Rodin, 1840–1917 *Eve après la Faute. Marble*

Plate 582

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

Buffalo, New York

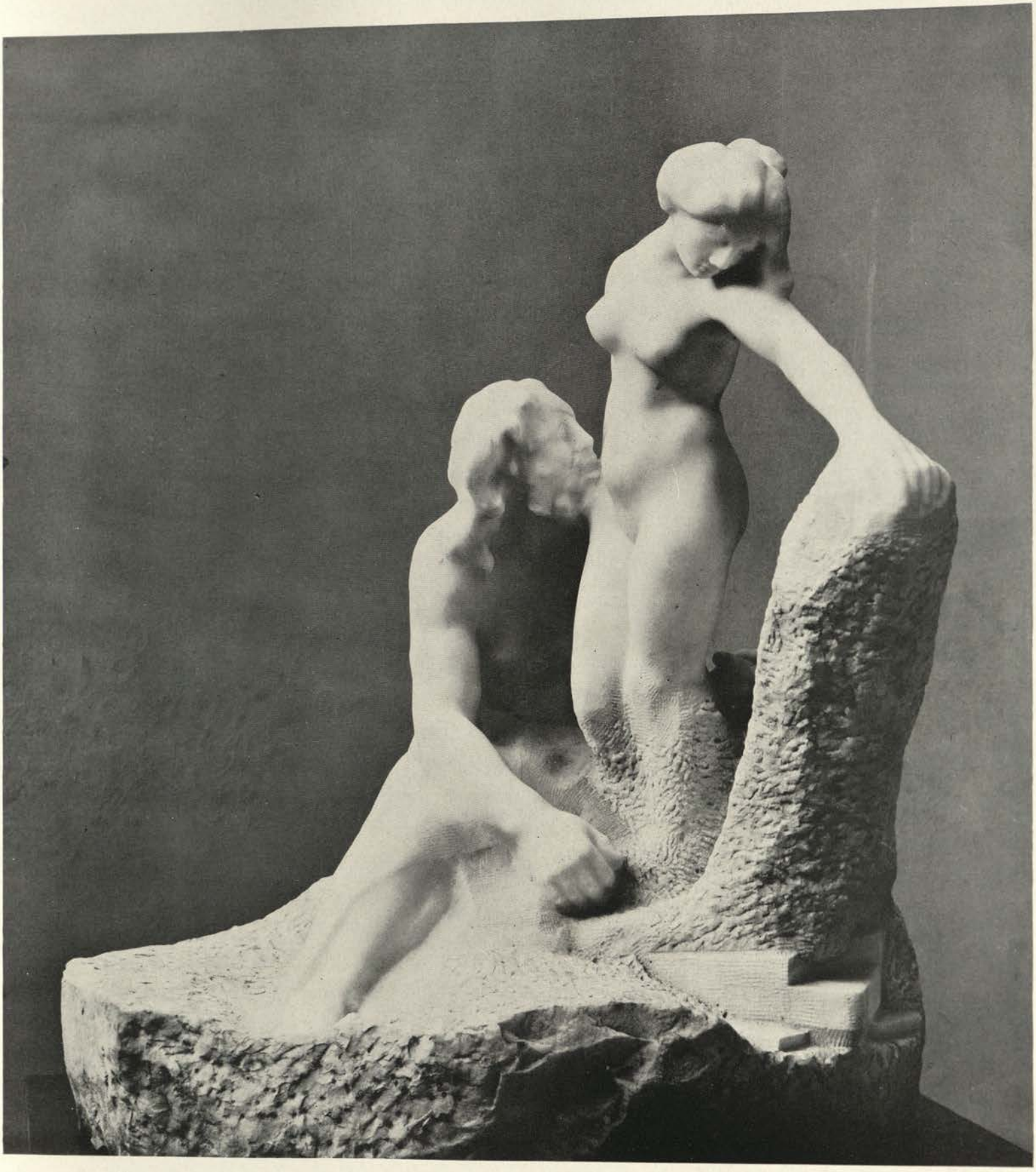


Auguste Rodin *Despair. Marble*

Plate 583

CITY ART MUSEUM

St. Louis, Missouri



Auguste Rodin

Pygmalion and Galatea. Marble

Plate 584

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

XV
English School

ALTHOUGH British painting as a significant native activity may be said to begin with the work of William Hogarth early in the eighteenth century, the island kingdom can by that time already claim a thousand years of vaguely defined traditions in the arts. Vague they are since the latter half of that millennium is all but barren, while the iconoclasm that flared up from time to time, notably under Henry VIII and Cromwell, led to the pillaging and razing of ancient abbeys and monasteries, with the result that few early architectural decorations have come down to us intact. Of medieval panels there are only scattered fragments; such early works as survived these destructive waves—murals like the *Chichester Roundel* or later panels like the *Wilton Diptych* (if locally executed)—are merely indicative of the individual character of early English painting. Admired throughout Europe, on the other hand, was the famous Gothic embroidery, known as *opus anglicanum;* while in the extensive body of English illuminated manuscripts we are granted a more intimate view of the Englishman's striking gifts of graphic expression. One notes in the reproduced details from pages of the twelfth century Winchester Bible and the fourteenth century Tickhill Psalter (Plates 230, 231) the extraordinary vitality of this drawing, highly individual, more expressive than that evidenced in contemporary manuscripts of neighboring countries. The Chichester and Winchester schools represented a flowering out of roots that had been nurtured in an earlier springtide, about the year 700 A.D. when the *Lindisfarne Gospels* first appeared as an offshoot of that superb craftsmanship which had been fostered in Ireland.

The English illuminator early used a darting, interweaving line that secured his form with wonderful precision, imparting to his illustration a grace and piquancy thoroughly expressive of the Anglo-Saxon temper, although the restrained cold schemes of vermilion, gray, ultramarine hardly echoed the glitter of Byzantine creations. If, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the eminence of English manuscript illumination was fully sustained, the nervous calligraphy giving way to linear arabesques and finely conceived patterns exemplified in the *Tickhill Psalter* and in the work of the gifted monk, Matthew Prior; the advent of the Black Death in the fourteenth century seems to have cast a blight upon the arts as well as on life itself. During the next two centuries, while the continent of Europe saw its churches decorated with the most radiant frescoes and altarpieces, England found the vehicle for

its finest expressions in the written and spoken word; even such art as she did produce being thoroughly removed in spirit and content from the continental style.

While the peasant revolts in England culminating in Wat Tyler's rebellion were part of a widespread uprising against feudal overlordship in Europe, few signs of this social unrest found their way into the arts of other nations, certainly none appeared in the official or court arts; but in England, poems like Langland's *Piers Plowman* or the revolutionary harangues of John Ball to the discontented peasants were afforded concrete visualization. Anticipating the use of art as an instrument of social agitation, local artists commissioned to decorate the village churches identified the Passion of Christ with the sufferings of the poor; Christ appeared as Piers the Plowman surrounded by the laborer's tools. It was a form of proletarian art, its primary function that of propaganda. More conventional murals and panels were created in abundance, but for the rest England experienced no such impulse to decorative creation as triumphed on the continent, nor did she share the latter's harvest of masterpieces. In an endeavor to supply the native deficiency and in the hope of stimulating the formation of a native school, Hans Holbein the Younger was invited by Sir Thomas More to England and later to the court of Henry VIII. The arrival of the German master marked the beginning of a series of invasions of England by continental artists who established a type of portraiture that was to exert a dominant influence on the English school. Actually Holbein himself left no followers or assistants capable of continuing his work. It was Van Dyck, on his arrival in the early seventeenth century, who touched off the manners and social aspirations of Stuart England, executing portaits with an elegance and refinement that mirrored to a nicety the courtly ideal of the aristocracy. Van Dyck's work became the universal model, and for the next century English portraiture strove to approximate his example. The tumult occasioned by the Civil War was finally over and once again, with the restoration of the old order and the Stuart Dynasty, the gap occasioned by Van Dyck's untimely death was filled by a foreigner, a Dutchman named Sir Peter Lely, who assumed the new leadership in art, though with considerably less distinction than his predecessor, despite an impressive technical virtuosity evident in the *Duchess of Bedford* (Plate 585).

Lely was succeeded by a German working close to the Van Dyck formula, Sir Godfrey Kneller, who painted on order a stock of pedestrian portraits wholly lacking in freshness and vitality. With occasional exceptions like Isaac Oliver, an outstanding forerunner of the English school whose *Sir Anthony Mildmay* in Cleveland (Plate 586) derives in spirit from the medieval English illuminators, the local school struggled to absorb or overcome the work of the immigrant artists and actually succeeded in mastering a sound technical base which was available in the studios to native artists of greater stature when finally they made their appearance.

Eighteenth century England found herself the wealthiest power in the world,

plying a trade that reached across the globe and produced at home a class of wealthy merchants who, like the landed gentry, demanded town mansions in the mode of Roman villas and rambling country manors. It was a classical renaissance come to settle in London, an Augustan age of literary and political personalities moralizing or satirizing an errant nobility who shared in and abetted the most flagrant abuses of privilege, while a brutalized slum population was abandoned to its own sordid pleasures.

William Hogarth (1697-1764) is the first Englishman to assert his artistic independence of foreign domination, unleashing the full rancor of his brush in opposition to an effete un-English portraiture of elegance, castigating the moral corruption of an irresponsible bewigged society. Rather than haunt the ante-chambers of the wealthy in search of a commission, Hogarth spent his time in Gin Lane and Beer Street, filling his memory with the sights provided by taverns, theatre pits, cockfights, all of which he drew on for his series of "moralities," among them the *Four Stages of Cruelty* (Plate 588). From his work as engraver, at thirty-four he turned to painting, producing a year later his first great series, *A Harlot's Progress* (1731). Here the scenes are crowded with narrative and dramatic detail illustrating the ignominious career and tragic dissolution of a demirep. It is a tale of moral precept overcharged with asides; although a degree of ensemble is achieved by means of color and occasionally through skillful grouping of larger masses, a plethora of details often detracts from the central theme. *The Rake's Progress* (1735) and *Marriage a-la-Mode* (1745) completed the moral trilogy. Intended to serve as a corrective, the graphic counterpart of Richardson's novels and the moral philosophies of the day, Hogarth's scenes portray the utmost in depravity and human wretchedness. Unlike the genre scenes of Bosch and Steen, Hogarth's dramas too often reveal that the didactic message has counted for more than the form of expression, while his compositions, however purposeful, are generally unimaginative. It is in his delightful gallery of portraits that Hogarth is most completely the artist. Having inveighed against the "portrait manufacturers" and pleaded for an English art based on English realities, he produced his most famous *Shrimp Girl,* a face alive with honest jollity and good-natured outdoor heartiness. For the most part Hogarth dedicated his brush to the middle-class tradesfolk and literary personalities; their faces belong to the race of guileless, unpretentious folk compact of goodness, figures out of the kitchen or the homey parlor, like the Corcoran Gallery *Woman and Child* (Plate 592). *Mr. and Mrs. James* (Plates 589, 590) at Worcester are surely not of the class that Van Dyck painted; rather they represent that workaday element of society, like Chardin's, which claimed Hogarth's deepest affections. Even in the superb *Mary Edwards* and the Toledo *Joseph Porter, Esq.* (Plates 587, 593), he has scorned to resort to the Van Dyck formula, yet on his own terms he has achieved an equal success.

ENGLISH SCHOOL

Although Hogarth was regarded rather as an illustrator than an artist, exerting almost no influence on contemporaries like Arthur Devis, Thomas Hudson or Richard Wilson, and only moderately on some of the conversation pieces of John Zoffany, his work nevertheless marks the beginning of the English school which was to devote itself almost entirely to portraiture and landscape painting, achieving within its own range considerable distinction in isolated cases, and wielding strong influence on the continent.

Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), the first president of the Royal Academy, is commonly credited with founding the English school of portraiture and serving as its foremost practitioner. His early studies were supplemented by a voyage to Minorca and Italy, where he made notes and sketches of the great Italian masters and developed a lifelong veneration for Michelangelo; his own work, however, by natural affinity sought its inspiration in the color of the Venetians, supported by suggestions from the work of Van Dyck and Rembrandt. A heavy cold caught while copying Raphael in the Vatican resulted in his permanent deafness in later life.

Shortly after his return to England in 1753, Reynolds established himself in London, where he acquired an immediate reputation which he turned to such good account in Mayfair and Piccadilly that he was soon recognized as the foremost English artist. In a short time his own social pre-eminence enabled him to touch off with subtle precision the social rank and worth of his sitters. After the startling intrusion of Hogarth's robust naturalism, portraiture had resumed its former sway and popularity, largely by virtue of its sentimental appeal to people of wealth and position; while as a coat-of-arms it became a most desirable and singularly appropriate article of decoration for the great houses of the day.

Reynolds' greatest merit lies in his ability to secure a harmonious composition; his figures, well placed in the setting, generally assume formal or classic poses supported by titles like Thaïs or Hebe, while the elaborate classical or mythological background is alternated with more familiar parklike vistas or overhanging foliage. But his posed groups, like tableaux, remain pretty much on the surface; whatever design he achieves is linear rather than plastic. There is more polish than soundness of execution, more dash than form. Except in those paintings which have faded or cracked as a result of his experiments, his colors, rich golds relieved by touches of delicate blue and rose, are clues to his Venetian predilections. Altogether his paintings achieve a gracious charm and elegance, the best of that class of portraiture which satisfies the popular notion of "beautiful." But his canvases generally do not stand the test of renewed or searching examination; faces tend to become vapid, backgrounds stagy. There are nevertheless a great many well-loved paintings by his hand and certainly a number which may be ranked as great portraiture: his famous *Age of Innocence* and *Lord Heathfield* in the National Gallery, London, *Miss Bowles* in the Wallace Collection, *Dr. Johnson* at Millbank, *Mrs. Siddons as*

the Tragic Muse (the great tragedienne Sarah Kemble of the royal family of actors) in Dulwich and in San Marino, California, *Nell O'Brien* (Widener Collection, Elkins Park) and a host of others are eminently successful works. Notable examples like *Jane, Countess of Harrington* (Plate 595) in San Marino, and the lovely *Lady Caroline Howard* (Plate 599) in Washington, have found their way into America's public collections, most particularly at the Huntington Gallery near Los Angeles. A straightforward study like the Pittsfield *Miss Barnard* (Plate 597) offers interesting comparison with Hogarth's *Mary Edwards* in New York.

Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) possessed neither the cultural refinement, personal distinction nor temperamental equanimity of his rival, Sir Joshua. An even greater discrepancy, though of a different sort, is apparent in his work, for unlike his contemporary he is neither stagy nor impressively noble. He does not rely on technical contrivances to secure particular effects as trappings for his portraiture. Instead he brings to his work something of Van Dyck's artistic sensibility; while technically he realizes his figures substantially, his surface modeling suggesting a solidity of form that obviates the Reynolds device of resorting to sharp contrasts in order to bring the figures into relief.

Even as a boy of ten, Gainsborough possessed an intense feeling for the poetry of his native surroundings, spending his holidays from grammar school, often stolen on the strength of a forged request from his father, rambling about the countryside, sketching trees, hedgerows, livestock with tireless zest. Being sent to London he studied under Gravelot, a French engraver, and finally established his own studio attempting, though with little success, to earn a livelihood. A year later he returned to Suffolk, married a beautiful young lady who brought with her a measure of financial independence in the form of an annuity, and took her to live in Ipswich.

From this point Gainsborough's life may be conveniently divided into three periods of fourteen years each: to the period of his residence at Ipswich as well as the following period at Bath belong his finest landscapes, based on his study of the Dutch school, but even more on his vivid recollections of the scenery of his boyhood rambles. The years at Ipswich having brought him barely a neighborhood reputation, he removed to Bath in 1760, with his wife and two daughters. Upon his arrival in Bath there was at once a rush to his studio, and thereafter his reputation was assured, his fee rising from five to well beyond a hundred guineas for a portrait. At Bath he studied the work of Van Dyck and Rubens, his paintings of this period revealing something of their vitality. But always Gainsborough relied on his own vision, setting down what he saw with little attempt at psychological penetration or interpretation. In his portraits there is little of pose beyond the casual, his own interest being purely visual, so that his canvases are the first to show that vaporous use of color which the Impressionists later developed as a style. The manner in which he handles

his brush is related to that of Renoir and Watteau whom he equals "in his subtle nuances of color and his caressing brush strokes, while like them he builds on a searching draughtsmanship." Several times he picked up a brush as much to contradict a theory as to paint a picture. Among his masterpieces, the adored version of a youthful "prince charming," the famous *Blue Boy* (Plate 603), for example, was said to have been undertaken as a deliberate refutation of Reynolds' arbitrary dictum that blue is unsuited for the prevailing tone of either landscape or portrait. While the anecdote in this instance is untrue, it serves to point up Gainsborough's impatience with academic theories.

Himself elected to membership in the Royal Academy, Gainsborough found on his removal to London that his popularity almost rivaled that of Reynolds and certainly equaled it at court and among the Royal family. Where Reynolds is at his best in his portraits of men, being allowed ample scope for his dramatic flair in these studies, Gainsborough is happiest with full-length portraits of women and children. Perhaps the greatest distinction of Gainsborough's work lies in the lyrical quality which he evokes in figure or landscape, beautifully instanced in *The Cottage Door* (Plate 609); there is a poetic lilt in the contours and in the luminous haze of his colors and the vibrant atmosphere, altogether an impressive example of his ability, as in the *Blue Boy,* "to fuse all the elements of a picture into a prevailing mood." But his art was vitiated by his popularity, for he turned from his landscapes and the endless problems presented by nature's own groupings to the ever more popular portrait demands, grinding them out as time went on with a certain studied effort so that the lyricism itself soon became mannered.

Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan (Plate 608) was by many considered the foremost beauty of her day; she possessed an extraordinarily fine voice, though she declined to sing in public after her marriage to the author of *The Rivals.* The poignant *Artist's Daughters* (whose unhappy careers constituted a tragic element in his life) (Plate 610) is one of many studies made of the girls born to him in Ipswich. The delightful *Karl Friedrich Abel* (Plate 606) is a reminder of his own ardent love of music and his friendships almost exclusively with actors and musicians.

Notable among English portraitists was George Romney (1734-1802) who, exerting a most determined effort, succeeded in winning the favor of fashionable patronage and sharing the acclaim and fortune of Reynolds and Gainsborough. Having furnished himself with the customary tour of Italy where he managed to absorb something of the spell of classical antiquity, he returned to London and rented an imposing house on Cavendish Square to which he shortly welcomed the world of fashion and position. Much given to introspective moods and periods of depression, he alternated between hasty enthusiasms and ambitious projects which he had not the patience or the technical resources to carry through. His attachment to

Lady Hamilton resulted in the production of scores of canvases in which she appeared in the guise of symbolic and mythological figures, serving, for example, as both Joy and Love in *The Infant Shakespere Attended by the Passions.* Typical portraits of her are those in the Frick Collection (Plate 605) and in San Marino, California (Plate 596). A celebrated beauty of lower-class origin, she played an influential rôle in the life of more than one famous Englishman. At least part of Romney's success lay in the fact that he consciously improved the appearance of his sitters while maintaining a recognizable likeness; but the queer look he often assigns to his subjects betrays their inescapable kinship with characters out of mythology. His paintings nevertheless own a classic grace and balance not to be found in Reynolds or Gainsborough. *Perdita Robinson,* in the Wallace Collection, London, is among his most famous portraits, equaled for popularity by the *Mrs. Davenport* in Washington, D. C.

Born in an Edinburgh suburb, "the Scottish Reynolds," Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823) was self-taught, his natural gifts being aided for a time at the studio of the fashionable Scottish painter, David Martin. On the advice of Reynolds, Raeburn journeyed to Rome but returned with no apparent change in style. His best work, however, came to bear a strong resemblance to that of Velasquez, presumably derived from a study of the Spanish master's *Pope Innocent X.*

As the outstanding portraitist of Scotland, Raeburn's wit, geniality, and fine manners won for him the admiring devotion of fashionable Edinburgh. Hume, Burns, Walter Scott sat for him, as did every Scottish notable and beauty. He has been called a "painter of men" for in these figures he relies on a simple but vigorous style, invariably securing an honest likeness; unlike his English contemporaries he attempts no gloss of form or figure in his subject, striking out instead for the essential features with considerable economy of brushwork. *The Elphinstone Children* (Plate 598) is a memorable example of the Velasquez touch, one of the few great examples in America of Raeburn's fresh brushwork, for a good many of his later canvases are little more than hackneyed conventions based on formula, a process of self-imitation which corrupted so much of popular British art.

John Hoppner (1758-1810) and Sir Thomas Lawrence complete the famous quintet of English portraitists, men whose individual works are sometimes barely distinguishable in style. Hoppner's work directly echoes that of Reynolds in its stagy effects and choice of palette, while Lawrence, like Romney, achieved brilliant successes in some of his "magazine-cover" portraits of women. For a period of two decades both artists, in a keen and ofttimes acrimonious rivalry that split fashionable society into camps of loyal adherents, shared between them the bounteous patronage

of their devotees at home and abroad, both enjoying the enthusiastic support of the Royal household, fêted, acclaimed, adored.

It cannot be said of either that he strained his faculties or talents, nor that he was assailed by self-exacting doubts and hesitations for very long. For each it was largely a matter of handsome sailing along the pleasantest of prospects, his own wit, talents and social graces inevitably stirring up a fluttering breeze of social and critical acclaim. (It was only in his last years that Hoppner's mind failed him.) Like Reynolds, a brilliant colorist, Hoppner produces figures that are always elegant without pretentiousness; and if his drawing and modeling are often weak, he has on several occasions as in *The Salad Girl, Lady Beauchamp, The Godsall Children* struck close to the finest in eighteenth century English portraiture. For the rest, he was too readily content to earn his fee by flattering the subject. *A Lady of the Townsend Family* (Plate 601) at Toledo is hardly an inspired portrait but it represents the virtues and weaknesses of the artist.

As a child Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) was a precocious beauty, the youngest of sixteen children born to an innkeeper at Bristol; at the age of twelve he had already achieved fame as a professional artist and entertainer displaying such talents and wit as were to stay with him throughout a glamorous career. Patrons and public were captivated by his conversation and delighted by the insouciance and vivacity that marked his portraits of women. For a time at the height of his career he was universally acclaimed the first painter in Europe: Delacroix strove to emulate his romantic dash; kings and princes vied for his first attention; Pope Pius VII insisted on having his portrait painted. Everywhere he sustained a high level of technical mastery and occasionally he struck off a painting that had the accent of greatness. *Pinkie* (Plate 602) in San Marino, California, and the *Calmady Children* (Plate 604) in New York are among his masterpieces, two of the most esteemed portraits of the entire English school. The outward flash and facile technique are combined with a modish sentiment to produce his "magazine-cover" effects. *Pinkie* is the essence of romantic charm, a bit of feminine fragility styled for Ibsen's *Doll's House.*

The work of Crome and Constable in landscape painting may be taken as the graphic analogue to the poetry of Burns and Wordsworth. Like the Lake poet, Constable was achieving a minor revolution in his own work, though with hardly the same critical approval. "My art flatters nobody by imitation, it courts nobody by politeness; it is without either fal de lal or fal dee dee; how then can I hope to be popular?" So wrote John Constable (1776-1837) toward the end of a career that had made almost no impression on the art critics or artists of his day. Suffolk, the county of his predecessor, Gainsborough, was his birthplace and there, the son of a

prosperous miller, he grew up in an environment of windmills, wheatfields and sheepfolds. Aside from a few portrait studies he was to confine his energies to recording the subdued or rainswept landscapes of his native countryside. Nature's changing forms and colors he studied with the ardent devotion of a lover only to set them down with the meticulous care of a laboratory scientist. This patient concern with objective reporting of atmospheric effects (noting on the reverse of his sketches the wind direction, hour of day, light conditions, etc.) has actually elicited the admiration of meteorological societies. Time and again he returned to the same scene to paint it under another sky, in another weather. His canvases are thus alive with the genius of locality: Hampstead Heath, the Valley of the Stour, Dedham Vale, Salisbury Plain, so often and so variously are they the subjects of his canvases, have become known as the Constable country. *The Old Hampstead Heath* (Plate 612) in Ottawa is unmistakably English in character, a corner of the country he painted again and again, and it was here in the end that his own dust was laid to rest, mingling with the soil he had so steadfastly loved. It was in such quiet canvases, though few people were aware of it, that Constable made one of the notable contributions to European painting, suggesting a "visual" treatment of form and use of color in landscape which the Impressionists were to exploit with such epochal results some decades later. Constable's sky is not merely a hole for the light to come through, but a dramatic presence, sentient, ever changing and reshaping the earth. Colors adhere not merely to their proper material but flow with the current of light to neighboring objects, while grass and stones rightly borrow the blue of the sky. His clouds are alive, massing and dispersing, melting away with the passing moment, altering the shade and shape of hill and glen. To his canvas clings the wetness of summer showers; his heaths are fanned by fresh after-rain winds. Fuseli joked that "Constable makes me call for my great-coat and umbrella." It was a tribute to the artist's search for truth, his attempt like that of Velasquez, to set down only what the light revealed, accepting the actual tones of nature however unspectacular, satisfied with the image alone. With astounding effect, as in his best versions of *Salisbury Cathedral* (Plate 617), he laid on with his palette knife colors in juxtaposition, suggesting in these blobs of pure pigment that glint of sunlight we have come to look for in the work of Frenchmen half a century later. But Constable's own inspiration derives from the work of Claude and the Dutch landscapists, especially Ruisdael whom he venerated. As with them, color is of paramount importance in his work, for the days he paints are often dull or subdued, the sky gray or faint mauve; but these true tones he has watched with oriental patience until they have assumed their full rôle in subtle color harmonies that yield a quiet beauty usually lost on him who runs, but to the true lover of nature no less rewarding than her more flamboyant moods. Constable's reverence amounts to a kind of scientific pantheism: "Everything," he writes to his wife in 1819, "seems full of blossom of

some kind, and at every step I take, and on whatever object I turn my eyes, that sublime expression of the scriptures, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' seems as if uttered near me." His *Hay Wain,* exhibited in the Paris salon of 1824 which launched the Romantic movement, created a great stir. Seeing it, Delacroix was impelled to remove his own *Massacre of Scio* and to repaint it the night before the opening. Subsequently the entire Barbizon school was to stand heavily in Constable's debt. The *Cornfield* in the National Gallery, London, and the *Leaping Horse* in Burlington House are among his most famous works, though it is generally agreed that the very clearest evidence of his genius is to be had in his sketches rather than the finished, but so often experimental, oils.

The strong parallel between English poetry and painting which is clearly defined throughout the early nineteenth century converges for a moment in the complex personality of William Blake (1757-1827), the mystic poet-prophet. The poignant lyricism of his shorter poems and the cosmic symbolism, the Miltonic figures of speech, of his longer works are precisely the elements he translates into those extraordinary illustrations which he created to accompany Milton's, Dante's, or his own verses. Living an obscure life, married to an illiterate woman who remained a devoted companion throughout his career, Blake earned their keep by hack working for an engraver or doing occasional watercolors on order. It is these latter which show him to be an artist in the primitive sense, one whose instincts call for a certain symbolism best expressed in decorative motives or accented rhythms, so that his paintings and especially his drawings often have the startling reality of hallucinations. For him, the visionary rather than the tangible world carries validity, and in a sense he felt that he had been called on to direct all mankind to an awareness of the spiritual presences he himself perceived. "I am under the direction of Messengers from Heaven, Daily and Nightly . . . ," he soberly avers. If such convictions are not attributable to a thoroughly sane individual, they nevertheless inspired some of the most beautiful poetry, as well as some series of watercolors which are generally accounted at once the most febrile and dramatic England has produced. Since the objective world held no interest for him, the artist's most important asset, the eyes, he discredited, while the artist's most highly prized medium, paint, he often scorned to use for it served merely to reveal the "vegetable" world, as he called it, to one's grosser senses. His own figures, by contrast, are flat, gaining concreteness through sharpened outlines which are forced to subtle rhythmic patterns (Plates 613-15), but they have been endowed with the massive musculature of Michelangelo's titans, and a Graeco-Roman classicism which Blake had studied in drawings—an apt combination to echo the grand organ notes of Milton's poetry.

A span extending less than a century encompasses the end periods within which unfolded the brightest blossoming of British art, that is, between Hogarth's

"moralities" beginning 1731 and Turner's *Ulysses and Polyphemus* of 1829. In its last great figure British painting was to witness a burst of autumn glory, for if Constable was concerned with the "still voice" of Wordsworth's nature, Turner is Byronesque in spirit, embarked with his golden palette on Childe Harold's Pilgrimage across Italy, France, Switzerland, the Rhineland in a romantic quest of nature's most dramatic and bizarre moods. Turner is not so much catholic as encyclopedic; his canvases are concerned not with the endemic but the cosmic. Where Constable is content with a bovine group in a grove, Turner annexes the broad earth and ocean for his *mise-en-scène,* whereon unfolds a spectacular drama of the elements; his protagonist is invariably the sun: acting upon mist and cloud and waters, peopling the world with its light, coloring it with its ebullience. If Constable's canvases are wet with weather, Turner's are convex mirrors aflame with the iridescence of the sun. Anyone with less genius than Turner would inevitably risk comparison of his glowing sunsets with the souvenir colored postcards found at summer resorts. At his worst he is certainly more chaotic; and it is his most regrettable defect that he consciously seeks the spectacular, so that while his technical dexterity and sheer brilliance of execution place him among the great landscape artists, his lack of taste often leads to indiscriminate inclusion of extraneous elements for the mere sake of theatricality. Often his compositions are a mere fusion of romantic elements in nature brought together out of an enormous repertory of mental images with little organic unity, or spatial functionalism. Like so much of English painting, then, Turner's work suffers under repeated examination. In a more romantic era the receptive spectator enjoyed Turner's suggestive touches of delicate brushwork, his public eagerly searched out objects shrouded in fog, and seemed to discover in the pictures, after long contemplation, objects that were obscured at first, trees that the fog had all but hidden from view, a far-off hill not observed until the eye had become accustomed to peering through the distance.

The shabby, secluded, crooked little man "who painted sunshine" was himself an enigmatic figure: his slum origin as a barber's son, his limited schooling and untutored speech, his ungainly manners and miserly ways, his penchant for hiding away in some scrubby garret under an assumed name (so discovered even at his death), his uncommunicative nature—none of this is reflected in his glamorous canvases.

His early veneration for Claude—*Dido Building Carthage* is typical of this phase—amounted almost to an obsession. A trip to Italy in 1819 finally marked the end of his "gray" period and the influence of Claude. In a new style wholly his own, clouds now took on hues of magical richness, light effects on mist and water dazzled with their shimmering radiance; Venice he painted as a vision of ethereal loveliness, a romantic citadel whose airy structures float in a luminous haze. The *Ulysses Deriding Polyphemus* is typical of his work if any one painting may be termed

typical of a production that was so vast and various. Here nature rises to the occasion of the ancient poet Homer's sightless vision: a dawning sun breaks out across a fast-burning sky; a liquid pulsating light fills the air; on the shore the mountainous figure of the giant looms like a threatening cloud, as the strange vessel, like something out of Coleridge's dream world, compact of shimmering light and gossamer sails, pulls away. One sees the light palpitating, passing over the scene and coloring its farthest reaches with magical effect.

The *Grand Canal, Venice* (Plate 616) in New York, like the famous *Fighting Téméraire* in the National Gallery, London, or the Millbank *Rain, Steam and Speed,* is a splendid instance of Turner's exclusive preoccupation with atmospheric effects; a warm glow of golden light suffuses the canvas as the sun struggles through the mist to cast an opalescent haze about the ship. There is a vague appeal in the romantic outlines which won the acclaim of the Romantics in France. Like Constable's, his work antedated the Impressionists by several decades. But it was Delacroix and Géricault who caught the new mood, and Pissarro and Monet whose studies of light gave the nineteenth century to France.

Sir Peter Lely, 1618–1680 — *The Duchess of Bedford*

Plate 585

HACKLEY ART GALLERY

Muskegon, Michigan

Isaac Oliver, ca. 1556–1617 — *Sir Anthony Mildmay*

Plate 586

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

William Hogarth, 1697–1764 *Joseph Porter, Esq.*

Plate 587

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

William Hogarth *The First Stage of Cruelty. Red Chalk Drawing*

Plate 588

PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

New York City

William Hogarth — *Portrait of Mrs. James*

Plate 589

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts

William Hogarth — *Portrait of Mr. James*

Plate 590

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts

Sir Henry Raeburn, 1756–1823 — *Mrs. Alexander Henderson*

Plate 591

CALIFORNIA PALACE OF THE LEGION OF HONOR

San Francisco, California

William Hogarth — *Woman and Child*

Plate 592

CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

William Hogarth — *Miss Mary Edwards*

Plate 593

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

Sir Joshua Reynolds,
1723–1792

Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse

Plate 594

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY
San Marino, California

Sir Joshua Reynolds

Jane, Countess of Harrington

Plate 595

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY
San Marino, California

George Romney, 1734–1802 — *Lady Hamilton in a Straw Hat*

Plate 596

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY

San Marino, California

Sir Joshua Reynolds — *Portrait of Miss Barnard*

Plate 597

BERKSHIRE MUSEUM

Pittsfield, Massachusetts

Sir Henry Raeburn

The Elphinstone Children

Plate 598

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio

Sir Joshua Reynolds *Lady Caroline Howard*

Plate 599

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Thomas Gainsborough, 1727–1788

The Honorable Frances Duncombe

Plate 600

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

John Hoppner, 1758–1810

A Lady of the Townshend Family

Plate 601

TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

Toledo, Ohio

Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1769–1830 *"Pinkie," Sarah Moulton-Barrett*

Plate 602

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY

San Marino, California

Thomas Gainsborough *"The Blue Boy," Jonathan Buttall*

Plate 603

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY

San Marino, California

Sir Thomas Lawrence — *The Calmady Children*

Plate 604. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*

George Romney — *Lady Hamilton*

Plate 605. FRICK COLLECTION, *New York City*

Thomas Gainsborough — *Karl Friedrich Abel*

Plate 606. HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY
San Marino, California

Thomas Gainsborough — *Edward and William Tomkinson*

Plate 607. TAFT MUSEUM, *Cincinnati, Ohio*

Thomas Gainsborough — *Mrs. Richard Brinsley Sheridan*

Plate 608

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

Thomas Gainsborough — *The Cottage Door*

Plate 609

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON ART GALLERY

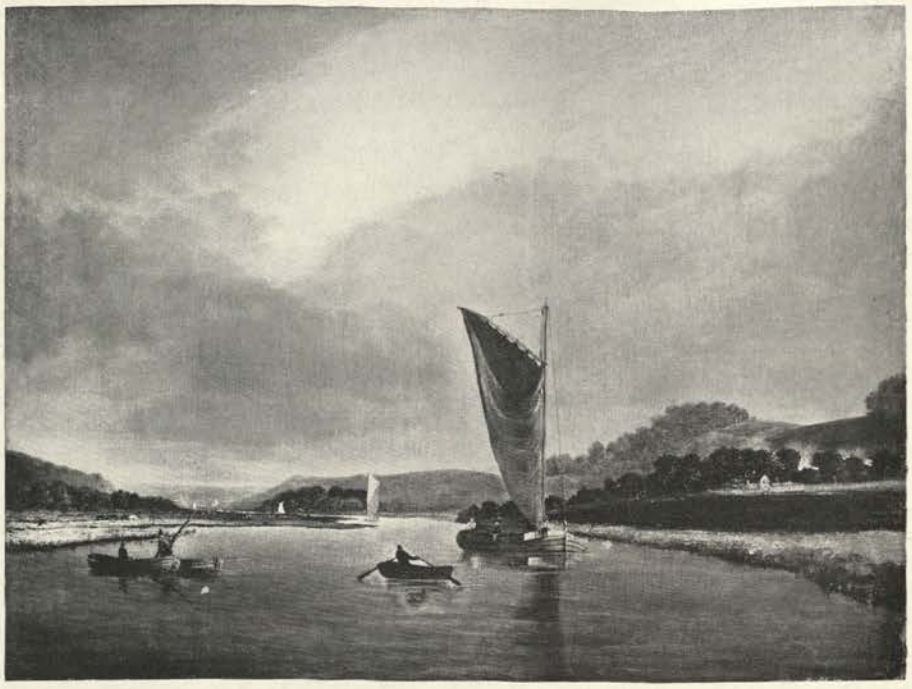
San Marino, California

Thomas Gainsborough — *The Artist's Daughters, Margaret and Mary*

Plate 610

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts



John Crome, 1768–1821 *Hay Barges on the Yare*

Plate 611

PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

John Constable, 1776–1837 *The Old Hampstead Heath*

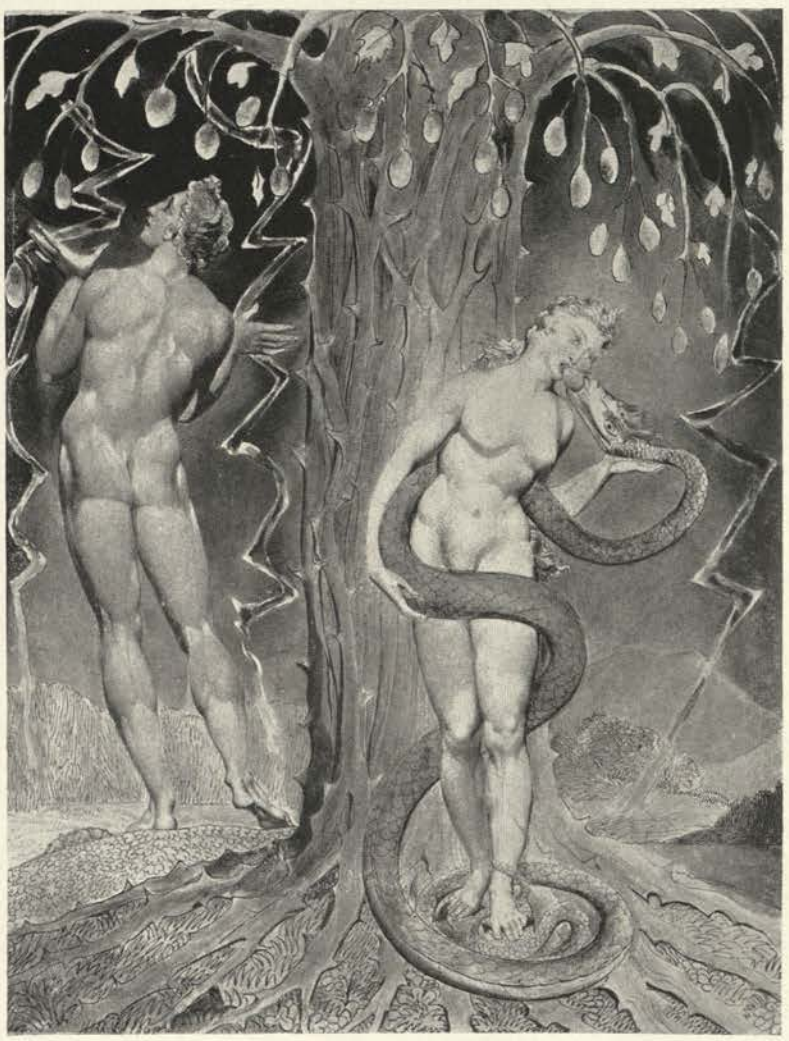
Plate 612. NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, *Ottawa, Canada*

William Blake, 1757–1827

Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery. Drawing

William Blake

Creation of Eve ("Paradise Lost").



William Blake

Temptation of Eve ("Paradise Lost").

Plates 613, 614 and 615. MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

J. M. W. Turner, 1775–1851

Grand Canal, Venice

Plate 616

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City

John Constable

Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's Garden

Plate 617

FRICK COLLECTION

New York City

XVI
American School

EARLY Colonial life in America is characterized by those colorful accounts of Indian strife and pioneer heroism which, combined with tales of struggling farmers, indentured apprentices and pious Puritans have been retold to generations of school children. Too poor generally to have brought along more than household and farm necessities, busy with laying new social and religious foundations, anxious to walk with God, the colonists possessed neither the leisure nor the urge compelling them to cultural attainments. Their religion insisted that except for the sober necessities of life, all else was vanity. Life was to be lived in a way that might help to decide whether one was destined for a hereafter of blessings or the eternal hell-fire described with such fervor by Puritan theologians. For the rest, life was eminently a practical business and in such rough and ready social climate there could be but scant room for luxuries. As the local economy grew more stable and secure, however, the American colonists began to encourage the "useful arts," and the craft of the cabinetmaker, the silversmith and the potter produced much that was handsome, if soberly restrained. A few wealthy people of culture had brought some oil paintings with them from abroad, but of these minor portraits there were hardly enough to be generally seen, or if seen, to be highly instructive or inspiring to the native American. In short, the lack of fine paintings was no serious loss; for there could hardly have been much stimulation or encouragement to artistic pursuits in a pioneer society which was given over to religious zeal and as yet retained few cultural contacts with the Old World.

Yet as early as 1641, one William Read painted the first known American portrait, that of Richard Bellingham, Governor of Maryland. The fact is that while the Church objected to ornamentation that smacked of "popery," the colonists were ready enough to have their likenesses painted: a pioneer had, after all, a justifiable right to be preserved in the memory of his descendants. As a result we have today as many as four hundred of these "primitive" portraits which were painted in America before 1700. Since decoration or riotous color would be sheer vanity, the sombre Puritan invariably had himself done in a costume and atmosphere of austere gloom. Without doubt the most delightful of these is *Mrs. Freake and Baby Mary* at Worcester, Massachusetts.

As time went on the pioneers prospered. Immigrant artists now ventured to make their way across from Europe, painting in the same style of popular portraiture

prevalent in their native lands. In addition to the pioneer and Puritan, the slowly growing class of wealthy traders and shipowners, the mercantile class that later insisted on America as a national entity—this group which was to precipitate the Revolutionary War—wished to have its gentility and affluence recorded on canvas. When John Smibert arrived from Edinburgh in 1729 and settled at Boston, there was already a number of wealthy patrons anxious to have their likeness limned. *Dean Berkeley and His Entourage* (Plate 619), however, were actually visitors from England.

And so arose the native portrait artist, sometimes trained by the visiting foreign artists, more often like Robert Feke (Plate 620), unschooled and self-taught. But for these painters the eternal problem of earning a livelihood while answering a call to art was a particularly serious one and not very readily solved. Visiting artists like Gustavus Hesselius who had arrived from Sweden in 1711, and Jeremiah Theus (1719-1774) from Switzerland, besides their instructional work, had to turn to sign and coach painting, house decoration and carpentering. Meanwhile the backwoods native, as he developed his own talents, produced a wealth of primitive portraiture. He, too, between occasional commissions, was forever forced to other means of earning his bread. Those stories which have come down to us recounting the bitter frustration of these artisans, the absurd suspicions of the common folk and the dogged persistence of our pioneer portraitists who carried on as watchmakers and glaziers, have their tragic as well as their comic aspects. By 1750, with a tradition of a hundred years of portrait painting, a tentative native art was slowly emerging. By far the greatest direct inspiration throughout was that of England which in turn had imported its influences from the Continent. But where English portraiture, on the dominant example of Van Dyck, cultivated a certain sentimentality of elegance, American portraits as a type remained simple and straightforward—the faces severe, the bodies stiff and angular. Examples of these are to be seen in almost every large museum or historical society in the country.

The foremost colonial artist, John Singleton Copley, was born in 1737. By this time the prosperity of the shipping trade had softened the austerity of New England, the Church had relaxed its discipline; the ships had been bringing in fripperies and fineries, laces, brocades, silks, satins and powdered wigs. Copley's stepfather, in addition to painting which he taught the boy, held dancing classes, "a frivolous and licentious pastime" which scandalized the Boston Elders. Copley himself was precocious. Before the age of sixteen he had made remarkable portraits of his own family. His talents early recognized, he sent pictures to London for exhibition and shortly became the popular and prosperous portraitist to the famous and self-consciously wealthy burghers of New England. A keen observer of character, honest and direct, his strongest talent was that of rendering faces faithfully, often too

literally for the sitter's vanity. His work was painstaking, generally requiring fifteen or sixteen sittings for the head alone—a task which must have irritated the subject considerably. When his work was done he had presented his country with a gallery of the makers of the nation: famous officials, church dignitaries, judges, merchants, wealthy townspeople with their wives and daughters. "They illustrate the men and women of the day, when pride, decorum and elegance, sometimes ungraceful but always impressive, marked the dress and air of the higher classes." Typical of these are *Mrs. Joseph Warren* (Plate 621) and *Mrs. Seymour Fort* (Plate 622). To see New England of the Revolutionary period, one has only to examine Copley's gallery of faithfully reproduced men and manners. With the war impending, and upon invitation from Benjamin West, he left America in 1774 and was later joined by his family in London, where he became a fashionable artist. His insistence on painting historical scenes which few cared to buy brought him to final poverty at his death in 1815.

Benjamin West (1738-1820) was born in the Quaker village of Springfield, Pennsylvania, a year after Copley. His first lessons in color he is said to have got from some Indian neighbors who decorated themselves with various paints of their own making. Since England offered by far the greater advantage to artists, he very early settled in London where his kindness and charming personality won him great popularity. In due time he received commissions from the king, made a small fortune and helped found the Royal Academy of which he became President in 1792. Despite the fact that the universal demand in London was for portraiture, like Copley, West turned to historical and religious themes and covered prodigious canvases with allegorical subjects which were heavily freighted with moral truths (Plate 627). As a result, West's greatest contribution lay in the fact that for half a century young American artists flocked to his studio for training, advice and often food and shelter. Invariably they found him generous, hospitable, ready to serve his fellow artists and countrymen (Plate 628).

Matthew Pratt (1734-1805) has in his famous group portrait *The American School at West's Studio* typified the situation, for the roster of West's students and guests amounts to a catalogue of colonial artists: John Trumbull (1756-1843), whose *Bunker Hill* (painted in West's studio), *Declaration of Independence,* and *Death of General Montgomery* (Plate 632) are among those vast historical canvases familiar to all school children; Ralph Earl (1751-1801), who was in his own day famous for those brilliant miniature portraits generally better modeled than the *President Andrew Jackson* (Plate 634); Thomas Sully (1783-1872), whose prolific brush achieved nothing finer than his *Portrait of the Artist Painting His Wife* (Plate 635); Edward G. Malbone (*Self Portrait,* Plate 629) of whose ingratiating miniatures it was said that "no woman ever lost any beauty from his hands."

Between Copley and Stuart, the outstanding artist was Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827) another student at West's studio, who tried his hand at clay modeling, soldiering, miniature painting, dental mechanics, taxidermy and other odd pursuits. His was the first Museum of Natural History and Art (Plate 630) where along with paintings he displayed whatever fantastic curios might attract a crowd. Such portrait studies as *William Buckland* (Plate 623) are clearly stated and hardly inferior to the best of Copley's. Visiting George Washington at Valley Forge, he painted a number of soldiers and some fourteen portraits of the general himself.

That cultured tradition of the eighteenth century which flourished as a direct offshoot of the English social and literary aristocracy was not to maintain its hold on the American colonies. The end of the Revolution was to see new changes wrought in the lives of the American people for, the war over, the cultured and aristocratic, largely pro-British, found it expedient to leave the country and with them went a good part of the fine manners, the gracious living, as well as the Tory political spirit. In their place arose the wealthy lower- or middle-class merchants who had done successful trading and enterprise. And now, in the absence of the old transplanted culture there arose a glorification of wealth without the old manners and charm. The serious business of remaking the political machinery of a new country and, finally, the beginning of a new industrial expansion, absorbed the interests and energies of the young nation.

For years the artists had looked forward to the Revolution as a new life-giving reorganization of the country in which the arts would flourish. They were doomed to disappointment. With opportunism creeping into politics, despite the lofty ideals so fervently advanced by the revolutionists, and in the absence of art collections, exhibitions, or schools of art—the meagre art beginnings after almost two centuries could only decline.

It cannot be said that there was no effort to overcome these adverse conditions. Charles Willson Peale had made two unsuccessful attempts to organize a school of art in Philadelphia. It was he who helped found the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1805, "to promote the cultivation of the Fine Arts in the United States of America by introducing correct and elegant copies from the fine works of the first masters in Sculpture and Painting, and by thus facilitating the access to such standards and also by conferring moderate but honorable premiums and otherwise assisting studies and exciting the efforts of artists, gradually to enfold, enlighten and invigorate the talents of our countrymen." Robert Fulton of steamboat fame lent his aid by offering some European paintings for the exhibition. In 1810 some Philadelphia artists organized the Society of Artists of the United States which included an art school and held exhibitions. This lasted for several years, and in 1808 a short-lived American Academy of Art was founded in New York. But these attempts were mere eddies in a counter-current of disinterest. There were as yet no great

accumulations of wealth such as later prompted the purchase and importation of European masterpieces. The federal and state governments were too absorbed in their own experiments in political policy to pay much attention to art. As a result there was no official art encouragement through commissions beyond the occasional order for the portrait of a public figure.

With patronage scarce, the artist had to look to other means of earning a livelihood. Here we have the typical examples of artists like Robert Fulton, who finally won fame for his submarine and steamboat projects, and Samuel F. B. Morse (Plate 631) who finally forsook art for telegraphic and other inventions. But one American master appeared on the scene—and fled to Europe.

Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), the most famous American portrait painter, represents the end of the transplanted British traditions of the eighteenth century. Gifted, witty, handsome but self-willed, Stuart turned out in his lifetime some thousand portraits of which several may be said to rank with the finest produced by the English masters. Born in Rhode Island in 1755, like Copley he too was producing remarkable drawings at the age of thirteen. After an instructive visit to Scotland where he was stranded almost penniless, he returned home to find himself besieged by commissions for portraits; but he soon tired of the provincial American life and longed for London as later artists were to sigh for Paris. Finally, just as the American Revolution broke, he hurried to London and two years later, being penniless again, visited West's studio for instruction and aid. Fortunately the strong-willed pupil borrowed nothing from West's technique, but continued in his own manner. It was not long before he became a great success there. Unlike Copley, Stuart worked very fast; his brush was a facile one and earned him a large income which was squandered on a very fashionable apartment and fast living, so that after six years he found himself obliged to leave England in order to escape his creditors. Arriving in Ireland, he took up his old habits, working at remarkable speed and spending his earnings even faster. Meantime news got abroad of the hero back home, General Washington. A strong desire to paint the celebrated patriot, supported by a restless spirit and the need for an open market, caused the artist to return to New York in 1792. In 1794 he persuaded Washington to sit for a portrait.

Stuart had already painted his share of great statesmen, dignitaries and nobles. Himself a great wit and conversationalist, he entertained and charmed his sitters, including George III and the Prince of Wales. His remarkable gift as a story-teller put his sitters at their ease and allowed them to reveal their natural self which he lost no time in conveying to the canvas. But in the presence of Washington, Stuart was overawed, stiff and ill at ease, and he did an inferior study of the great general, the Vaughn portrait, so-called after the original owner. Stuart later succeeded in getting Washington to sit for him again, and this time produced the unfinished but

most popular *Atheneum Portrait,* showing the left side of the face (Plate 637). In later years he made many copies of this, as did many another artist who wished to earn a sure dollar, for portraits of Washington were naturally in constant demand. Another portrait, full length, Stuart later did for Lord Landsdowne.

Neither the costume nor the pose of the sitter interested Stuart especially; his central interests were concerned almost exclusively with the head, or rather the features of his subject. Where Copley and Peale painted portraits that were sometimes inclined to be stiff and unyielding, Stuart's work carries the supple glow of life, faces are vibrant in the play of light and atmosphere which clearly envelops them. With keen insight and extraordinary craftsmanship, he rendered accurate and sensitive studies of many people of the generation which saw America born. For some sixteen years after the War of 1812 he worked on, thoroughly content to have Britain claim him as one of her own artists, and indeed his early portraits like that of *James Ward* (Plate 625) were in the brightest "salon" manner. It was singularly appropriate, then, that the year of his death should mark both the election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, and the turn of a new era.

The story of the victory of Andrew Jackson and the jubilant rioting of the masses is well known. The incident of the girl who sat down on a White House chair and exclaimed, "It's mine!" was significant of the new spirit. The old traditions which Stuart had represented were definitely dead; the attendant ills of a new sort of government arose: the spoils system.

By the time America had come to recognize its political strength it was in the throes of physical growing pains and economic confusion. The rapid development of machinery, the vast influx of immigrants, the westward movement toward new land and wealth, the smoke and filth of mines and factories took the country by storm. The nation was on the move, leaving the old, seeking the new. The product of the machine replaced the handicrafts; speed, wealth, comfort, material success became shibboleths. The economic conflicts of three regions: the South, East and West constitute a dramatic story of struggle and tentative victory. Adding to the general confusion, cries for social, political and educational reform were now heard. The demand for more schools, free education, universities, newspapers, books and magazines was rapidly supplied. But where was the artist? If he had found leisure where might he find guiding traditions and techniques, or sympathetic encouragement in a land whose ancestral ties had been so recently ruptured? At home there was little inspiration or guidance in such imported art as was to be found. In a vain attempt to regain the main current of British art traditions, young American artists made their way abroad only to drift about on the outer edge of an alien stream.

John Vanderlyn (1776-1852) made his way to Paris, where Jacques Louis David directed his interests toward classical landscapes and historical themes painted in

the grand style. On his return to America he exhibited the *Ariadne* (Plate 633) which was greeted by a denunciatory uproar on the part of shocked prudes everywhere. Vanderlyn's keenest disappointment came with the realization that his countrymen, unlike the Parisians who had admired his *Ariadne* and honored his *Marius,* were utterly indifferent to his compositions, and he died a bitterly frustrated artist.

Ultimately the economic conflicts were to be resolved in the Civil War, but for the period at least between the War of 1812 and the domestic struggle which established America as once and for all an autonomous nation, there arose a strong spirit of nationalism. The bewildered artists who wandered back from Europe and those who had stayed at home turned to the American landscape for their inspiration. Portrait painting, especially with the development of photography by 1860, had declined both in America and Britain. The advent of Napoleon and the subsequent upheaval on the continent, the death of West and the decline of his influence in London, the severed political ties with England, these changes had forced the American artist to his homeland. Here the gradually yielding and blossoming earth, once subdued, could now be loved. Bryant was writing of the poetry of nature, Irving of the American scene and character. And now there arose a group of artists whose intention it was to interpret the native landscape.

The father of this Hudson River School, as it was called, was Thomas Cole. A man of deep religious and poetic cast, he found inspiration in the wild nature of his adopted land. Born in England in 1801, he was brought by his family to Ohio where his father set up a wallpaper factory. Thomas one day met a wandering German artist and was inspired to try his own hand at painting. He made his own brushes, borrowed some paint from a near-by chair factory and set out to make his fortune as a portrait painter. With empty pockets he strayed to Philadelphia where he copied pictures at the Academy. Finally he earned enough to permit a voyage up the Hudson River Valley to the Catskills, where he sketched from nature. An assortment of virile canvases showing typical American scenes of wild grandeur, the glory of mountain, forest and stream, soon elicited the enthusiastic acclaim of his countrymen. Americans thrilled to these grandiose and romantic versions of their native land. But in time Cole took to moralizing, as had Benjamin West, painting mystic and fantastic allegories which, though they were highly popular with a moral-loving public, only served to dilute his art. It was his earlier work that became the general background and inspiration for the work of Homer Martin and George Inness.

Asher B. Durand served with Cole to establish the Hudson River School. But where Cole was mystic and romantic, Durand was naturalistic. Though the latter possessed very little notion of composition, he was meticulously exact in tran-

scribing American scenes, the foliage, soil, texture of rocks, with a realism almost scientific. With nature yielding its rich treasures, the people now found time to delight in the panorama of the majestic Hudson and the mountain ranges, the favorite subjects of this school of literal copyists.

The break from portrait painting had come at last, and the work of Frederic Church, who was a follower of Cole, was given a delighted reception. His vast canvases of magnificent scenes—*The Catskills* (Plate 644), Niagara, the Andes—thrilled the American beholders by their novelty and grandeur. The dramatic atmospheric effects of rainbows and sunsets and startling reflections were exactly the sort of thing the public could relish. However limited in quality, this represented the first art that was truly inspired by the American scene.

In addition to the landscapists, artists like Henry Inman (1801-1846) and William Sidney Mount (1807-1868) turned to the picturesque genre scenes of their native towns, portraying the children at their games *(Mumble the Peg)* or men gathered about the local post office reading the day's news dispatch—scenes full of local charm, the sights and sounds of the new "American way of life." Eastman Johnson (1824-1906) was especially successful in his solid, well-drawn local characters and in scenes of family and folk-life such as *Corn Husking* and *Old Kentucky Home* (Plate 643). The finest of these genre painters was Caleb Bingham (1811-1897) who turned to the colorful river-boat life of the Mississippi and the political scenes of the frontier. The *Shooting for the Beef* (Plate 645) was animated in the recent motion picture "Sergeant York." John James Audubon (1785-1851) devoted his remarkably vivid brushwork to painting the birds of America. There were others, folk artists anonymous and known, like the Quaker preacher Edward Hicks (1780-1849) or Joseph Pickett, who are typical of an astonishing lineage of unschooled and self-taught "primitive" painters analogous to France's Rousseau *le douanier,* painters of innocent visions, legends and local color (Plates 641, 642), evidence of a remarkable indigenous art spirit.

Much was yet needed, however, to create an environment helpful to artists. Collections were growing in size and kind. Schools and art organizations were being fostered. William Morris Hunt returned to America in 1855 bringing with him the romanticism of the Barbizon school. America unfortunately looked not for a simple lyric but sentimental narratives in painting, so that Hunt was generally unappreciated, but his teaching and influence on collectors and students were a boon to later artists. It was only after the Civil War and the extensive financial accumulations of the industrialists, that art patronage afforded America its first chance at rivalry with Europe. Fortunately those returning artists who had learned to appreciate what was generally fine in Europe now served at least in some measure to direct American art patrons to the better pictures abroad. During the latter half of the nineteenth

century, with the production of brilliant works from the brushes of Inness, Whistler, Homer, Ryder and Eakins, American art began to come into its own.

But this development involved a slow and circumambient progress. Within vivid memory of men who cannot yet be called old, the robber-barons and a clique of rugged individualists after the Civil War created personal empires and dynasties by herding vast populations of immigrants into mines, factories and forests, tearing vast wealth out of the earth. It was an era marked by unlimited lust for land, natural resources, transportation and power utilities, and by the new industries created overnight out of countless mechanical inventions. Here was a period of intrigue in power-politics, of unbridled monopolies and the ruthless maneuvering for positions of control. Financial wizards and blackguards rose out of obscurity to social and political eminence. These were the people who built themselves vast and endlessly ugly mansions which they filled with monstrous furniture "whose only excuse was its cost." On the walls they hung prodigious landscapes or sentimental allegories by Bierstadt or Frederick Church, alternating these with solid, impressively dull portraits of their family. Yet out of this class, too, a saving remnant were to allow their tastes to develop and their interests to be guided to significant paintings in Europe.

That an esthete of James McNeill Whistler's calibre should have been born into an era so plainly vulgar, so clamorous with the base sound of coin, and begrimed with the soot of drab factories, is proof of the unfeeling perversity of nature. What so delicately balanced a spirit might have accomplished in the American army for which his parents intended him need not be conjectured, for Whistler early made it clear that he was destined for the arts. Being sent to Paris he studied for a time in a formal manner but soon found his inspiration quickened by the work of Courbet and Manet who in turn directed him to their own source—Velasquez. Again these studies were superseded in interest by the decorative charm of the newly discovered Japanese prints. Whistler now became convinced that modeling and aerial perspective, the three-dimensional painting which had been the glory of Western art since the Renaissance, were actually developments foreign to the essential nature of art which was symbolic in its origins and purely decorative rather than plastic. In a series of *Nocturnes* (1865) he set himself up as a composer in paints, concerned with melodic patterns and tonal harmonies rather than plastic realism. Here, in short, was an American reaching beyond the art founts of Europe into Asia, but without the Oriental temperament or the creative understanding that could come only with deep study. Whistler thus became an artist without a country, nauseated by the dollar credo of America, contemptuous of the Englishman's simpering literary themes in paint, and able to tender only a vague semi-allegiance to the East whose traditions he did not quite understand. His only resort, then, was to become an eccentric whose

scintillating wit earned him mastery at "The Gentle Art of Making Enemies." His *Nocturnes* and *Symphonies* are harmonies of the most delicate tone, all mist and vapor with little modeling either by way of line or color contrast. Some, like *Old Battersea Bridge,* were eminently successful impressions. Portraits like that of the *Little White Girl,* of *Miss Alexander* or the celebrated *Thomas Carlyle* were extraordinary enough to command the admiration of the Impressionists. His *Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (Louvre) became the most famous American *émigré* canvas in Europe. But for the most part his linear arabesques and gilded decorations were not wholly substantial or even recognizable art. However much these iridescent effusions resembled some of Turner's canvases with the sun-drama omitted, they irritated the latter's champion, Ruskin, and provoked his acerb reference to Whistler as a coxcomb who had the impudence to ask two hundred guineas to fling a pot of paint in the public's face. Whistler sued for damages, but, in addition to the jeers and laughter of the English public, won only a farthing at court. The heavy costs of the trial soon forced him into bankruptcy. If the fame of his vaporous tonal "arrangements" has diminished considerably in a generation that values art for its plasticity, his importance as an admonition to the academicians, as a champion of the painterly rather than the photographic arts, cannot be neglected. The largest collection of his paintings and masterful etchings, as well as his notorious "Peacock Room," is to be seen in the Freer Gallery in Washington.

If Gilbert Stuart was annexed by the English for their own, and certainly he considered himself more at home in London; if Whistler fled America and rummaged beyond England herself, as far as the Orient; Winslow Homer (1836-1910) is a product of the total American environment, the finest exponent of his native landscape. Homer owed almost nothing directly to foreign influences, having been schooled in a lithographer's shop and graduated from the ranks of magazine illustration at Boston (1859), and then New York, where he studied for a time at the National Academy of Design. His final training as Civil War correspondent for Harper's "Weekly" led him to local genre scenes like *Snap the Whip* (Plate 657), and Negro and frontier life. They are scenes at once more rigorous and more indigenous than even Caleb Bingham's. From these it was but a step to the landscapes he now produced: strikingly delineated areas broadly treated, with an eye sensitive to the selection of salient elements, and a brush faithful to the idiom of the visual text rather than ploddingly literal in the manner of his Hudson River predecessors. The result was at once recognizable and refreshing, for in this objective but pointed restatement of the scene the artist's sensitive eye had counted for much. Yet if Homer was a conscious artist he was also typically native in his responses, matter-of-fact, unreflective, yet instinctively engrossed in the drama and spectacle of nature's

splendidly savage aspects. His appeal is made not in terms of the grandiose but rather of the isolated close-up view, a rock ledge overhanging an incoming roll of pounding wave; a fox bounding to safety, etc. Respecting the character of the scenes, Homer does not care to force her tones or patterns; his task is restricted to that of selection while for the rest, "When I have selected a thing carefully I paint it exactly as it appears." On nature's own terms then he offers such a fury of storm as *Northeaster,* or the relentless gnawing of sea on coast, or trees strained to their roots by a tropical gale in the Bahamas, or canoeists in Canada shooting the rapids, men wrestling with the elements at sea as in *Fog Warning* (Plates 650, 651). In 1884 he settled down at Prout's Neck on the Maine coast where he devoted himself to nature's eternal aspects, content to immerse his identity in that greater personality whose untamed moods he studied and recorded with faithful and intense devotion. Without doubt the finest watercolors of the nineteenth century are those Winslow Homer did in Florida and the West Indies (Plate 656), which often catch the spirit of locale even more truly than his oils.

Winslow Homer's art represented a liberating response to the niggling realism of the Hudson River painters. Other landscapists like Homer D. Martin and A. H. Wyant, emulating the Barbizon school, sought by qualities of tone and atmosphere to express an idyllic poetry. It was George Inness (1825-1894) more than any other who infused this emotional element into his studies of nature. Largely self-taught, he trained his eye in the museums of Europe and made a practical study of landscape engravings by the great masters which he kept beside him on his sketching trips. The breadth of conception in *Lake Albano* (Plate 646) is evidence of his careful studies in Italy. But it was the practice and aims of the Barbizon painters that most immediately touched his own efforts. Declaring that "the true beauty of a work consists in the beauty of the sentiment or emotion which it inspires," he determined to paint a heightened visual poetry. By laying heavy stress on a prevailing tone of atmosphere which embraces the earth, he produced canvases in which the "light penetrates grass and treetops and the world seems to throb and shiver under the kiss of the sun." In later canvases the substantial elements are gradually subordinated so far as to become little more than blurred images while the tinted haze seems to envelop only a nebulous dream. Thus within the same generation, in the work of Homer and Inness, the diametrical traditions of *plein-air* representation—the realistic and subjective—were being essayed.

In the work of Albert Pinkham Ryder the native landscape school is further extended to embrace the ultimate of mystic and romantic representation. Ryder, like Poe, borrows the meagerest essentials of objective form, a sail, a looming cove, a Greek façade, which he enshrouds in the pallid light of his own brooding spirit.

Ghostly galleons like *The Flying Dutchman, Jonah and the Whale, Toilers of the Sea,* ride the heaving waves as a fugitive moon slips through diaphanous clouds, the finest cirrus formations in American art. These are sights bred in the dank atmosphere of Cape Cod and the abandoned fishing coves of Ryder's New Bedford haunts—regions not unfamiliar to Melville and Poe.

A solitary figure whose eyes grew ulcerous in the sun, he wandered abroad at night making his way among deserted streets or wharves in the light of the moon. Thus in a nation that glorified surface appearances and made a fetish of numerals and facts, Ryder turned to the world of the visionary, projecting a series of romantic land- and seascapes charged with that hushed movement that accompanies the supernatural. By means of silhouettes which are yet subtly modeled and plastic he evokes a three-dimensional world as devoid of sound as it is full of portents. *Macbeth's Witches, Death on a Pale Horse* (Plate 648), the *Temple of the Mind* (Plate 647) are big with literary symbolism, and Ryder has not hesitated to compose verses to clarify his pictures, for he is not quite certain that the painted visions reflect those of his inner eye. His own efforts, he says, remind him of the inchworm, "who will crawl up a leaf or twig and there, clinging to the very end, revolve in the air, feeling for something, to reach something."

Absorbed in reaching out for the intangible, Ryder saw little and cared less about the world of art chatter or the work being elsewhere accomplished. Satisfied as he said with "a roof, a crust of bread and his easel," most of his adult years were spent in a single bare room in Greenwich Village, a recluse married to the palette, the easel and the modest canvases which crowded his cot.

In an endeavor to secure an opalescent, enamel-like finish on his canvases, Ryder experimented with varnishes, overpainting and glazing, building up the milky-greenness of his seas, sometimes reworking a painting for years. Despairing patrons called in vain for unfinished canvases; of one who was gradually learning patience the artist dryly remarked, "Lately he has been very nice about it, only comes around once a year or so." As a result of his everlasting experiments, his canvases are now badly cracked and fading, despite the fact that his last twenty years were spent repairing the old, rather than painting new canvases.

Though artists like Homer and Ryder were able to find their fullest satisfaction in the native scene, gradually earning for America the respect of European artists and critics, the main current of ideas emanating from France continued to absorb American art students. The example of the Barbizon school, of Rousseau, Millet and Diaz, had counted heavily with artists like William Morris Hunt whose later influence on American collectors and students was to be widely reflected in our galleries and schools. John La Farge (1835-1910) early joined relatives in France

who were active leaders in the intellectual movements of the day. Possessed of a brilliant mind, La Farge was doubtless the most cultured artist of his day; a learned painter of portraits and landscapes, versatile, eclectic, he shared his varied enthusiasms by writing and lecturing on art. Steeped in the formal traditions of the Italian "grand style," he executed some highly decorative murals, the first important examples in America (Trinity Church, Boston; Church of the Ascension, New York). Though they appear studied and are lacking in vigor, there is no denying their splendid harmony and balance.

The school of Munich, too, had its influence on artists like William Merritt Chase and Frank Duveneck (1848-1919), the latter avidly studying the work of Hals, Rembrandt and Velasquez and borrowing their technique—painting in constructional planes and disposing masses directly, with abrupt vigorous brushstrokes. It was an astonished and excited Boston in 1875 that gazed at these everyday native faces looming out of the impenetrable background that had come to be associated primarily with the old masters. Little less than magical appeared these brilliant patchwork patterns of color which added up to wonderfully spontaneous characterizations like the *Whistling Boy* (Plate 665).

Despite certain technical deficiencies, Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), having left us a gallery of individuals, the most sensitively and clearly defined in our art, is commonly rated the finest figure painter in America. There can be no doubt that he is the most faithful recorder of personalities exposed rather than posed in the strong light of visual truth. With singular intensity, omitting the claptrap of social rank, the frills of costume or the benefits of pleasing highlights, Eakins reduces his sitters to the common denominator of the citizen in a democracy. There is neither grandiloquence nor idealization nor the super-virility of the noble Italian in his portraits. These are average men and women in a republic, engaged in sports or intellectual pursuits, surgical operations, games of chess, concerts with the zither or the cello. These are people full of foibles and prejudices who must one day learn to control and guide their own political and personal destinies. In such a setting there can be little room for glamorous make-believe.

Eakins set about deliberately securing the most complete training for his career, attending regular classes in anatomy at medical college, and spending five years at the Pennsylvania Academy. For two subsequent years he studied at the studio of Gérôme. In Spain he examined the realism of Ribera and Velasquez whose influence was immediately apparent in his brushwork. His return was marked by canvases which reflected his study of draughtsmanship in France and that scientific knowledge of anatomy which slowed up and rendered less impressionistic the technique he had studied in the work of the Spanish masters.

With a thoroughly detached realism he now concentrated on the heart of his

subjects whom he set down with penetrating insight, seizing upon a governing individual characteristic or mood and carefully grafting it on a solid muscular framework. One of his finest canvases, the Gross Clinic (1875) at Jefferson Medical College, shows a medical class attending a surgical operation and accompanying lecture. Here is human fate in the hands of a skilled intellectual. The composition—whose title might be "Science Militant"—including the portrait of Dr. Gross who dominates the scene, constitutes one of the few masterpieces of art produced in America.

With such keen probity and uncompromising realism Eakins' public, eager to exhibit their expensive charm and social position, could hardly be in sympathy. They flocked instead to the salon-studio of Sargent, who eloquently and instantly touched off their be-ribboned beauty. Fortunately Eakins was indifferent to sales or commissions and merely stacked up his canvases at home. It must have been a relaxation from the strenuous exercise of character portrayal to turn to those genre scenes of sports, including boxing *(Salutat),* rowing (Plate 660), swimming, chess playing and musical themes like the *Pathetic Song* and *The Cello Player* (Plate 662). It is not sentimental genre or mere local color, but the intellectual observation of human activity in terms only of the scene itself. For the rest, Eakins turned to portraits of his friends or family, working slowly, with infinite pains, documenting his observations with salient details, so that not only the face but the entire body, as in *The Thinker,* becomes highly expressive of the quality of the mind. Inevitably such faithful portraits caught something of the pathos and the innate nobility of certain of his contemporaries, and while Eakins never consciously added charm, rather, as Isham said, neglecting "the beauties and graces of painting," there is nevertheless an odd quality in his subjects that inescapably derives from the mauve decades in which they lived. If these were decades in which the artist was constrained to labor in seclusion and virtual obscurity, the present critical trend is sharply headed toward the conviction that he is America's foremost artist.

Born of American parents in Florence, John Singer Sargent (1856-1925) turned youthful prodigy in the studio of Carolus Duran in Paris, where his remarkable ability to jot down an exact likeness of his subject with incredible economy of brushwork became an immediate legend among his fellow students. The dash and brilliance, the very ease with which he executed his portraits were precisely the qualities cherished by those who had fled Eakins' studio, or refused or kicked in his canvases. At London, where Sargent spent most of his time, he supplied that elegant portraiture which had been demanded of Lawrence and Romney, and the general opinion was current that he ranked only below Reynolds himself. But the fatal facility that had vitiated the work of his English predecessors was to corrupt the art of Sargent, for where Velasquez or Hals had used the technique of rapid brushwork with deep

sincerity in an effort to secure a vivid but solid record of optical facts, Sargent merely used his deft facility to cover the profound emptiness of his dazzling structures. In short, he sold his brilliant dexterity to his fashionable patrons who adored the insouciance and sparkle with which he caught their best likeness and framed it in the most ingratiating contours. While there was enough suggestion of analysis to satisfy the superficial that these were penetrating studies, actually his readings were commonplace. Nor could there be any saving grace in the knowledge that he was aware of his own superficiality and mocked it, thinking to redeem his integrity when such an effort was really warranted. For having once become enamored of his own deftness and having set forth on this pleasantest of broad highways to unlimited success, the technique and manner were not easily discarded. Only rarely, as to some extent in the *Robert Louis Stevenson* (Plate 653), did he seem to respond to a choice subject and paint with feeling. For the rest, that fame which once linked the continents with the voice of his universal acclaim has since dwindled to little more than a resounding echo.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, Impressionism, based on the credo enunciated in Manet's dictum: "The principal person in the painting is the light," had taken hold on all Europe and America. At a time when local artists had begun to offer excellent art instruction in America, the overpowering tide of influence again swept the native students out to Paris. While artists like Hunt, La Farge, Chase and Duveneck among others were bringing back from Europe cultivated tastes, refined perceptions, and stimulating techniques, contributing these to the current of instruction and the development of art collections, the new style was fast gaining respectability. Eakins was meanwhile absorbed in his own solid achievements, teaching his careful methods at the Pennsylvania Academy and the National Academy of Design in New York. But another group, that of Robert Henri, was to incorporate his realism within the revolutionary new doctrines and methods, and paint with a vigor that still vitally influences American art.

An earlier set of eager experimenters, Theodore Robinson, Childe Hassam, J. Alden Weir, turned to Paris for their instruction and participated in varying degrees of *plein-airism* and Impressionism, using a warm palette and occasionally achieving brilliant harmonies of colored light. Perhaps the ablest of these Impressionists was John Twachtman (1853-1902) who, in canvases like *Summer* (Plate 652) clarified with his fine draughtsmanship the blurred efforts of George Inness' Barbizon pieces, and by his teaching contributed heavily to the break from photographic realism on the one hand, and vaporous vistas on the other. The foremost Impressionist by international repute is Mary Cassatt (1845-1926). Born of a wealthy, cultured family in Pittsburgh, she spent several years studying at the Pennsylvania Academy before venturing to Paris. After a period of study and travel,

largely in Italy (Correggio), Spain (Velasquez) and Flanders (Rubens) she settled down in Paris where she discovered her masters in Manet and Degas. The latter's figure drawing and visual approach were especially to be echoed in her work which constantly touches on the theme of feminine youth (Plate 659), or mother-and-child activities (Plate 658), subjects which she invariably handles with wholesome sentiment devoid of mawkishness. Degas himself was astonished by her robust draughtsmanship and her thoroughly individual assimilation of French traditions. So thoroughly indeed had she transplanted her roots, that she was content to live in the environs of Paris for over fifty years, during which time she produced a succession of canvases that add up to one of the most solid achievements in American art history. While the theme of her canvases and pastels varies little, it is a mark of her splendid talents that these simple themes, always modestly expressed, are inevitably well planned, with an eye sensitive to attitudes of grace and the most captivating of color harmonies.

Meantime in America the cherished Victorian ideals were being sustained by artists like Abbot Thayer and Thomas Dewing, who glorified womanhood in an assortment of symbolic tableaux and sentimental costumes, or rendered academic versions of "the good, the true, and the beautiful."

In headlong opposition to all academism, Victorianism and fatuous truism, the Robert Henri group, comprised largely of artists trained in the realistic school of newspaper illustration, alive to the scandals exposed by muckraking journalists of Lincoln Steffens' calibre, sensitive to the color and abrupt movement of life in the teeming metropolises—this group set out to paint the local scene, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, as newspapermen saw it. "They were interested in social and political ideas, in the writings of Edward Bellamy and Henry George, the optimistic Americanism of Walt Whitman, the humanitarianism of Tolstoy, the economic and historical theories of Karl Marx, in the labor movement, in the whole complex of late nineteenth century idealism which ranged from old fashioned liberalism to socialism and communism."

This group turned to Manet and to the inspiration of Velasquez and to Goya whose interpretation of an older social scene gave them insight into some of the New World problems. The great quartet of the group consisted of Henri, Sloan, Luks and Bellows. Henri's importance was greatest as a teacher, an inspiring force who recognized art as a means of spiritual communication but who insisted that the motives and the elements of expression, the themes and the arrangements, should rise out of the local scene itself, the current of environment in which the artist breathed and on which he fed his visions and thoughts. It was an acceptance of local materials, an affirmation that whatever the accident of time or social turmoil into which the artist was born, he could cast his light upon the scene in which he found himself and reflect its multicolored aspects so that all might see clearly,

perhaps for the first time, or with fresh intensity. A born teacher full of splendid enthusiasms, he inspired his associates and pupils with his own love of life and a sense of the importance of their work. John Sloan (1871-) reflects the influence of Duveneck and the bright palette of the Impressionists in fine character studies like *Old Clown "Making Up"* (Plate 663) and local scenes *(McSorley's Bar),* while his teaching has extended and reaffirmed the influence of the Henri group. George Luks (1867-1933) re-echoed Sloan's inspiration in such canvases as *The Spielers* (Plate 664), a rare example of mood and movement caught with great feeling. Here is a felicitous instance of that summary execution which in other canvases of Luks rather too often betrays a sense of hurry and impatience. In the sense that he became the most virile interpreter of city life and local color, George Bellows (1882-1925), a pupil of Henri, represented the flowering of the group. The Eakins of a later day, he does not, however, represent the sports contest in its preamble or aftermath *(Salutat),* but at its tensest moment, as in *Club Night* or *Dempsey and Firpo* (Plate 695). It is a masculine art brought home to the people, done with powerful modeling and a sense of color that is highly dramatic. Others in that segment of the Henri group known as "The Eight" were Ernest Lawson (1873-), sensitive painter of Impressionist landscapes (Plate 668); Maurice Prendergast (1861-1924), whose highly personal style produced color-tapestries consisting of dark outlines filled in with broad areas of color-spots; and Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928), whose connection with the group was limited to personal association and occasional exhibitions and who created a classic world of exquisite refinement in which he disposed graceful nude figures, like flowers, in decorative patterns.

Like a delayed bomb suddenly touched off, the epoch-making New York Armory Show of 1913 exploded in full view of the American public with staggering repercussions. Not without a furor of protests from the public, and the raging taunts of bewildered critics and despairing academicians, a new visual language was borne in on the American art scene: Post Impressionism, Cubism, Expressionism were here to stay. New galleries and publications were now established, charged with the task of elucidating the new visual discoveries and tutoring the public taste, carrying on the work which had been first begun by those intrepid photographers, Edward Steichen and Alfred Stieglitz, in the latter's famous 291 Fifth Avenue studio. New York now acquired some of the glow of Paris, and Greenwich Village rejoiced in Freud and the rhapsodies of Bohemia. Gertrude and Leo Stein opened American headquarters or, rather, International House, in Paris, to which artists and writers flocked in the years after the war, resuming discussions of revolutionary doctrines that were fast becoming respectable. In art Max Weber became closely identified with the leading figures in the school of Paris and brought back a brilliant, highly individual and learned style, eclectic but thoroughly assimilated (Plate 696). John

Marin is today accepted as America's foremost watercolorist and by learned critics pronounced a man of authentic genius (Plate 679). Most of these are men approaching or beyond their Biblical tale of years.

Contemporary artists whose works are illustrated must be considered a somewhat random selection among scores of notable painters, many of whom are still developing techniques and maturing styles. For general purposes a very loose grouping of those phases represented by plates will serve to characterize in a general way some of the current interests and trends. Unquestionably the war and its aftermath will have a decided effect even on these men who have already established their fields of interest. In Preston Dickinson (Plate 682) and Charles Sheeler (Plate 681) we encounter superb draughtsmen and colorists who have worked in related fields of abstraction. Sheeler's art is expressed in terms of formal relations, shed of all emotional content, often rivaling the cold beauty of engineering design. Where Maurice Sterne (Plate 693) is attracted to classical forms and relationships in the manner of Derain, Doris Rosenthal (Plate 688) typifies the persistent influence that neighboring Mexico has exerted on an increasing number of young artists. In a broad sense Boardman Robinson (Plate 687), Guy Pène du Bois (Plate 694), George Grosz (Plate 697), Reginald Marsh (Plate 685) are outstanding satirists of both the social scene and that odd hybrid species, the city-dweller. Artists like Thomas Benton (Plate 677), John Steuart Curry (Plate 684), George Biddle (Plate 674), Arnold Blanch (Plate 689), Paul Sample (Plate 673), Grant Wood (Plate 672), Robert Spencer (Plate 675) have reached out into various regions of New England, the South and Middle West for genre scenes and native lore that mirror with striking comprehensiveness the character and quality of American folk. Portraitists who frequently admit into their work a note of romance or a wistful nostalgia are Alexander Brook (Plate 666), Raphael Soyer (Plate 690), Ernest Fiene (Plate 683), Henry Varnum Poor (Plate 678), whose studies offer striking contrasts to those of du Bois or Maurice Sterne, for example. Edward Hopper (Plate 670), Charles Burchfield (Plate 671) and Glenn O. Coleman (Plate 676) are assorted historians of the social scene, frequently set against backgrounds of drab or ugly or pathetically quaint American architecture. Burchfield has painted some fascinating watercolor "character-sketches" of period houses. While many of these artists will undoubtedly retain only a sociological interest when critics come to examine their work half a century hence, there can be little doubt that taken broadly, as a school which now numbers more genuine artists than may be conveniently illustrated or even named, they represent the most virile creative art force outside France.

The art of ancient and pre-Columbian Mexico, to be dealt with in our final chapter, was destined to inspire and nourish immeasurably the twentieth century Renaissance movement which she experienced as the culmination of a series of politi-

cal and economic upheavals. In the agrarian revolution of Mexico (1910-1920) lies the dominant factor influencing modern Mexican art. For, "The artistic liberation of Mexican art," as Miguel Covarrubias states, "runs closely parallel to the social and political liberation of the nation itself, and if the participation of the artists in this struggle had been less wholehearted, perhaps modern Mexican art would never have shown its present freshness and vigor."

The most articulate men of the day, the artists who through their pictured broadsides and verses could reach the great mass of illiterate peoples, now returned from Europe with confirmed revolutionary doctrines. Among others, the spectacular and loquacious Dr. Atl arrived to preach revolt; Diego Rivera and David Siqueiros joined with equal fervor and vehemence, later espousing communism and organizing and editing the revolutionary publication, *El Machete*. At home Orozco worked with Dr. Atl on the newspaper *La Vanguardia,* and painted deeply moving and sombre views of the sordid and depraved life of Mexico's underworld. And now the popular illustrated ballads printed on bright-colored paper were being hawked in the market squares and distributed among rebel brigades, lampooning the war lords and politicians, frequently making bizarre use of the gibbet and that ever-popular hero, the human skeleton, who most effectively pointed up absurd racial foibles, playing his pranks and grinning his macabre comments on popular notions and unpopular political villains.

By the time the professional and exploited revolutionaries had gained the upper hand in government, shortly before the election of General Obregón (1920), they were determined on a cultural revival based on native literary and art forms. Everywhere the popular arts were now formally exhibited, while native dances and folk music festivals were organized for wide public performance. Most significant as a renaissance movement, a series of open-air schools, based on the practice of the Impressionists, was instituted by Alfredo Ramos Martínez, the new Director of the Academy. Emphasizing individual experimentation based on observation of nature, the revolutionary teaching methods have produced astonishing results under the guidance of many of Mexico's best artists, "developing and encouraging in the youth of today the national art of the future."

While Rivera and Siqueiros recognized the validity of their European training they now proposed to dedicate their efforts to a national art steeped in the magnificent ancestral materials and motives which awaited the transforming hand of the living artist. The radical Syndicate of Painters and Sculptors now issued a manifesto (1922), in which they called for a "monumental expression of art because such art is public property." It had been a people's and artists' revolution indeed, for now, with the encouragement of the Minister of Education, José Vasconcelos, the walls of the public buildings were turned over to the foremost artists to be decorated with murals. And it is this revived true fresco art, so eminently suited to the Indian's natural gift for

abstraction and symbolism, that constitutes modern Mexico's greatest contribution to the art of the world. Among others, Diego Rivera, Fernando Leal, Jean Charlot, David Siqueiros decorated the National Preparatory School and the Ministry of Education. Everywhere the walls of churches and public buildings took on the broad sweep of trenchant color, the magnificent roll of rhythmic lines and eye-filling contours—all tremendously moving as they related for the people the epic of their ancestry and the colossal drama of the struggle still being waged.

Foremost among the radical artists was Diego Rivera who, for a time, especially after his visit to Moscow and the *cause célèbre* of the destruction of his murals at Radio City in New York (he had inserted a rather minor portrait of Lenin), symbolized the revolutionary doctrine in art. In acres of murals he excoriated the bloated plutocrats, the sniveling parasites and winking hypocrites, documenting his narrative sequences with portrait studies of particular figures or types engaged in banqueting or surrounded by symbols of wealth and gluttony, while elsewhere the barefoot peasant staggered under fearsome weights, or with his family sat around a bare table with a crust of bread; or again, the sanctimonious clergyman blessing the murdered worker and departing for a rendezvous among harlots. Elsewhere in idyllic moods, he spreads utopian scenes showing the peasant families entering once more into their own lands, guided by leaders like Zapato or Madero, with tidy farmhouses and school buildings, while the groveling politicians are shown doing their equal share of the work. Rivera's style is smooth and ingratiating; if he does not truckle to public taste, his contours are yet suave and urbane. Forced to leave Mexico, he made his way to San Francisco where he painted murals for the Stock Exchange and the School of Fine Arts. Commissioned to depict the spirit of the city on the walls of the Detroit Institute of Arts (1934), Rivera undertook a tremendous amount of research, visiting various industries, including the Ford plant, studying the vast machinery, making countless sketches of turning wheels and assembly lines, endlessly fascinated by the beauties of engineering design and the esthetic implications of mass production, and of medical clinics and operating rooms. His best work, however, was done in the Ministries of Education and Health and the National Agricultural School at Chapingo. At home he has been condemned by his revolutionary colleagues for his opportunism, his milk-and-water politics and his superficial pictorial treatment of the national scene.

More than any of his fellow muralists of the Mexican renascence, José Clemente Orozco (1883-) has ranged through native folklore, history, mythology and religious symbolism, evolving a narrative iconography and morphology appropriate to the social and political content of his art. By abstracting large planes and treating them cubistically, as in the *Zapatistas* (Plate 705), the artist relieves the mural flatness of his figures without sacrifice of decorativeness. Not since the Renaissance, it is suggested, has human anatomy been integrated in such intensely emotional and dynamic

designs, wherein arms assume the appearance of coiled rope, the hands massive, like multiple forceps, the basic tools of labor; the human body is now an instrument of social and economic significance, the facial distortions registering abstract emotional qualities—aspiration, despair, determination—while the insignia of social revolution, the dagger, the fetting chain, the bullet belt, the sheaf of wheat and plowshare are endowed with singular eloquence to assist the narrative. Few scenes are merely literal. *The Fable of Universal Brotherhood* (New School for Social Research, New York) lays inordinate emphasis on a great conference table to emphasize the broad basis for discussion and agreement that exists among the races and nations of man. The *Prometheus* at Pomona College, Claremont, California, gives modern meaning to an ancient legend. There are no hints of prettiness, no charming color conceits or drawing-room elegances. The patent aim of this "people's art" is to produce an indelible impact on the eye of the public by means of lurid coloration, tremendous rhythms and even of human forms skinned to raw sinews—frequently as dire and ominous in their message as they are ghastly and compelling to the eye; and certainly there are some that require the strongest of digestions to be actively enjoyed.

In the famous basement series at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, Orozco has recorded the largest fresco series yet painted in the United States—a history of pan-American civilization in which the European traditions may be said to have entered only yesterday in point of time as compared with the ancient civilizations that flourished here before the arrival of Columbus. The story is related in terms of mural narratives in which the two chief protagonists are Quetzalcoatl, the Indian redeemer, and Christ, the latter seen in *Modern Migration of the Spirit* (Plate 704): "Axe in hand and his cross at his feet, symbolic of an aroused and aggressive spirituality."

Unlike Rivera and Siqueiros, Orozco has remained aloof from active participation in political movements, despite his sympathies with the Communist party. But his irony is keener, his indignation more furious, his satire more ferocious as he lashes out against the corrupters and false prophets *(The Rich Banquet While the Workers Quarrel)*, the warmongers and despoilers of his homeland; while his admiration and affection are invariably reserved for the simple toilers of the land. His greatest works are on Mexican walls, perhaps the best of them at the State Capitol of Guadalajara.

David Alfaro-Siqueiros has, since 1924, devoted almost all his time to organizational work for the Communist party. In fact, painting has been an almost incidental adjunct to his revolutionary activities. But he has produced some splendid works, achieving, as even in the small panel, *The Sob* (Plate 706), a striking monumentality.

If Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros are commonly reckoned the foremost trio of Mexican art, Rufino Tamayo (1900-) is added as representative of a host of lesser known but hardly less gifted artists. His color harmonies are at once subtle and lurid, for he is faithful to his native traditions and such Mexican types as the *Women*

of Tehuantepec (Plate 707), although some of his arrangements and motives reflect the sophistication of the school of Paris. Other artists like Pablo O'Higgins, Abraham Angel, whose death at the age of eighteen robbed Mexico of one of its most promising talents, Julio Castellanos, Carlos Mérida, Carlos Orozco Romero, the surrealist Frida Kahlo and a score of others attest to the continuance of a renaissance movement which must be reckoned with in any survey of world art.

The charge consistently levied against the Mexican muralists is that their art is all too frequently subordinated to social propaganda, that it becomes a poster art of tragic symbols like billboards of public safety warnings. But posterity may yet substantiate their tenets and recognize the wedding of a highly appropriate style to content no less significant than the innovations of Giotto and Masaccio.

The story of painting in Canada is plotted on lines bearing distinct resemblances to the pattern of movements and the mounting climacteric that obtained step for step almost a century earlier in America. Briefly, one may note the prolonged activity of a continuous line of immigrant artists throughout the nineteenth century who painted native landscapes, historical and salon portraiture and genre scenes.

Among the earliest painters of note, Paul Kane (1810-1871) arrived as a child from Ireland, later secured his art instruction in Europe and returned to enlist the aid of the Hudson's Bay Company, enjoying the rigors of *voyageur* life as he traveled with some of their men by canoe and portage to the West Coast. As an intimate of the Indians he has recorded their daily activities in scenes like *An Indian Encampment* (Toronto), in which, despite certain crudities, he has managed by the simplicity of his statement to impart a good deal of majesty to his "noble savages." A better artist was the rather fabulous Düsseldorfer, Cornelius Krieghoff (ca. 1815-1872), an adventurer who joined the United States Army and fought against the Seminoles in Florida, finally landing in Canada where he applied the style of Dutch domestic genre to scenes of Indian and more especially of French-Canadian *habitant* life with something of the bright humor found in Eastman Johnson's folk scenes. Krieghoff's *Winter Landscape* (Plate 708) is typical of scores of his snowscapes, instinct with Canadian locale: the sleigh, snowshoes and *ceinture fleché* as well as the backdrops of *habitant* log houses; while throughout, the charms and delights of the countryside serve as fit accompaniment to the racy humor and hearty fellowship of the snowbound communities of Quebec. Implied rather than stated are such overtones of sentimentality as attach to the homey and endearing folk customs notable in *After the Ball* and *Chez Jolifou*. In such Krieghoff canvases one finds the genre painter's love of extraneous detail and the enlivening patches of glowing red. As delightful transcripts of life in the Christmas regions of Quebec, these canvases are often more than Canadiana, while on occasion they seem to breathe the quality of Breughel's immortal *Hunters in the Snow*.

Although no Canadian school of portraiture arose comparable to the production of Copley, Peale and Stuart, nevertheless a number of fine figure painters turned out a gallery of faithful likenesses.

Meantime a number of excellent landscapists, working in the naturalistic manner of the Hudson River panoramas of Durand and Cole, recorded nature's majestic northern aspects, her rolling mountain ranges and cataracts. Foremost among others were the German, Otho Jacobi (1812-1901); two Englishmen, Daniel Fowler (1810-1894) and J. A. Frazer (1838-1898); and the Canadian, Lucius O'Brien (1832-1890). O'Brien helped found and served as first president of the Royal Canadian Academy, organized the same year (1880) as the National Gallery of Canada (a scant decade after the Boston and Metropolitan Museums); while Frazer was the leading light and inspiriting impulse in the foundation of the Ontario Society of Artists (1872). Among the first to receive encouragement and support at the hands of the Academy by way of exhibition and purchase was the self-taught Homer Watson (1855-1936), who painted the lush country around Doon, Ontario, near the Grand River. The best of the Canadian Barbizon group, Watson has achieved wide international repute for brilliantly organized and painted landscapes which possess not a little of the quality of Constable's Hempstead studies, conveying as they do the breath and tang of outdoor weather and the same glinting light. Typical of these is the celebrated *Flood Gate* in the National Gallery of Canada. Most clearly related to the Barbizon tradition is the work of Horatio Walker (1858-1938) whose rustic Ile d' Orléans scenes are suffused with the warm glow and moist sentimentality which have long won him the sobriquet "the Canadian Millet."

But here again, as in America, the gradual emergence of a distinctive native art was offset by the advent of Impressionism and the enormous excitement that arose with the sudden acclaim of the new technique and the splendor achieved with the spectrum palette. Of the young Canadian artists who now flocked to the European studios, including George Reid (1860-), McG. Knowles (1859-1932), William Brymner (1855-1925) and Maurice Cullen (1866-1934), undoubtedly the finest was James Wilson Morrice (1865-1924) who remains Canada's greatest Impressionist. Though he spent most of his mature years in Paris, occasionally traveling for inspiration to North Africa and the West Indies, Morrice made frequent trips to his native Montreal and Quebec whose snow scenes were especially suited to the broken-color methods. *The Ferry* (Plate 709), one of his finest canvases, may be taken as the measure of his sensitive decorative patterns. Analogies are at best gratuitous, especially in the case of this Impressionist who possessed a distinctly personal style; but in the absence of clarifying illustrations Monet's views of Argenteuil and Sisley's *Snow at Louveciennes* (Plates 548, 564) are referred to as indicative of Morrice's preoccupations. His simple planes, warm sensuous pigments and flat decorative

designs rarely fail of a lyrical note at once ingratiating and deeply affective; while his interiors more distinctly echo the calligraphic style of Matisse. This semi-decorative treatment of landscape blazes a trail that in the work of the Group of Seven will be cleared into the broad highways of modern Canadian painting.

The return of the Canadian Impressionists from Europe, paralleling the opportune arrival of William Morris Hunt and John La Farge in America, marked the introduction of a new atmosphere of continental culture throughout the larger cities—Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Quebec. In 1912 the Royal Ontario Museum and the Toronto Art Gallery were organized. By the time the World War burst upon the Canadian scene there was talk of the new art of the post-Impressionists, Gauguin and Cézanne. In 1916 the exhibition of J. E. H. MacDonald's *Tangled Garden,* with its colorful tapestry patches, created a furor among Canadian critics and public that sounded like the reverberations of the Paris salons of the eighties. Thus while some of the outstanding artists, A. Y. Jackson, F. H. Varley, David Milne, J. W. Morrice, and Arthur Lismer were already engaged on a vast government project to memorialize Canada's war effort (a group of spendid canvases now on display again at Ottawa) the realization of their need to band together for mutual support when they should break away from academic precepts and canons, was borne in upon them.

Even more significant as a motivating incentive for the group was the work of one of their contemporaries, Tom Thomson (1877-1917), a shy backwoodsman from Ontario who now startled the art world with a series of brilliantly colored studies of the North country. In the five-year period before an overturned canoe cut short his career at the age of forty, Thomson sent out canvases like *Spring Ice, Northern River* (Plate 712) and *The West Wind* (Plate 710), demonstrating for the first time the style by which the untamed countryside might be made to yield a certain lyricism in color harmonies and decorative linear patterns; and by which the changing face of nature, caught and set down with spontaneity and verve, might be induced to reveal her most intimate moods, thereby evoking that emotion in the spectator which the esthetics of the day deemed the end and aim of good painting. They are moods of Northern extreme that on occasion demanded of Thomson the most vigorous execution; though his brush does not stray for details beyond the strictest needs of the composition and everywhere bears the touch of one who feels deeply and sensitively the character of the land in which he finds himself. Thus, in the sense that his work was a natural response to the doctrine of the Impressionists—that the subject matter proper to art is to be found anywhere that the artist desires to set up his easel and record the changing hues of nature's outer forms—Thomson has re-discovered Canada; not her literal photographic or topographical aspects but her individual moods and memories are reflected in his broad masses of color and lines of pattern.

Out of such inspiration a Group of Seven in 1919, consisting of Lawren Harris, Arthur Lismer, A. Y. Jackson, F. H. Varley, J. E. H. MacDonald, Franklin Car-

michael and F. H. Johnston, was formed as a distinctively Canadian school. Intent on a personal and creative identity with the vast snowscapes rolling through sharp, crystal-clear atmosphere; the sombre mountain masses hanging against limpid Northern skies; the sudden and ominous gloom of lowering clouds; the defiant Jack Pine battered but upright on a windswept cape or rugged crag overlooking the mildest of cerulean lakes. Within the striking color harmonies of the Impressionists' spectrum palette the Canadians introduced abrupt transitions of form and simplified patterns of heaving rhythms to create a monumental portraiture of nature peculiar to the local scene in all its masculine vigor. With considerable fervor and headlong enthusiasm the Group determined to "risk all" in their abandonment of the academic sureties of literal representation for this "mannered" style based on a highly selective response to the visual facts. Ranging over every part of the Canadian hinterland they set down her shape and shade, her sudden moods and tempers—allowing line as much value as color in their formal patterns, painting always with a drive and vigor that soon carried the entire landscape school with them.

For the first time now, art became a matter of wide public interest and lively controversy, the protagonists answering every critical challenge with canvases ever more strikingly unorthodox and uncompromisingly defiant of the school of niggling realism. With alternate and appropriate gusto and eloquent reserve they set down the bleak wilderness and the austerities of the countryside in such versions as MacDonald's *The Solemn Land* (Plate 711); the tempestuousness and savagery of autumn winds sweeping over vast terrain close to the arctic tundra, as in Lismer's *September Gale* (Plate 713); or the cataclysmic movement of spring snow over desolate wastes relieved with poignant suggestiveness by a lonely cluster of shacks and a narrow trail, as in A. Y. Jackson's masterly *Early Spring* (Plate 714). Only in the last of these are the elemental forces and rhythms of nature implicitly subordinate to the human equation.

Two exhibitions at Wembley (1924) and Paris (1927) served to earn for the Group international repute, but inevitably the style and approach of the Group of Seven hardened into a formula for decorative landscape painting, a convenient substitute for fresh and personal researches. With the original impulse to creativeness apparently spent, the Group wisely decided to merge in 1933 into the larger Canadian Group of Painters. Among others working close to the original Group, (of whom all but MacDonald are still alive and active) and re-enforcing its old enthusiasms and interests, are George Pepper, Kathleen Daly, Prudence Heward (Plate 716), Pegi Nicol, Charles Comfort, Emily Carr. The Canadian critic Walter Abell has selected a group of artists ("Magazine of Art," July, 1937) whom he considers as continuators not of the style but of the drive and impulse to original and creative activity exemplified by the Group of Seven. These include Jack Humphrey,

Lillian Freiman, David Milne, Bertram Brooker, Carl Schaefer, Louis Muhlstock, Alexander Bercovitch (Plate 715), Fritz Brandtner and André Biéler.

In her art even more than her literature Canada would seem at long last to have attained a degree of cultural unity. While Canadian artists have worked closely together, they remain essentially regional in temper. Since it is in her graphic arts rather than in her literature or politics that Canada's disparate groups are afforded common ground for expression, one awaits a new spirit, something a little less than respectable and more than provincial, that might correspond to the Henri Group in America, seeking its light not in England or France or the United States, but in the historical, social and economic home front.

Edward Savage, 1761–1817

The Washington Family

Plate 618

NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

Washington, D.C.

John Smibert, 1688–1751

Dean Berkeley and His Entourage

Plate 619

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut

Robert Feke, 1705–1750? *Governor James Bowdoin*

Plate 620

BOWDOIN COLLEGE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Brunswick, Maine

John Singleton Copley, 1737–1815 *Mrs. Joseph Warren*

Plate 621

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

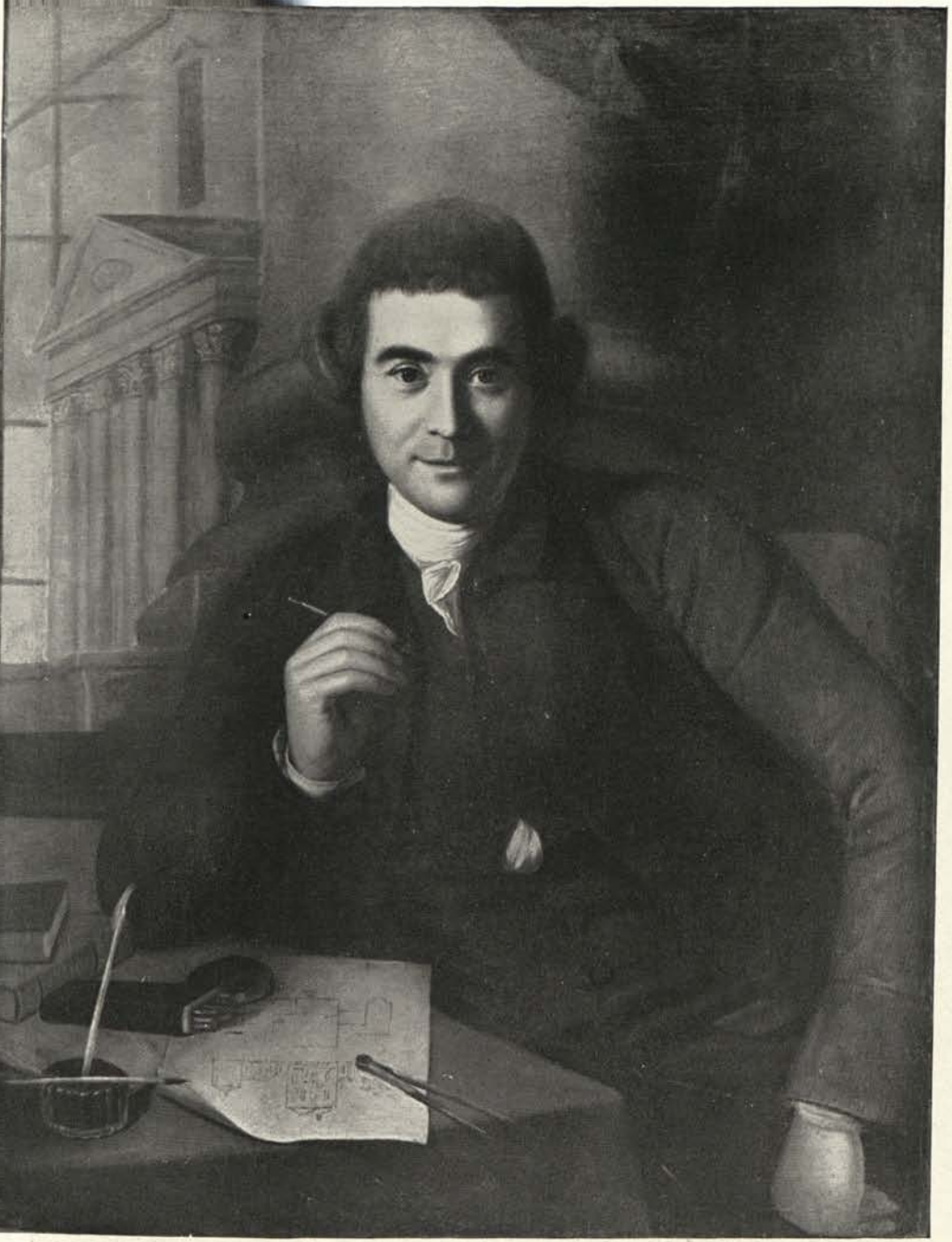
Boston, Massachusetts

John Singleton Copley *Mrs. Seymour Fort*

Plate 622

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM

Hartford, Connecticut



Charles Willson Peale, 1741–1827 *William Buckland*

Plate 623

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut

Joseph Blackburn, active 1754–1763 *Portrait of Mrs. Margaret Simpson*

Plate 624

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Gilbert Stuart, 1755–1828 — *Portrait of James Ward*

Plate 625

MINNEAPOLIS INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Joseph Blackburn, 18th Century — *Mary and Elizabeth Royall*

Plate 626

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

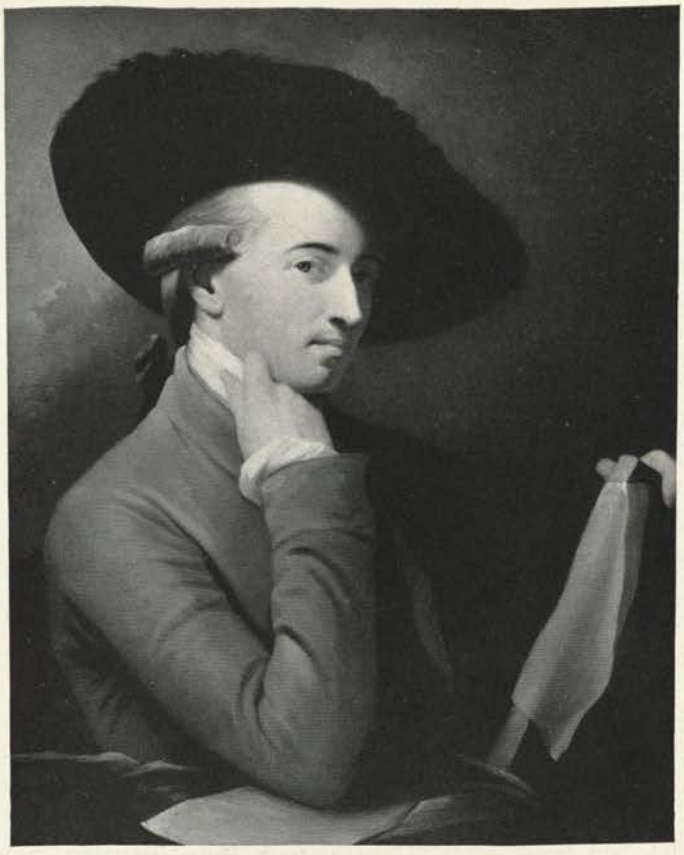
Boston, Massachusetts

Benjamin West, 1738–1820 — *Death of General Wolfe*

Plate 627

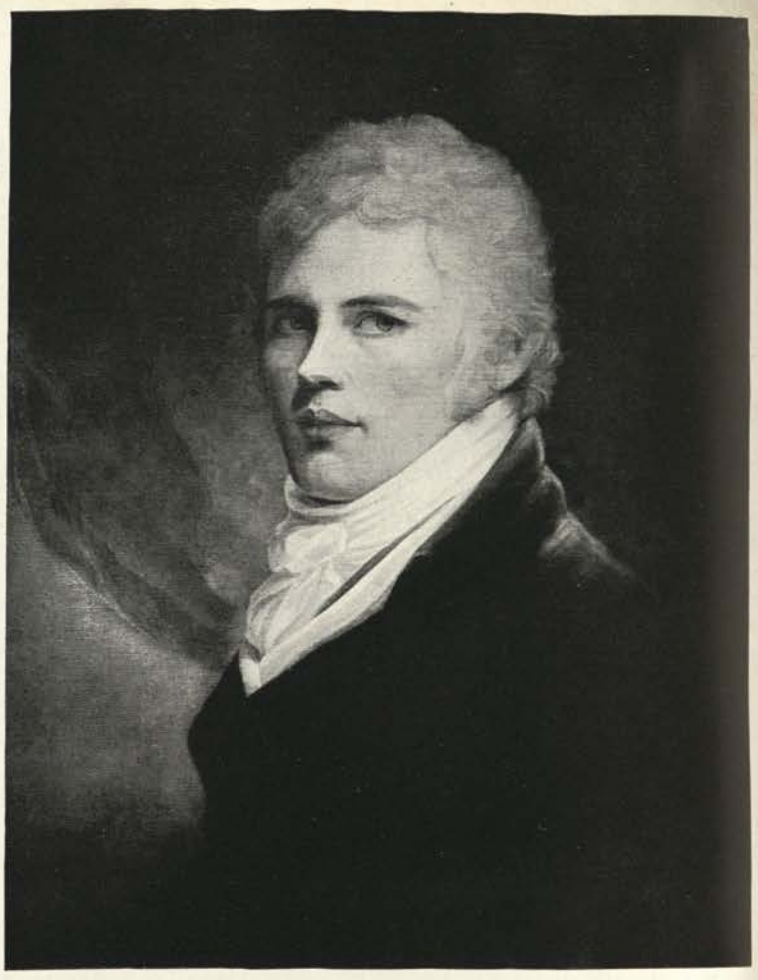
NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Ottawa, Canada



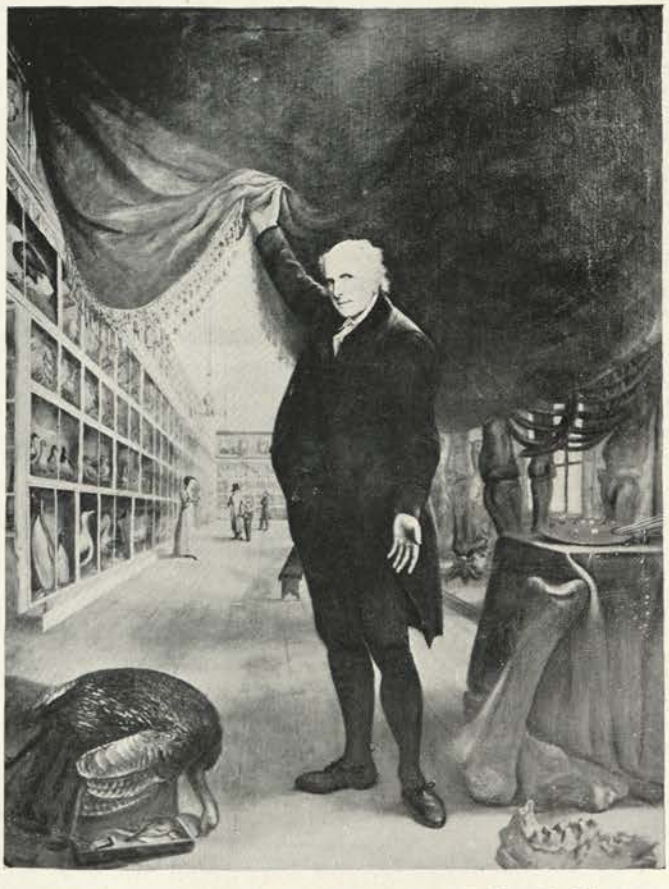
Benjamin West — *Self Portrait*

Plate 628. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, *Washington, D.C.*



Edward G. Malbone, 1777–1807 — *Portrait of the Artist*

Plate 629. CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART, *Washington, D.C.*

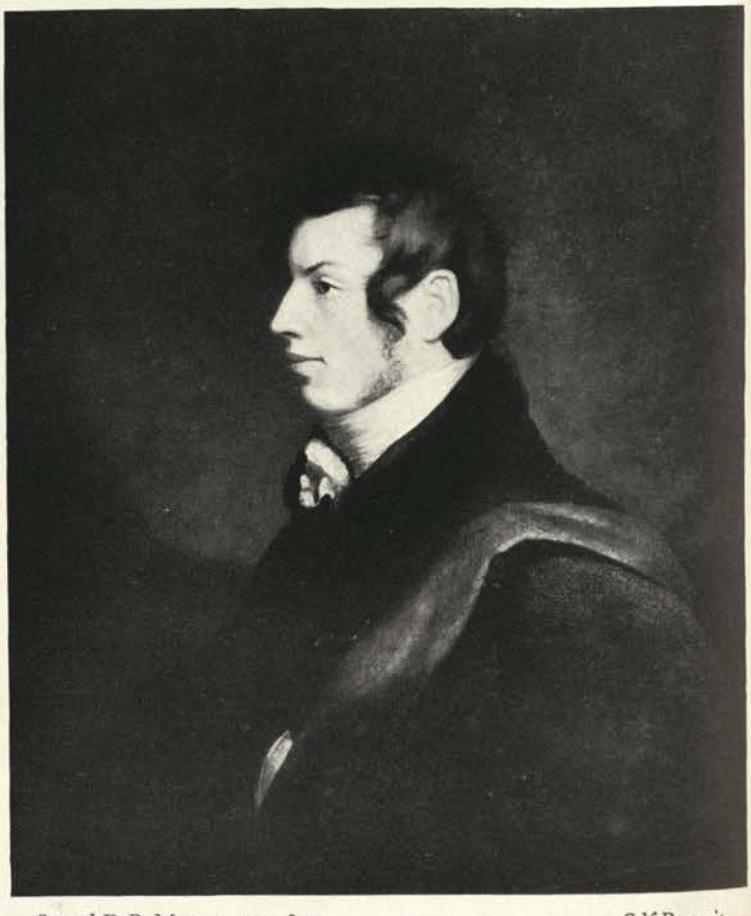


Charles Willson Peale — *Peale in His Museum*

Plate 630

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



Samuel F. B. Morse, 1791–1872 — *Self Portrait*

Plate 631

ADDISON GALLERY OF AMERICAN ART

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

John Trumbull, 1756–1843 — *Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec*

Plate 632

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

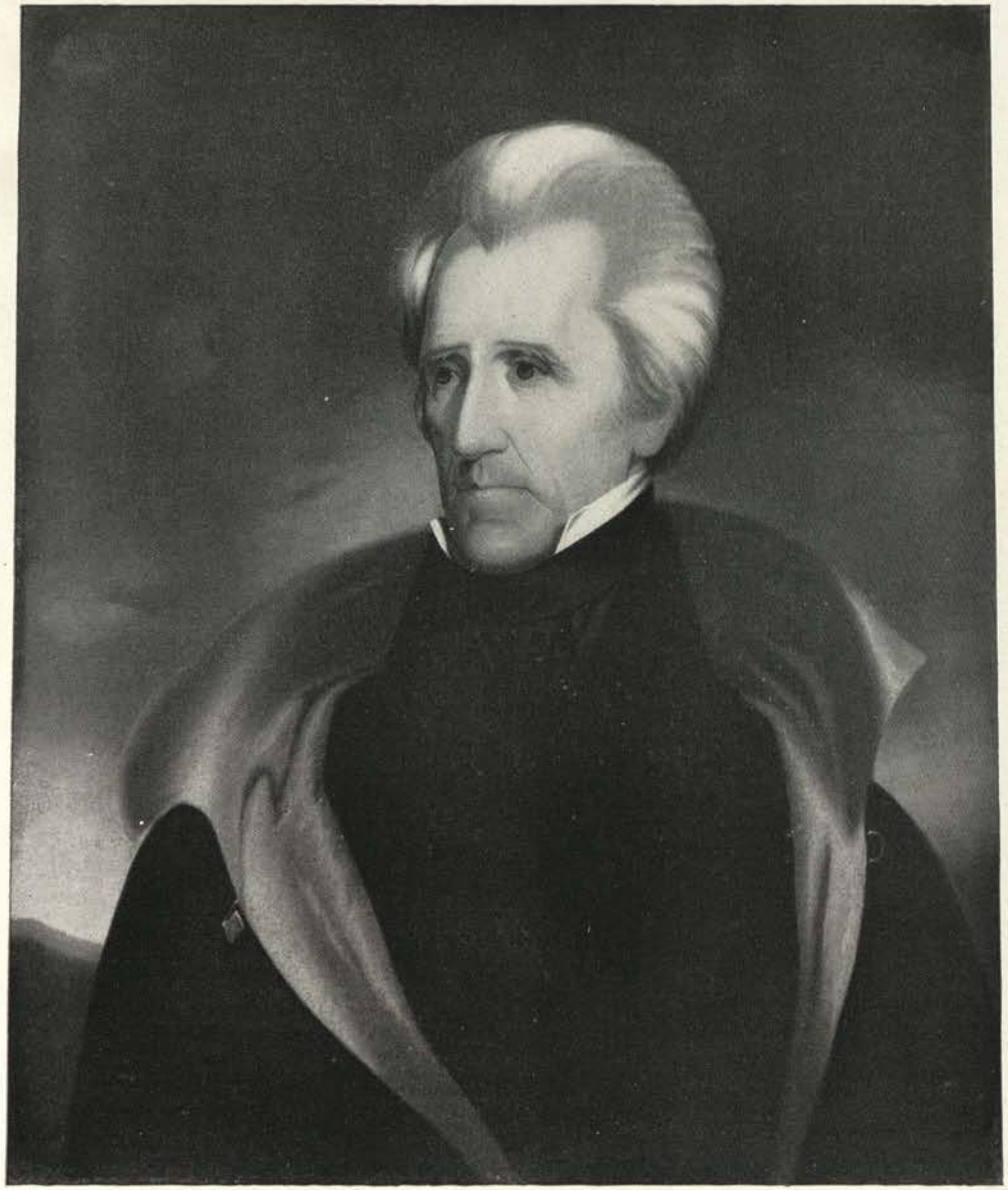
New Haven, Connecticut

John Vanderlyn, 1776–1852 — *Ariadne*

Plate 633

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

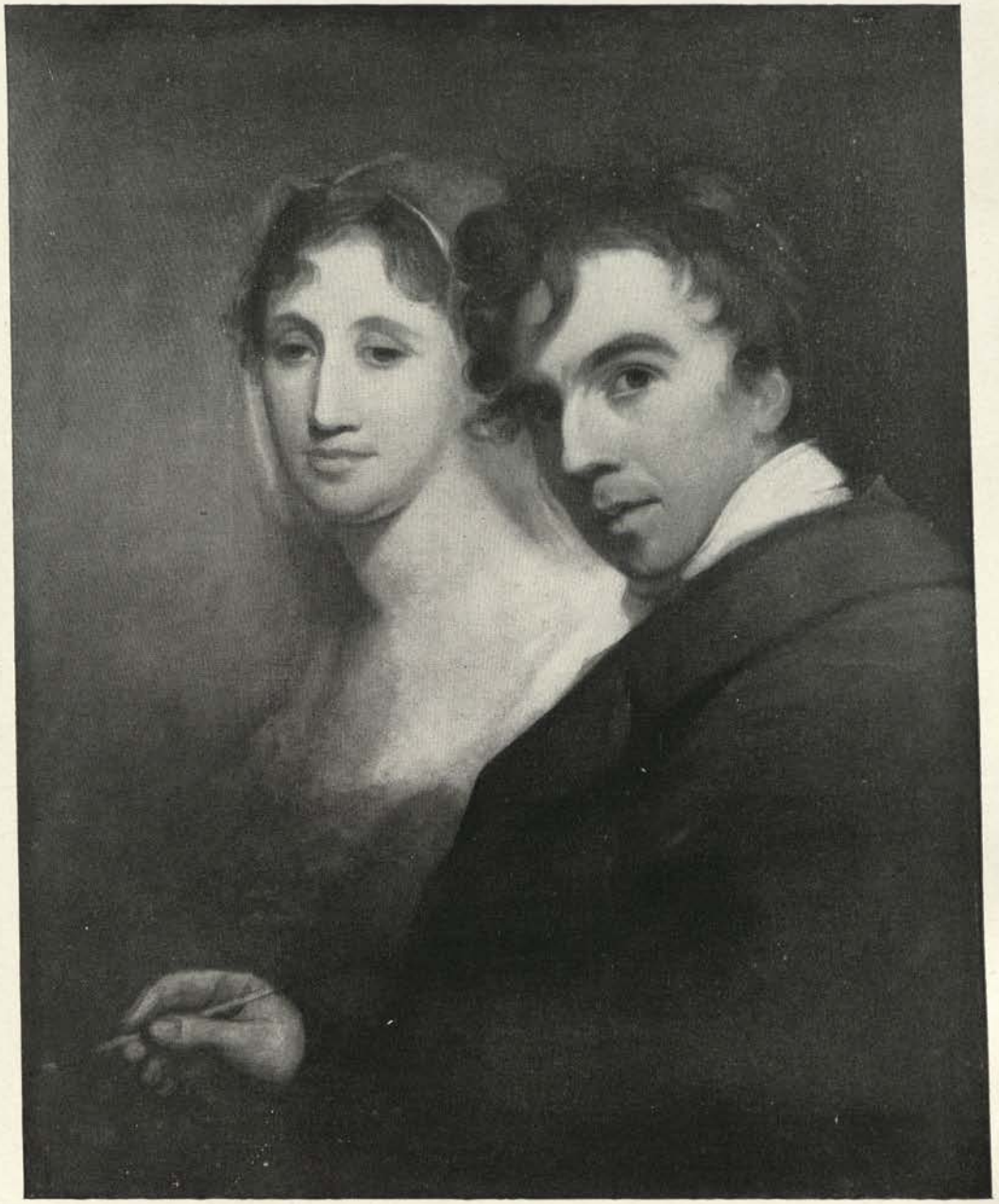


Ralph Earl, 1751–1801 — *President Andrew Jackson*

Plate 634

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut



Thomas Sully, 1783–1872 — *Portrait of the Artist Painting His Wife*

Plate 635

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

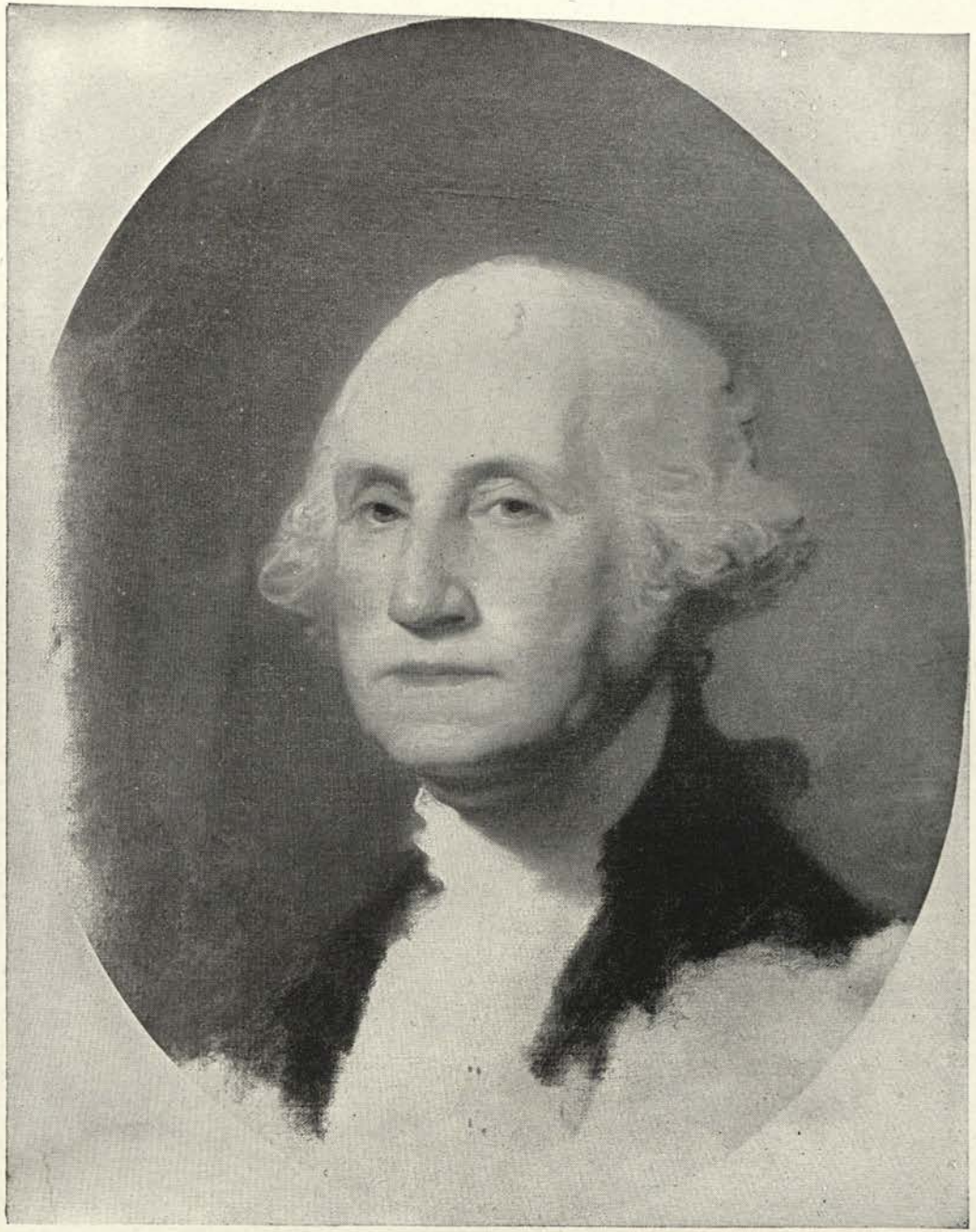
New Haven, Connecticut

Gilbert Stuart — *Martha Washington*

Plate 636

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Gilbert Stuart — *George Washington*

Plate 637

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

American, ca. 1810 — *Room from Newburyport, Mass.*

Plate 638

CITY ART MUSEUM

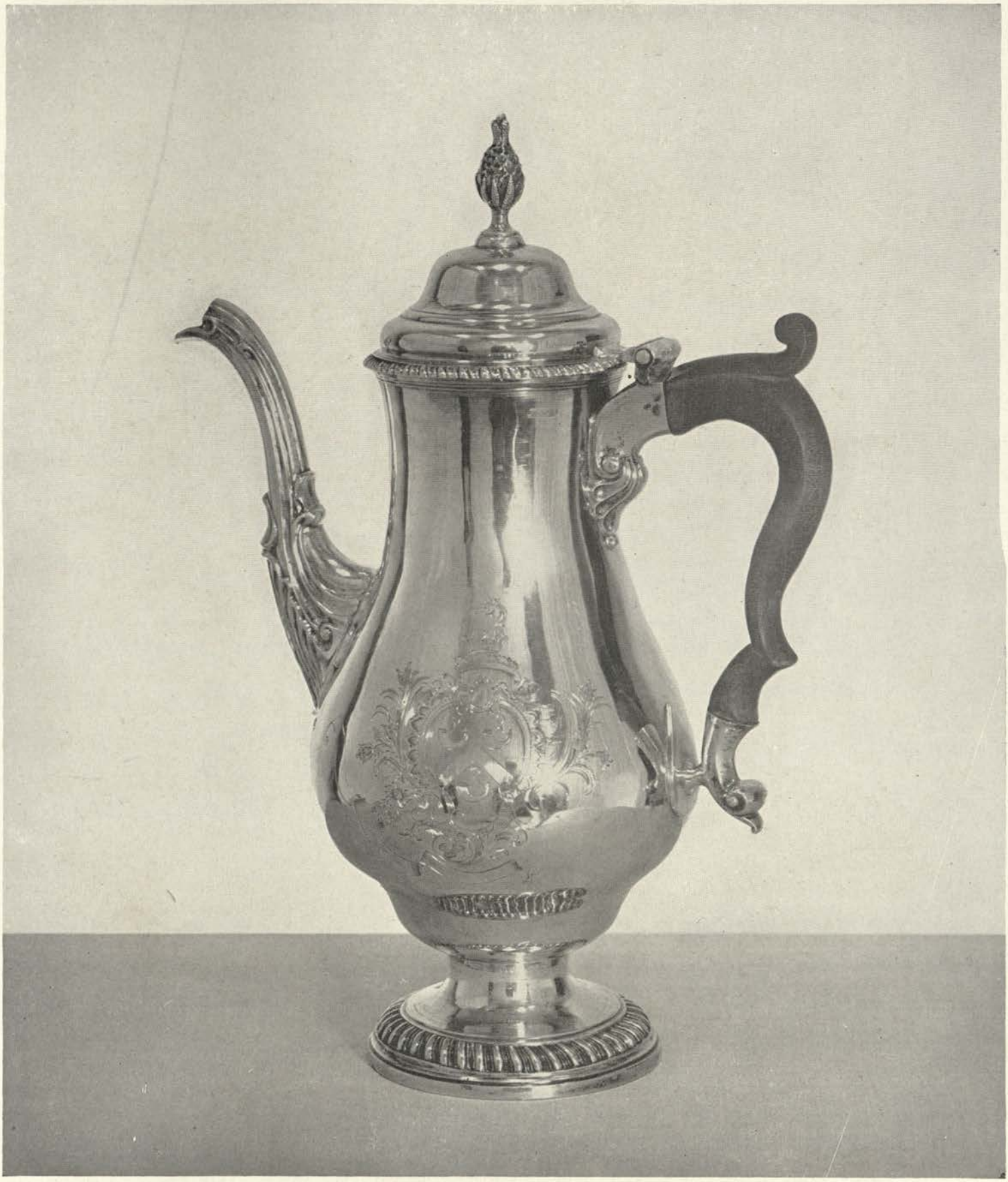
St. Louis, Missouri

American, 1812 — *Room from the Putnam-Hansom House, Salem, Mass.*

Plate 639

CITY ART MUSEUM

St. Louis, Missouri

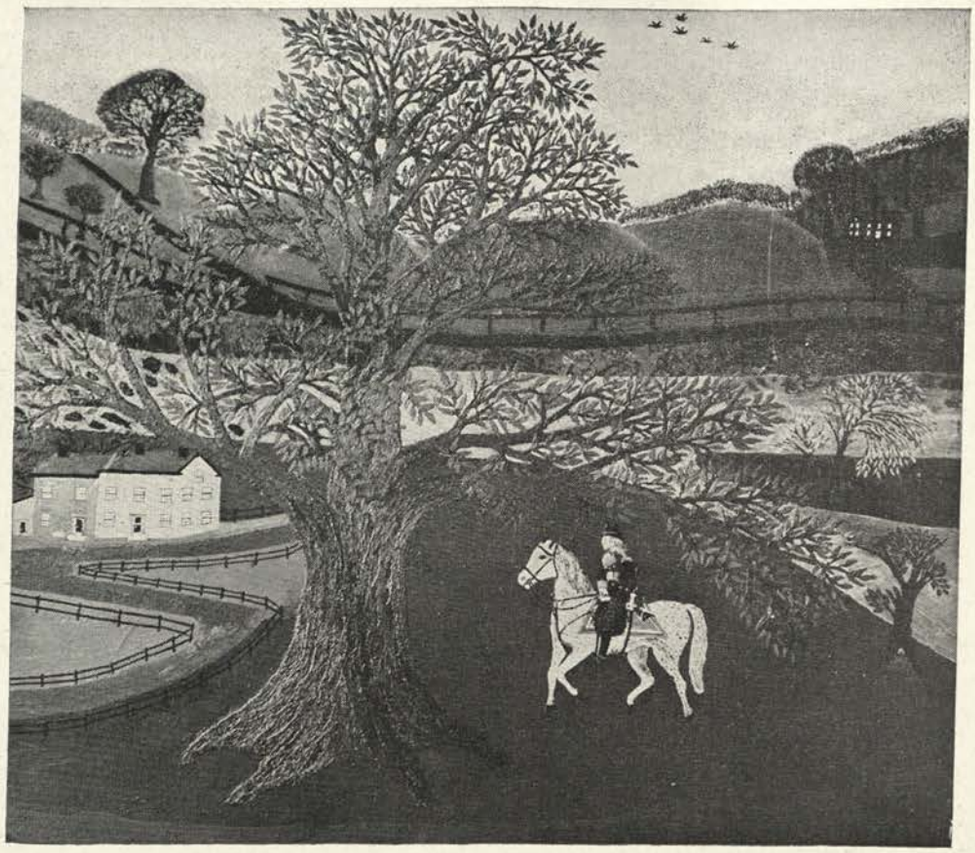


Paul Revere *Silver Coffee Pot*

Plate 640

WORCESTER ART MUSEUM

Worcester, Massachusetts



Joseph Pickett, Late 19th Century — *George Washington under the Council Tree*

Plate 641. NEWARK MUSEUM, *Newark, New Jersey*

Edward Hicks, 1780–1849 — *The Peaceable Kingdom*

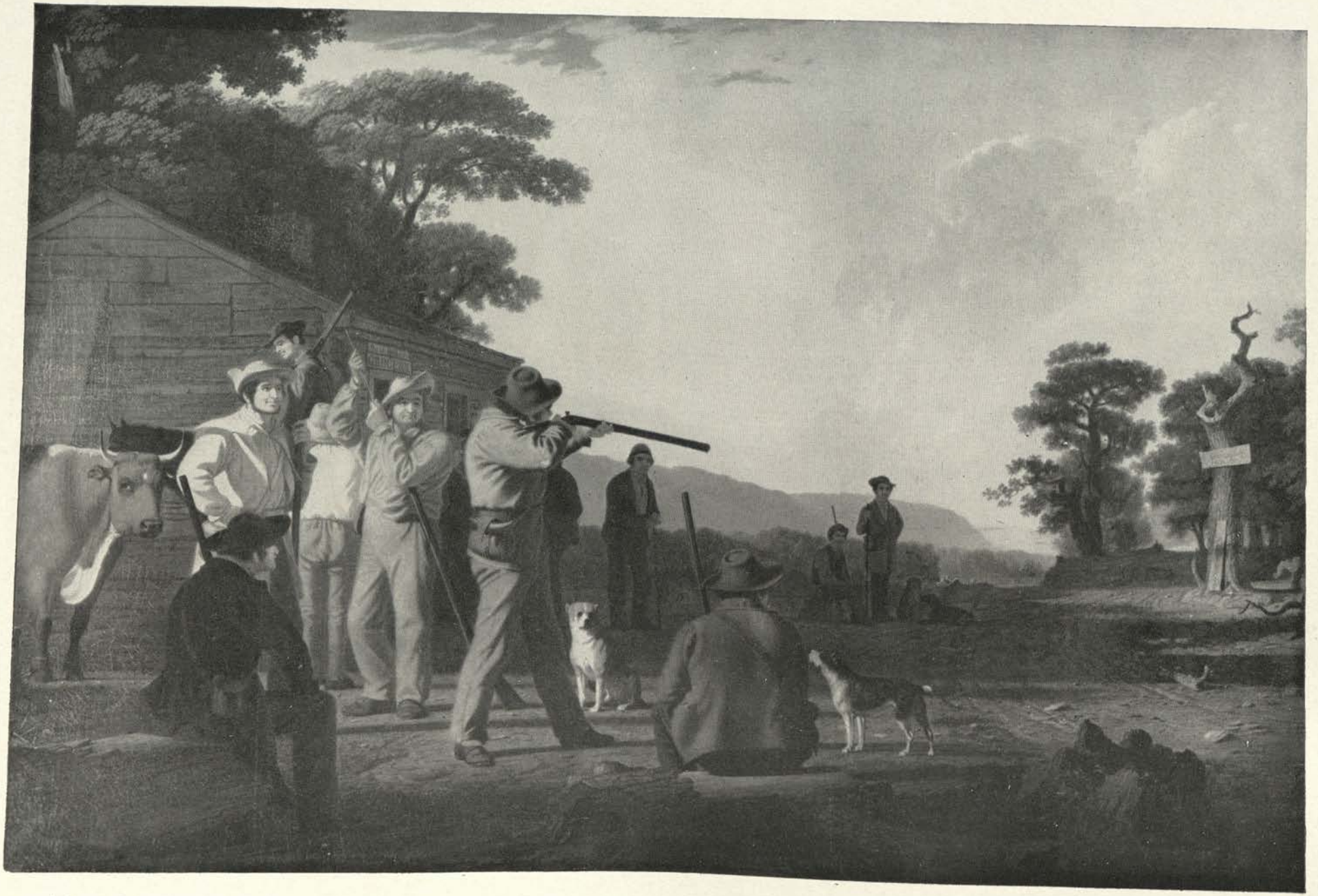
Plate 642. MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, *New York City*

Eastman Johnson, 1824–1906 *Old Kentucky Home, Life in the South*

Plate 643. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, *New York City*

Frederic E. Church, 1826–1900 *Scene in the Catskill Mountains*

Plate 644. WALKER ART CENTER, *Minneapolis, Minnesota*



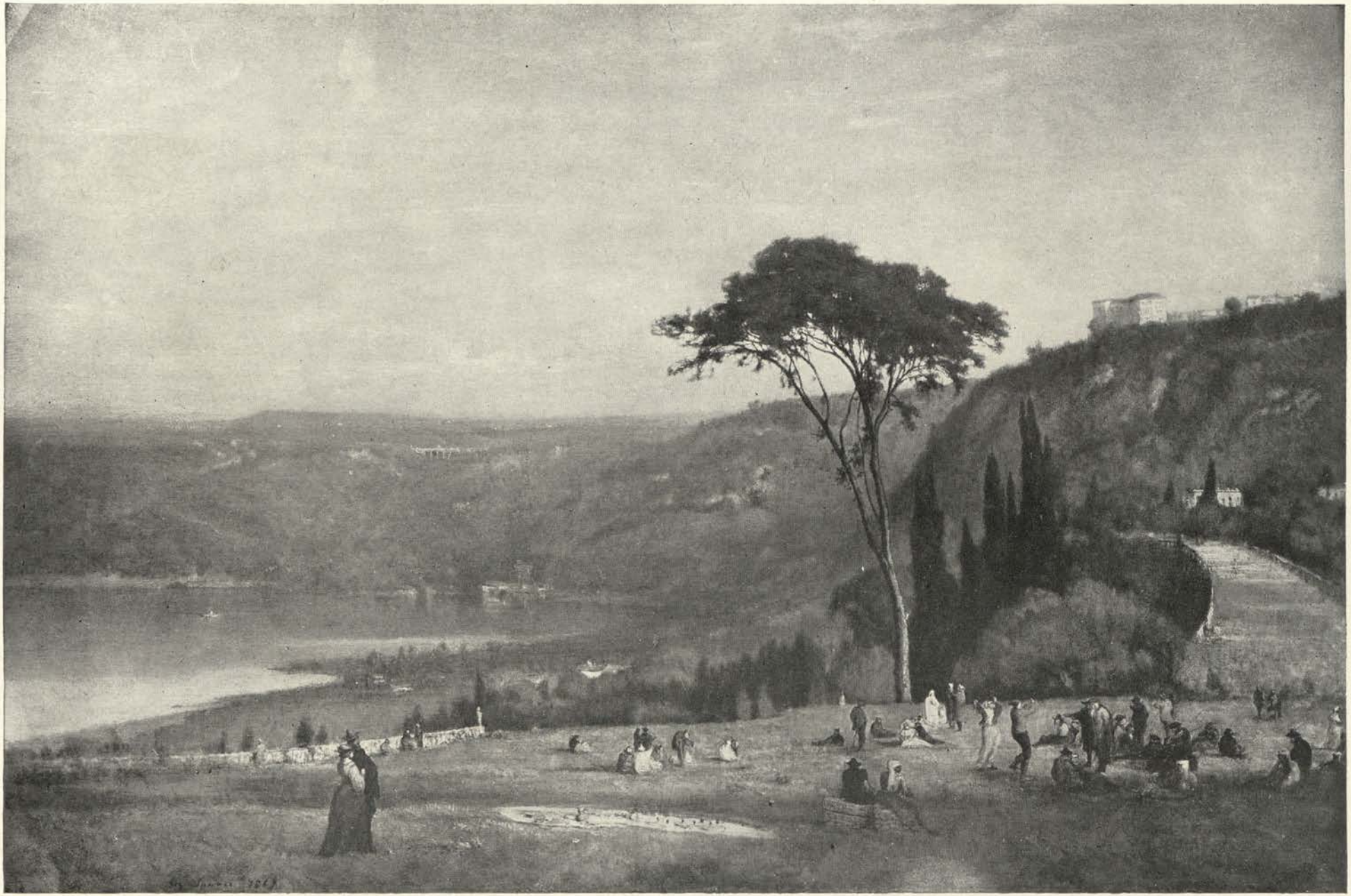
Caleb Bingham, 1811–1879

Shooting for the Beef

Plate 645

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Brooklyn, New York



George Inness, 1825–1894

Lake Albano

Plate 646

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Albert Pinkham Ryder, 1847–1917 — *Temple of the Mind*

Plate 647

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

Buffalo, New York

Albert Pinkham Ryder — *Death on a Pale Horse*

Plate 648

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

Winslow Homer, 1836–1910 *The Fox Hunt*

Plate 649

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Winslow Homer *The Fog Warning*

Plate 650

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts

Winslow Homer — *Eight Bells*

Plate 651

ADDISON GALLERY OF AMERICAN ART

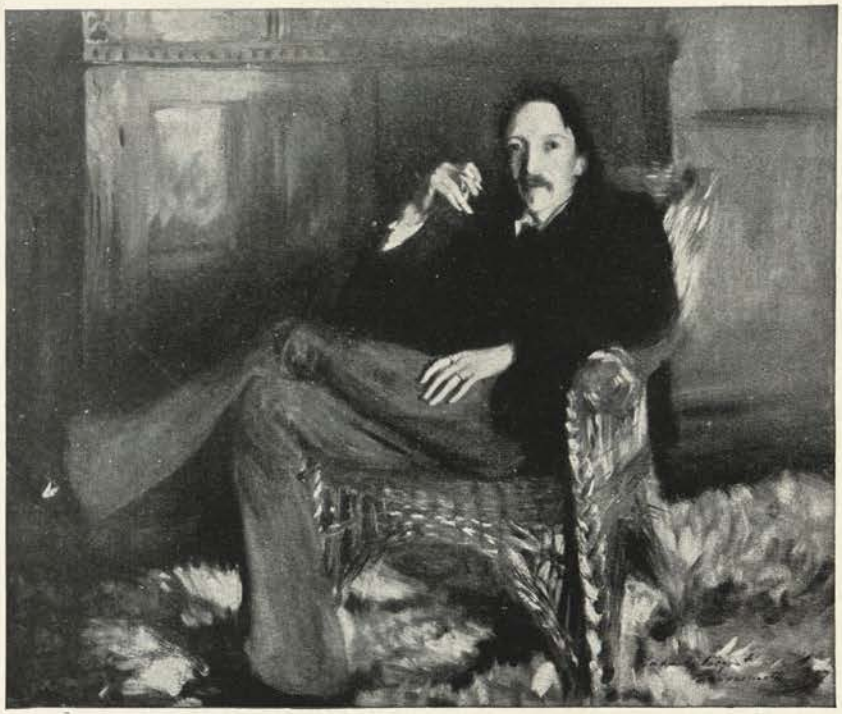
Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

John H. Twachtman, 1853–1902 — *Summer*

Plate 652

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.



John Singer Sargent, 1856–1925 *Robert Louis Stevenson*

Plate 653

TAFT MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio

James A. McNeill Whistler, 1834–1903 *Self Portrait*

Plate 654

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

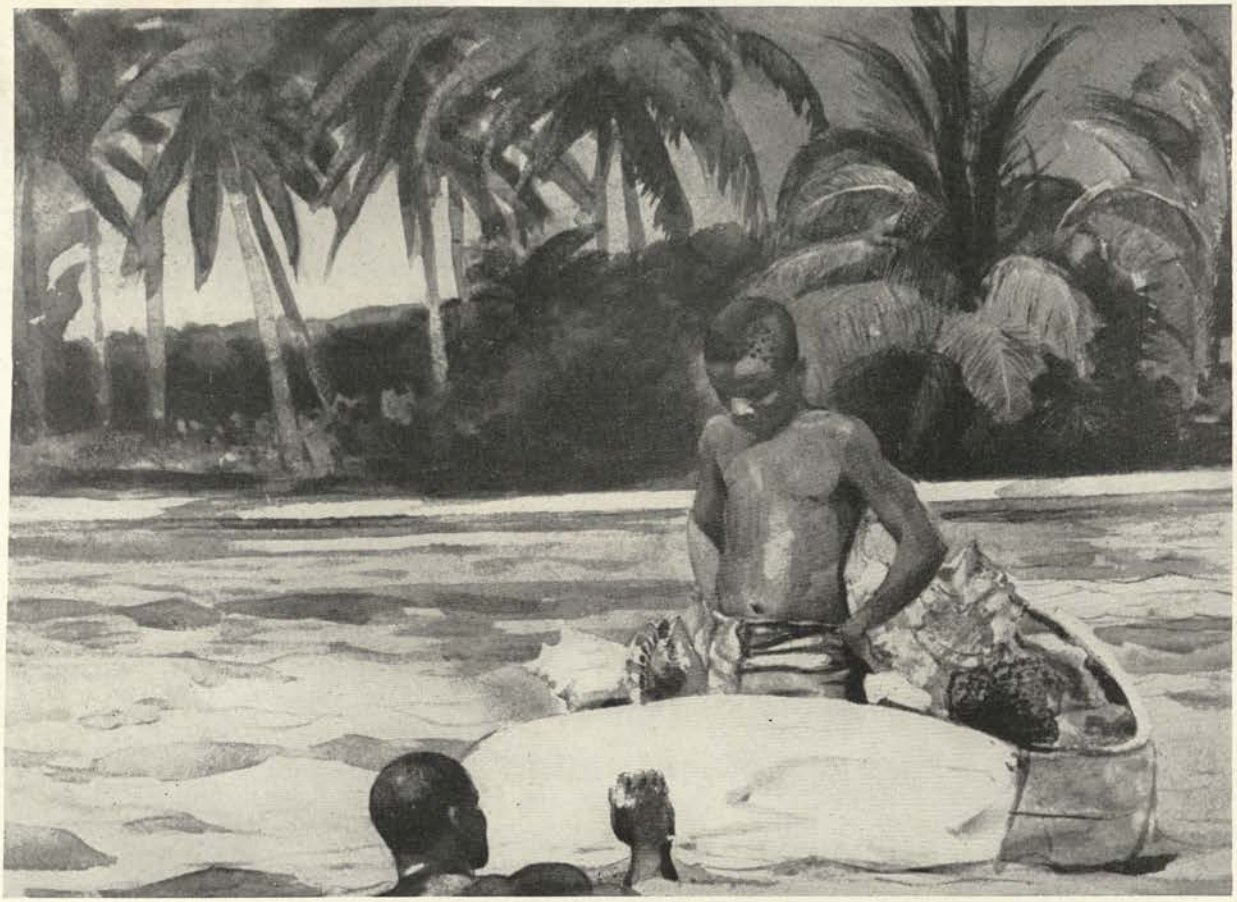
Detroit, Michigan

James A. McNeill Whistler *Cremorne Gardens*

Plate 655

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

New York City



Winslow Homer *Shell Gatherers in Bermuda*

Plate 656. THAYER MUSEUM OF ART, UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS, *Lawrence, Kansas*

Winslow Homer *Snap the Whip*

Plate 657. BUTLER ART INSTITUTE, *Youngstown, Ohio*

Mary Cassatt, 1845–1926

Women with an Infant

Plate 658

DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS

Detroit, Michigan

Mary Cassatt

Young Girls

Plate 659

JOHN HERRON ART INSTITUTE

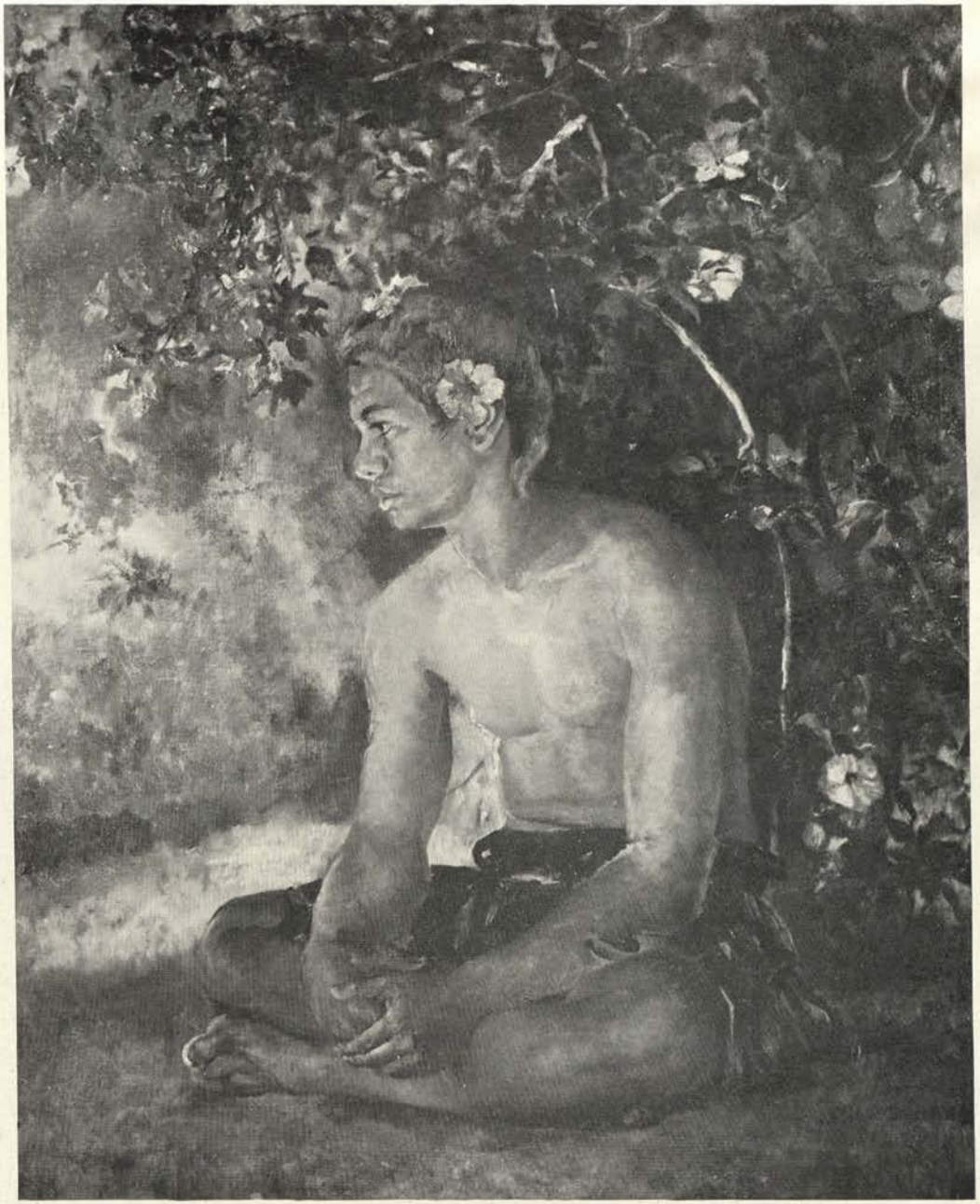
Indianapolis, Indiana

Thomas Eakins, 1844–1916 — *John Biglen in a Single Scull*

Plate 660

YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

New Haven, Connecticut



John La Farge, 1835–1910 — *Maua, Our Boatman*

Plate 661

ADDISON GALLERY OF AMERICAN ART

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

Thomas Eakins — *The Cello Player*

Plate 662

PENNSYLVANIA ACADEMY OF THE FINE ARTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

John Sloan, 1871–

The Old Clown "Making Up"

Plate 663

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

George Luks, 1867–1933 — *The Spielers*

Plate 664

ADDISON GALLERY OF AMERICAN ART

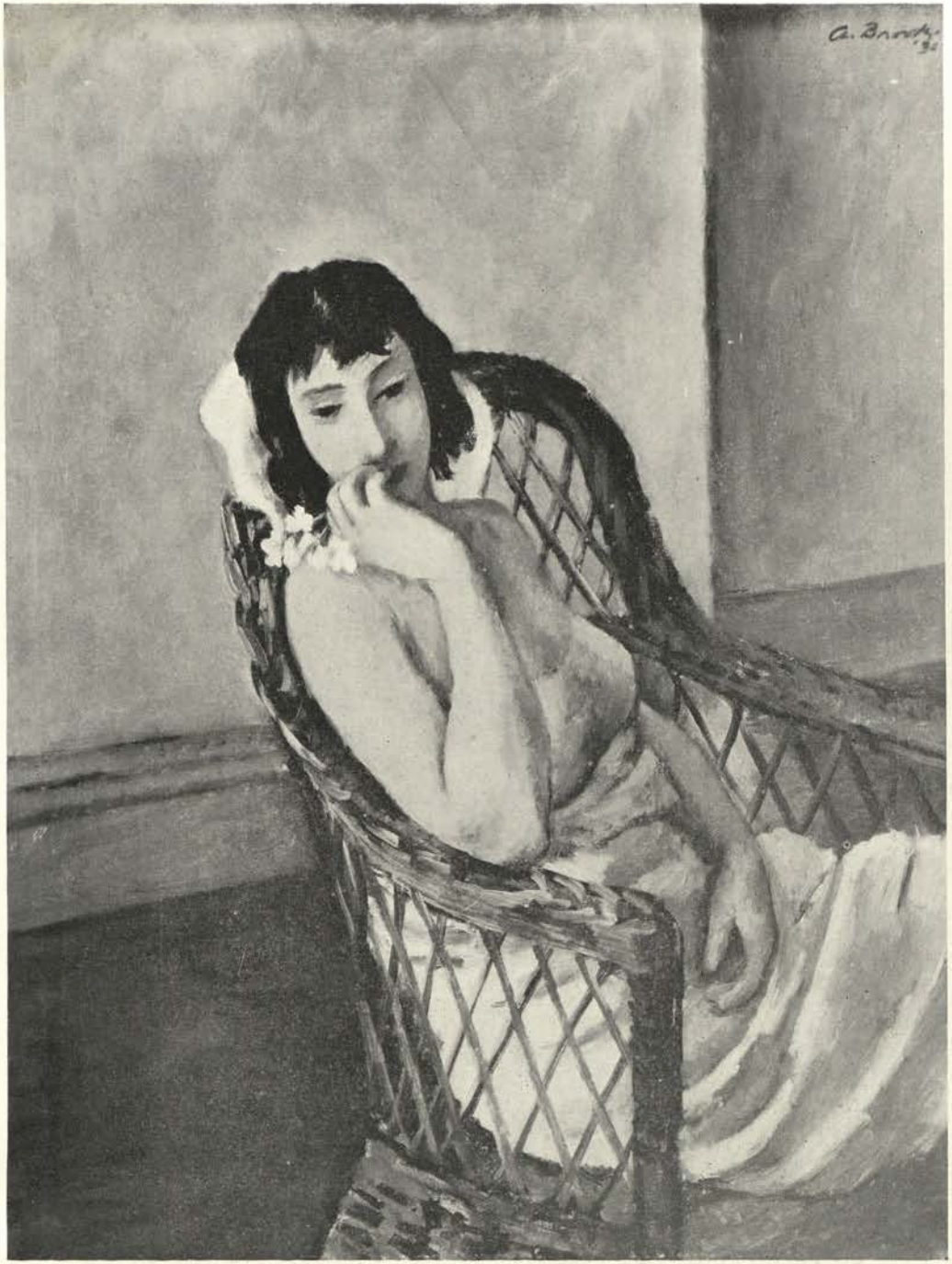
Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts

Frank Duveneck, 1848–1919 — *Whistling Boy*

Plate 665

CINCINNATI ART MUSEUM

Cincinnati, Ohio



Alexander Brook, 1898– *Girl with Flower*

Plate 666

SAN FRANCISCO MUSEUM OF ART

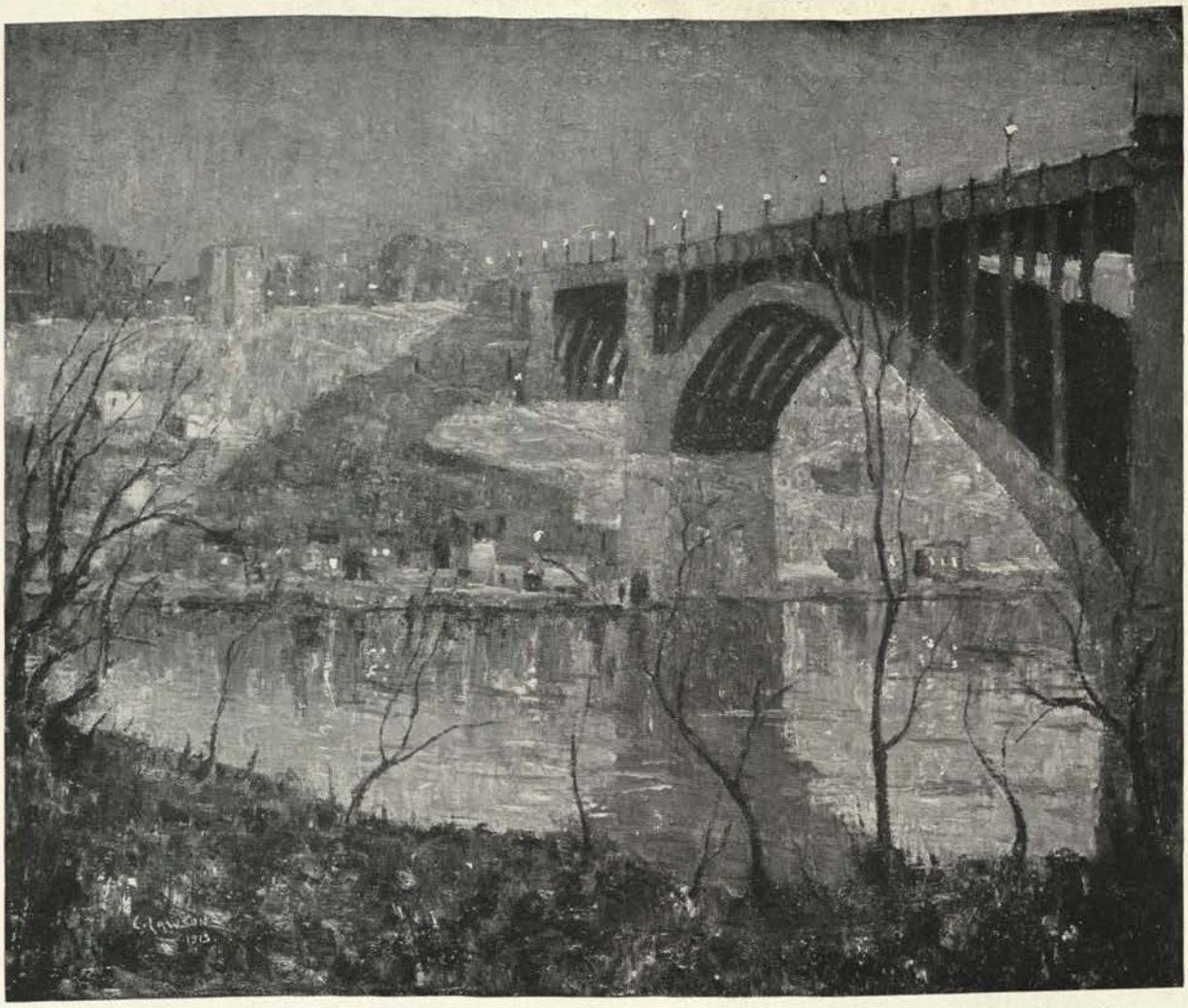
San Francisco, California

Robert Henri, 1865–1929 *The Pink Ribbon*

Plate 667

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Boston, Massachusetts



Ernest Lawson, 1873– *Spring Night, Harlem River*

Plate 668. PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY, *Washington, D.C.*

Louis Eilshemius, 1864–1942 *The Flying Dutchman*

Plate 669. WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, *New York City*

Edward Hopper, 1882– *Sunday*

Plate 670. PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY, *Washington, D.C.*

Charles Burchfield, 1893– *Six o'Clock*

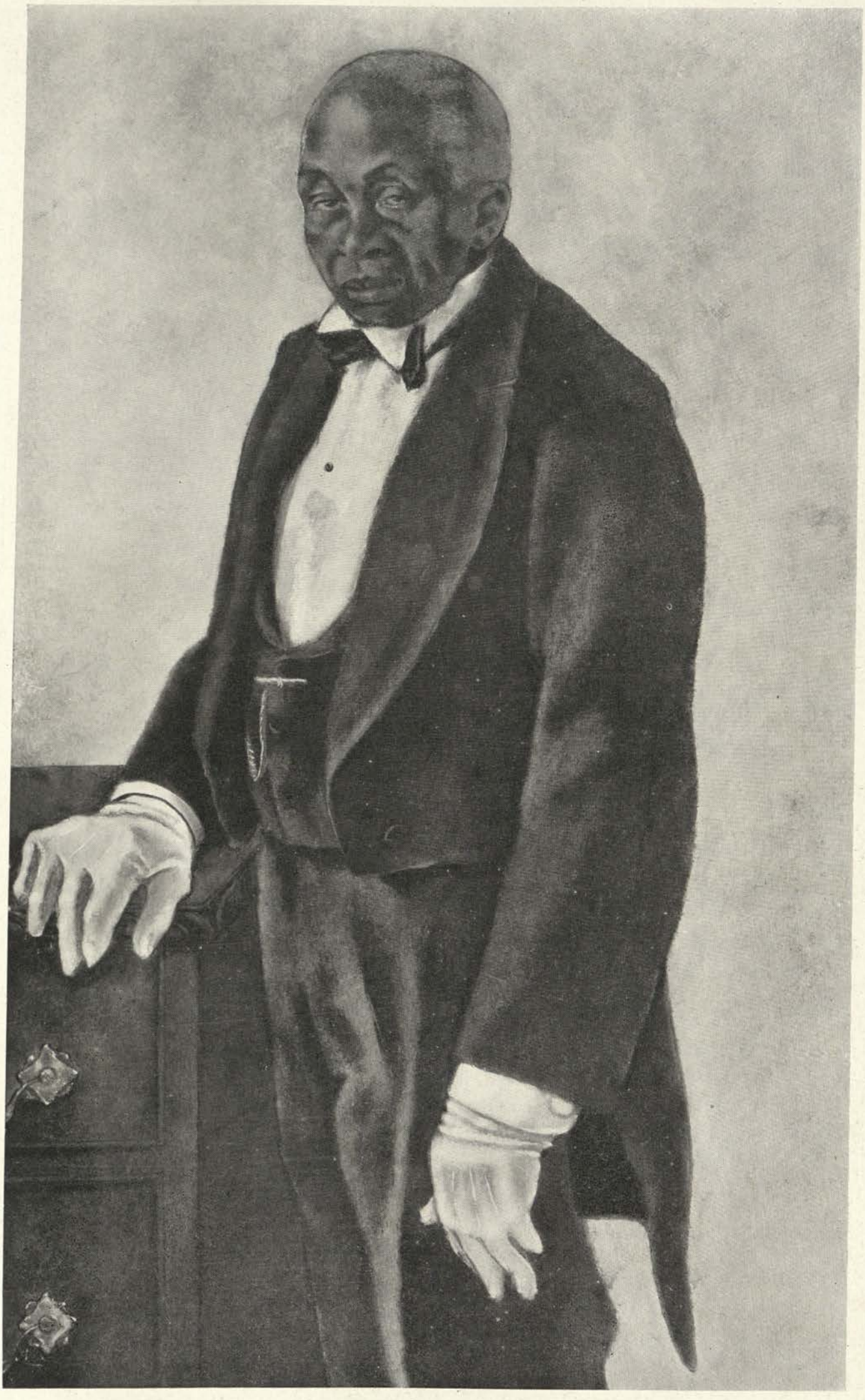
Plate 671. SYRACUSE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, *Syracuse, New York*

Grant Wood, 1892–1942 — *Stone City, Iowa*

Plate 672. JOSLYN MEMORIAL, *Omaha, Nebraska*

Paul Sample, 1896– — *Janitor's Holiday*

Plate 673. METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, *New York City*



George Biddle, 1885– *Frankie Loper*

Plate 674

COLORADO SPRINGS FINE ARTS CENTER

Colorado Springs, Colorado

Robert Spencer, 1879–1931

The Evangelist

Plate 675

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Glenn O. Coleman, 1887–1932 *The Mirror*

Plate 676

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

Thomas Hart Benton, 1889– *The Meal*

Plate 677

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

Henry Varnum Poor, 1888– *The Painted Tablecloth*

Plate 678

CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

Cleveland, Ohio

John Marin, 1870–

Maine Islands. Water Color

Plate 679

PHILLIPS MEMORIAL GALLERY

Washington, D.C.

Leon Kroll, 1884– *Babette*

Plate 680

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

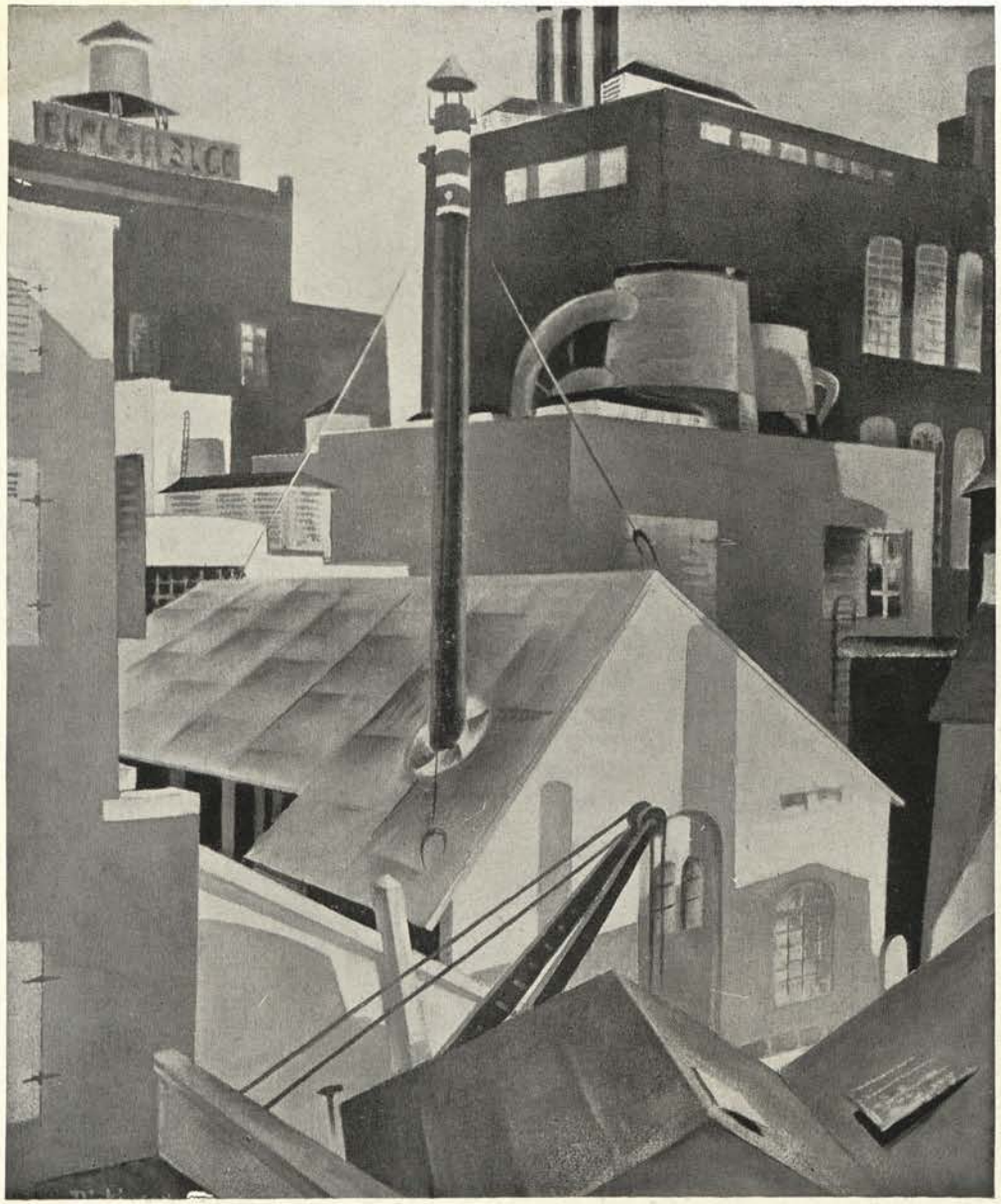
New York City

Charles Sheeler, 1883– *Interior*

Plate 681

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City



Preston Dickinson, 1891–1930 — *Industry*

Plate 682
WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART
New York City

Ernest Fiene, 1894– — *Concetta*

Plate 683
WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART
New York City

John Steuart Curry, 1897– *Tornado*

Plate 684. HACKLEY ART GALLERY, *Muskegon, Michigan*

Reginald Marsh, 1898– *Why Not Use the "L"?*

Plate 685 WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, *New York City*

George Bellows, 1882–1925 *Anne in White*

Plate 686

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Boardman Robinson, 1876– *The Club*

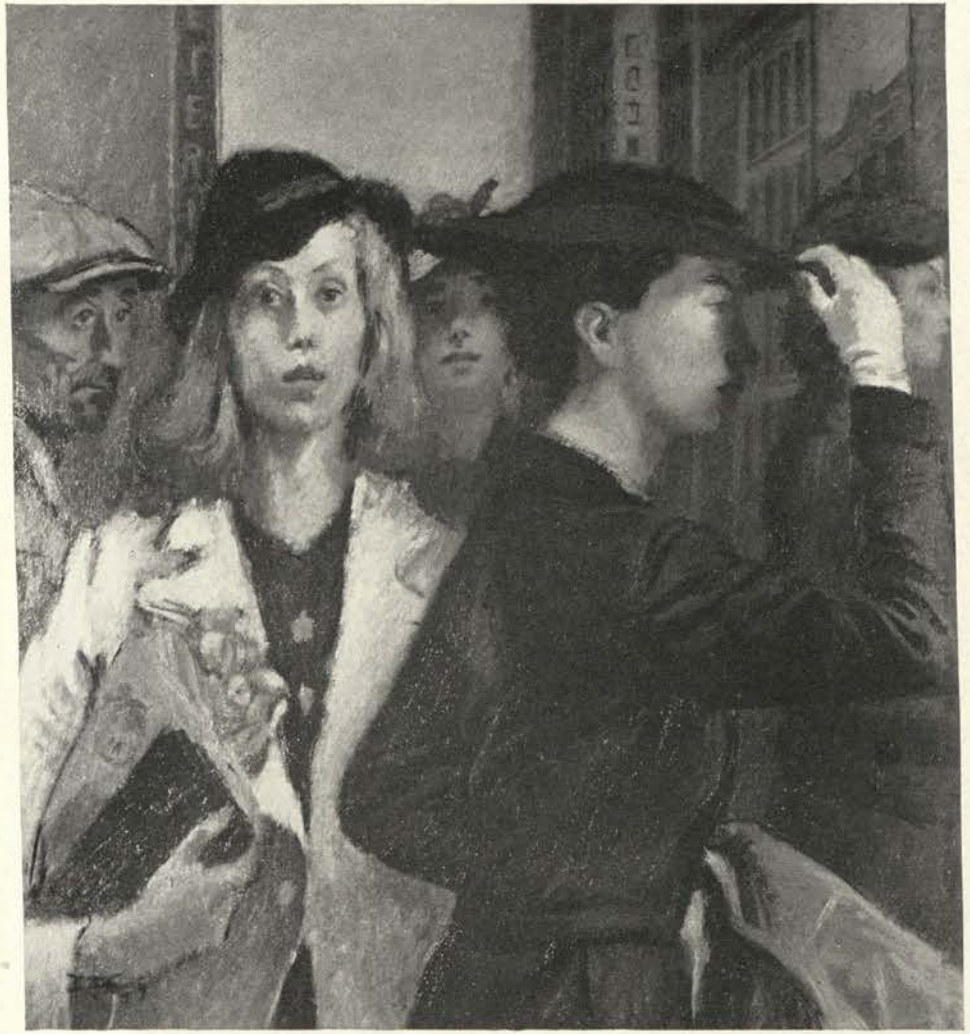
Plate 687. WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, *New York City*

Doris Rosenthal, 1895– *El Artista Pintor (The Artist)*

Plate 688. COLORADO SPRINGS FINE ARTS CENTER, *Colorado Springs, Colorado*

Arnold Blanch, 1896– *Swamp Folks*

Plate 689. BROOKLYN MUSEUM, *Brooklyn, New York*



Raphael Soyer, 1899– *Office Girls*

Plate 690

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

Isabel Bishop, 1902– *Nude*

Plate 691

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

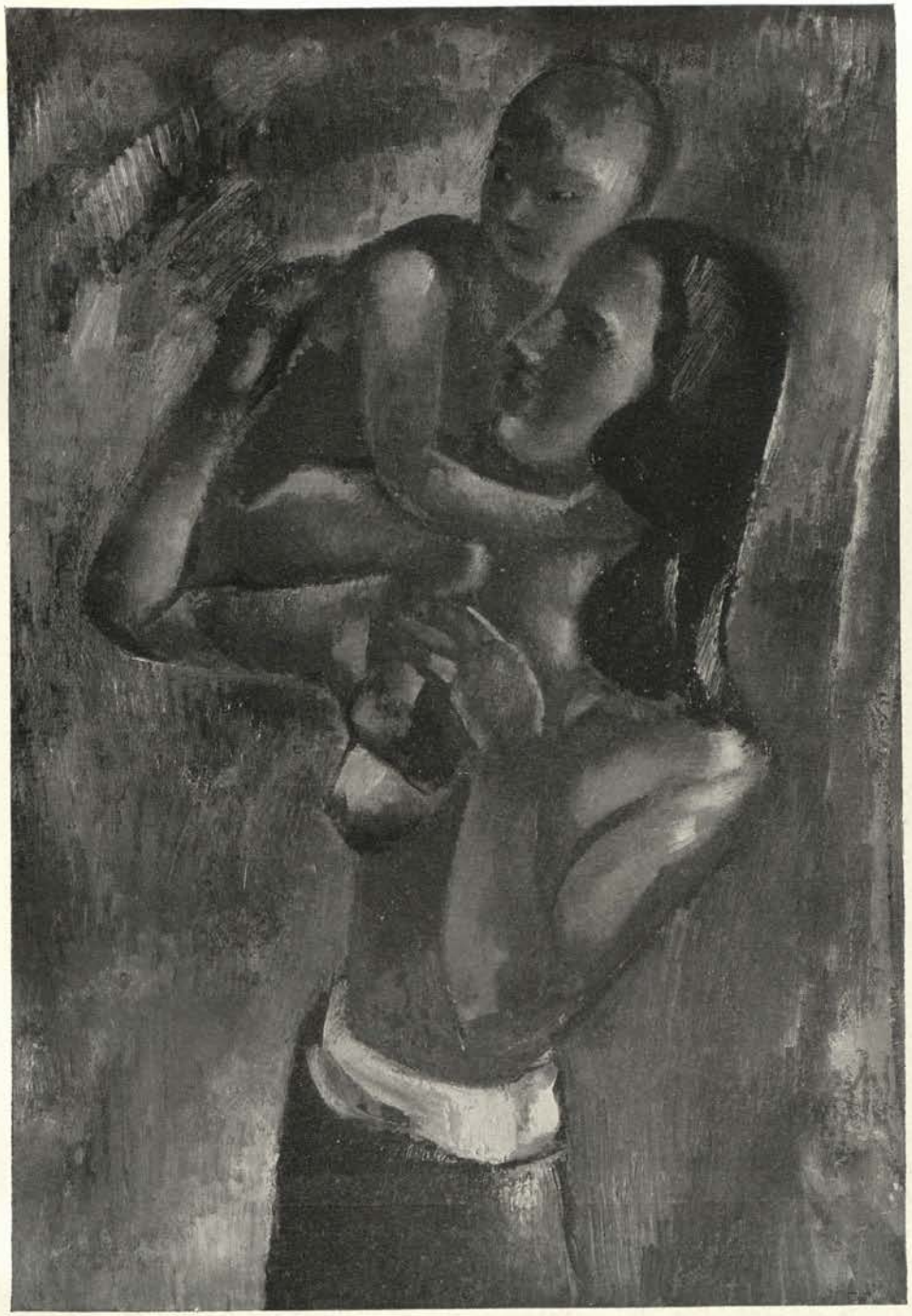
Adolph Dehn, 1895–

Dust Storm

Plate 692

WICHITA ART MUSEUM

Wichita, Kansas



Maurice Sterne, 1877–

Mother and Child

Plate 693

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

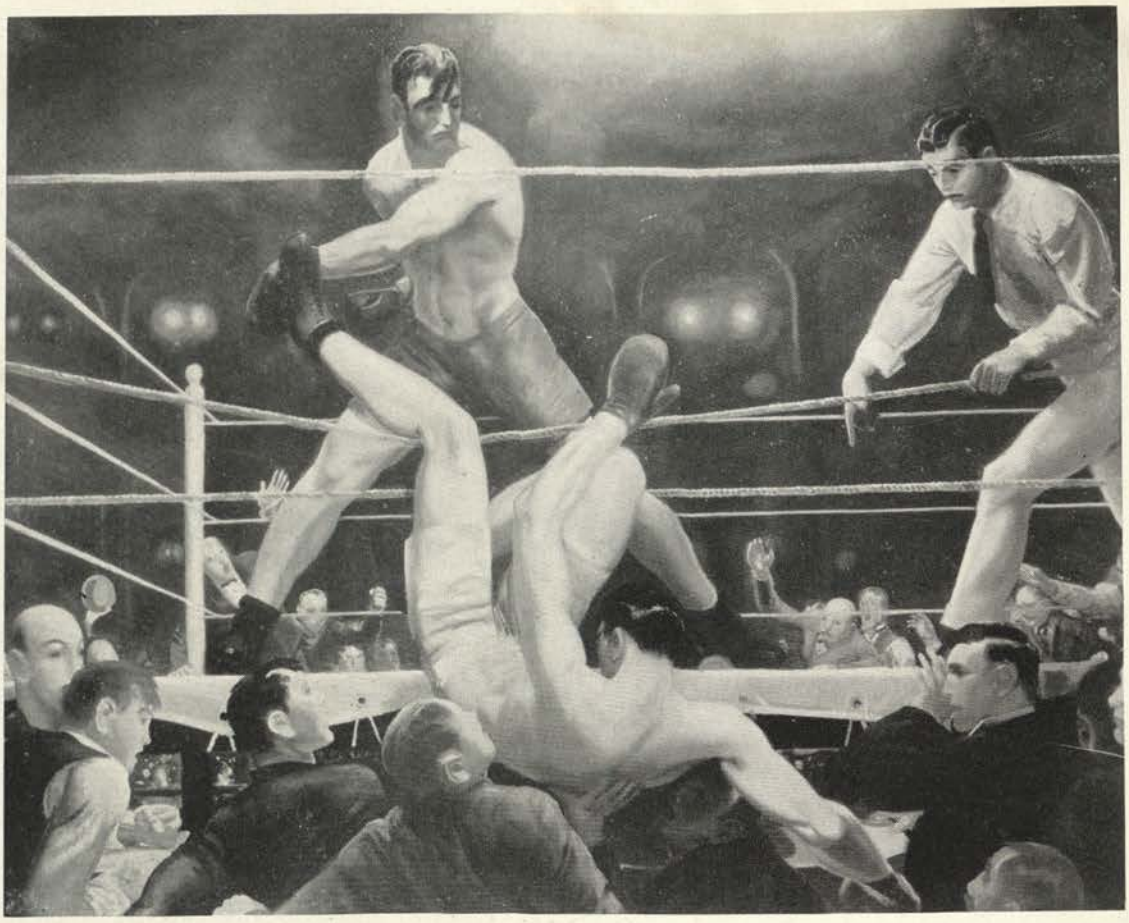
Guy Pène du Bois, 1884–

Woman with a Cigarette

Plate 694

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City



George Bellows — *Dempsey and Firpo*

Plate 695

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

Max Weber, 1881– — *Music*

Plate 696

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Brooklyn, New York

George Grosz, 1893– *Couple*

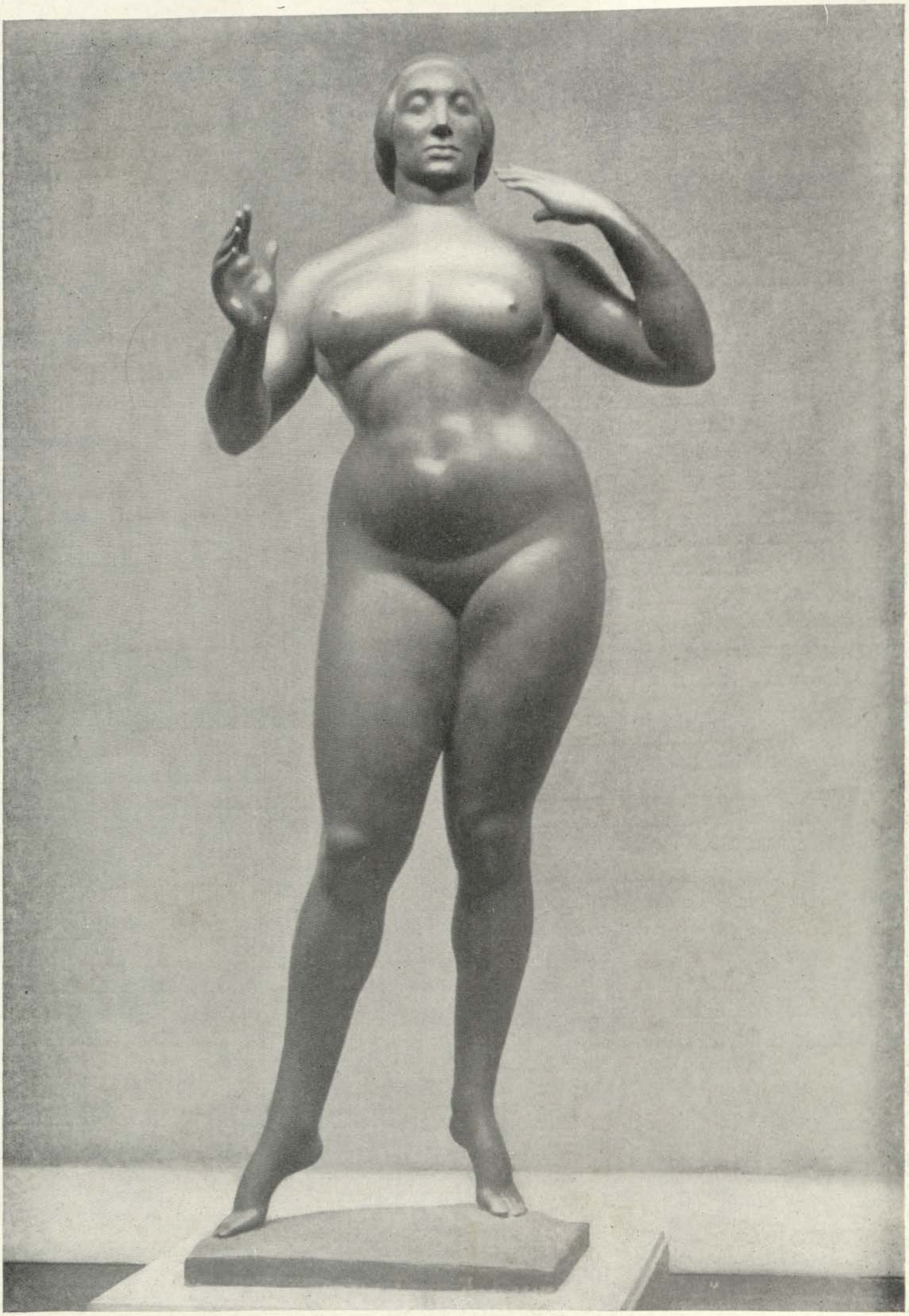
Plate 697

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

Bernard Karfiol, 1886– *Hilda*

Plate 698. WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART, *New York City*

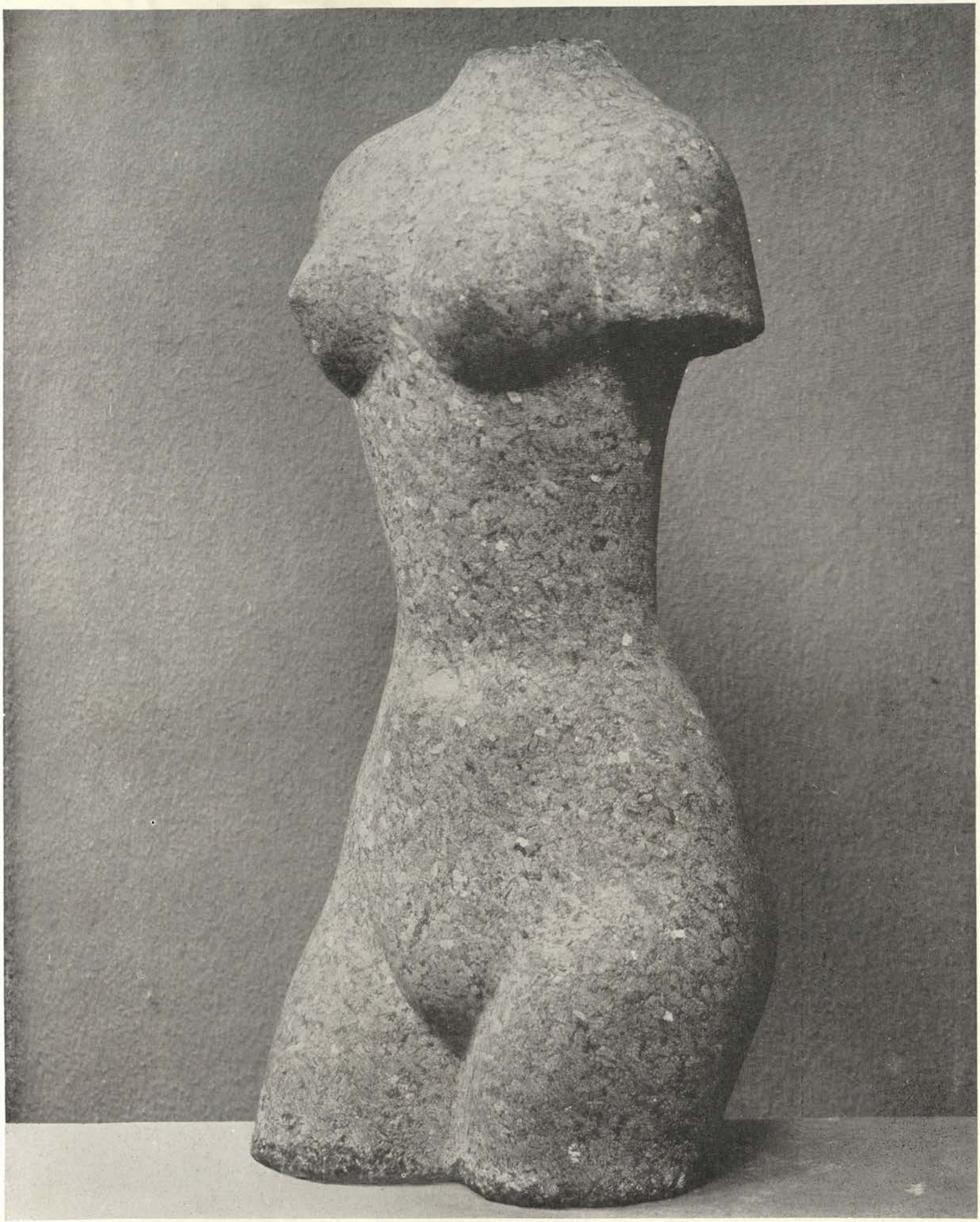


Gaston Lachaise, 1882– *Standing Woman*

Plate 699

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City



William Zorach, 1887–

Torso. Granite

Plate 700

WHITNEY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

New York City

Diego Rivera, 1886–

Head of a Man

Plate 701

SAN FRANCISCO MUSEUM OF ART

San Francisco, California

Diego Rivera — *Flower Venders*

Plate 702

SAN FRANCISCO MUSEUM OF ART

San Francisco, California

Diego Rivera — *The Flower Seller*

Plate 703

HONOLULU ACADEMY OF ARTS

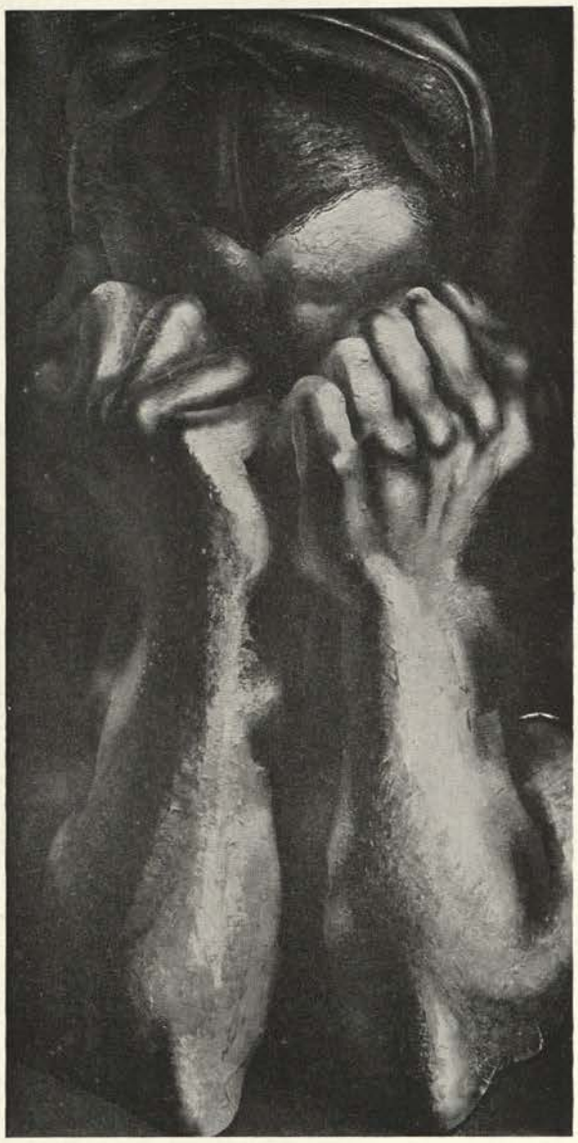
Honolulu, Hawaii

José Clemente Orozco, 1883– *Modern Migration of the Spirit*

Plate 704. DARTMOUTH COLLEGE LIBRARY, *Hanover, New Hampshire*

José Clemente Orozco *Zapatistas*

Plate 705. MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, *New York City*



David Álfara-Siqueiros, 1898–

The Sob

Plate 706

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

New York City

Rufino Tamayo, 1900–

Women of Tehuantepec

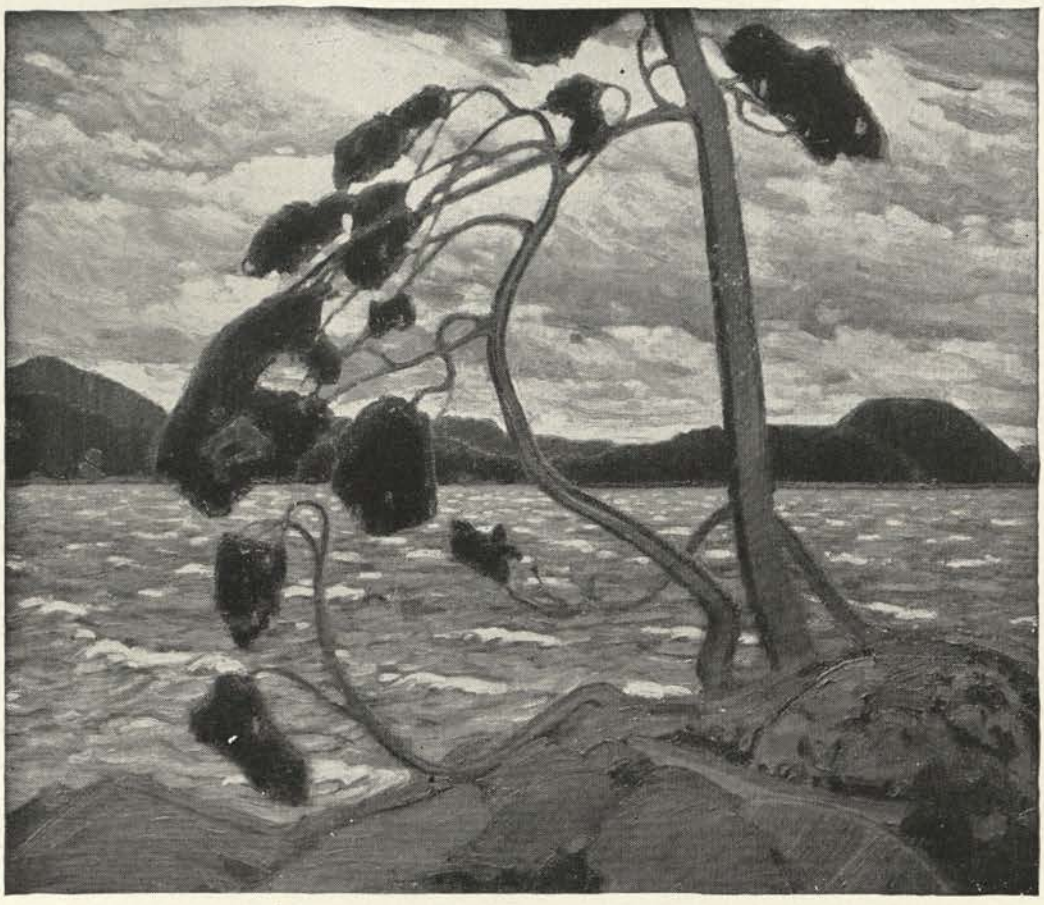
Plate 707. ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY, *Buffalo, New York*

Cornelius Krieghoff, ca. 1815–1872 *Winter Landscape*

Plate 708. NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, *Ottawa, Canada*

James Wilson Morrice, 1865–1924 *The Ferry*

Plate 709. NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, *Ottawa, Canada*



Tom Thomson, 1877–1917 *The West Wind*

Plate 710

ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

Toronto, Canada

J. E. H. MacDonald, 1873–1932 *The Solemn Land*

Plate 711

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Ottawa, Canada

Tom Thomson

Northern River

Plate 712

NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA

Ottawa, Canada

Arthur Lismer, 1885– *September Gale*

Plate 713. NATIONAL GALLERY OF CANADA, *Ottawa, Canada*

A. Y. Jackson, 1883– *Early Spring*

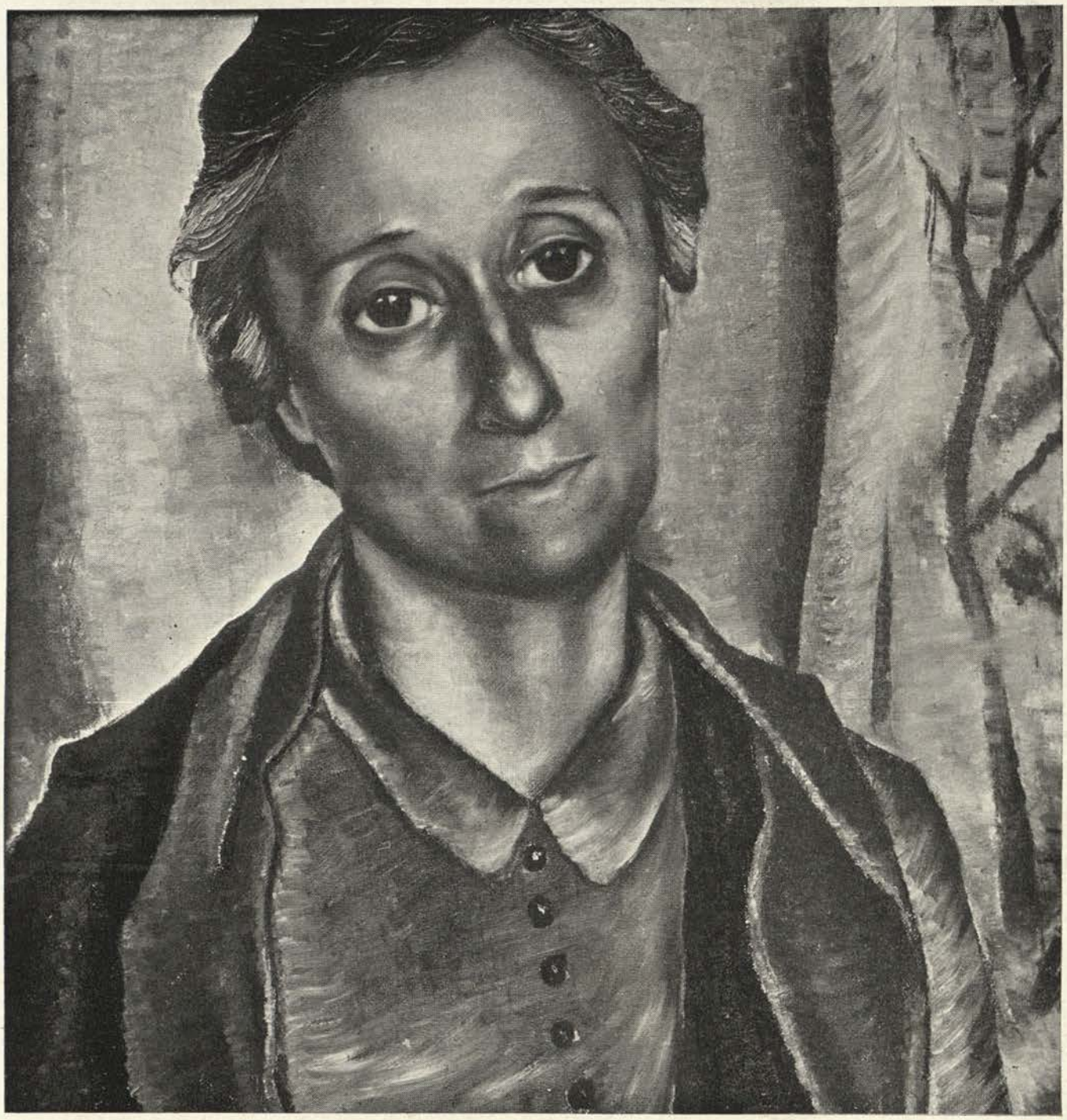
Plate 714. ART GALLERY OF TORONTO, *Toronto, Canada*

Alexander Bercovitch, 1893– *Negress*

Plate 715

ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

Toronto, Canada



Prudence Heward, 1896– *Portrait Study*

Plate 716

ART GALLERY OF TORONTO

Toronto, Canada

XVII
Pre-Columbian Art of the Americas

THE magnificent artistic heritage left us by the aboriginal Indian cultures of North and South America was created over a period extending at least a thousand years before the arrival of Columbus on these shores. Ancient civilizations which once flourished gloriously here have yielded their buried treasures to archeologists and scholars who during the past twenty years have applied systematic and scientific researches to piece out the remarkable story of our archaic predecessors in America.

One may only venture to imagine rather than accurately describe the heroic trek of those ancient Asiatic huntsmen and their womenfolk, perhaps ten or twenty thousand years ago, as they first made their way across the perilous ice-bridge that spanned the gap between Asia and the Bering Strait to northern Alaska; nomads impelled by either hunger or fear of driving foes, these Mongolian primitives faced the bitter arctic tundras to step on to a new land. And as succeeding tribes or groups followed in their wake, how precariously must the earlier adventurers have pushed their way slowly down, ever southward to warmer climates, into the broad plains below the Rockies, down into the valley of Mexico and ultimately, as new waves of people crowded in with the passing centuries, into Central America and across the Isthmus into the farthest reaches of South America. Not even the barbarian dispersals across the face of Europe in later centuries may compare with the extraordinary surge into the jungle wilderness of these indomitable nomads who carried with them only their crude hunting weapons.

It was within the broad stretches of our own Southwest that the first settlements were probably established. The happy chance by which perhaps some starving adventurer discovered the food properties in the wild grass *teocentli*—an epochal moment in the story of civilization—must have occasioned the first long pause in the wanderings after food. The change from hunting to agricultural pursuits thus begun meant that at last the nomads could set up permanent shelter with all the utensils and paraphernalia of domestic life. Ultimately the miraculous discovery that seed might be planted to yield crops led to the cultivation of foods—the potato, pepper, squash, etc.—which today grace our own table, chief among them being the staple crop called maize or corn, the cultivated descendant of *teocentli*. Almost every community in those primitive days paid tribute to the life-giving crop by embodying its prayers for fertility in the figure of a maize or corn divinity.

As time went on, the cultivated areas grew into sprawling cities with busy marketplaces, bustling industries and a complex economic life. Where once there had been nothing but impenetrable jungle, there rose high above the swarming heads of toilers, massive structures for princes and priests. Elaborate rituals, based for the most part on the fertility rites of this agricultural people, developed side by side with the art of the potter and weaver. Architecture and handicrafts bound the communities into closely knit units, self-sufficient, unaware of similar cities and cultures which were arising elsewhere in the Mexican valley, in Central and South America.

The three major culture groups of Mexico, Central and South America were the Toltec-Aztec, the Maya and the Inca. While it was customary until not very long ago to look upon the works produced by the artisan-artists of these cultures as "primitive," since theirs do not for the most part correspond to the esthetic qualities which evolved in Western art, the past few decades have seen an ever-growing appreciation of the pottery, clay and stone sculpture, carved jades, tapestries, embroidered textiles and gold ornaments produced in various parts of the Americas.

In America no archeological objects of a pre-agricultural level of existence have as yet come to light. The earliest objects uncovered are assigned to a stage of social development called "archaic," from which period hand-molded clay figurines and vessels, primitive in style only, have come down to us. Most of these are nude female figures, with hands on breasts and hips (the ancient gesture of fertility goddesses), symbolizing the fertility of Mother Earth (Plate 731). Out of this dim anonymity arose the most brilliant ancient American culture, the Maya civilization, whose art traditions and moralities developed along lines not very different from our own, and whose mental stature may be judged by their remarkably accurate calendarial system.

At Tikal in Guatemala and at Copan in Honduras, among other cities, advancing out of the archaic plane, arose the Maya culture. The earliest dated object thus far unearthed in America bears a Maya date corresponding to the Christian year 158 A.D., which simply means that a highly advanced civilization utilizing well-organized astronomical studies and complex mathematical calculations was already in full progress. How long a time had elapsed before the Maya culture advanced to the level which finally produced a numbering and dating system? Perhaps five centuries, perhaps more, but these achievements have earned it recognition as the Greek civilization of the New World, displaying a classic grandeur, an irrepressible virility, a nobility of artistic perception and an intellectual curiosity which achieved their most brilliant expression during the Great Empire period, 300-600 A.D. We are nonetheless repelled, despite these accomplishments, by the religious practices of the Maya, including as they did the primitive ritual of human sacrifice; yet the sacrificial toll, if different in form and function, is to be found in every age and every

society, while the Maya at least succeeded in offering their members full participation in all communal affairs. At any rate, it appears as though nature had decided to experiment with a "check" culture, to secure, as it were, a sampling of what the course of Asiatic civilization would be like without the humanizing influence of great religious teachers like Buddha, Lao-tze, Confucius or Zoroaster.

Ruled by a despotic priest class, the civilization was based essentially on an agrarian economy; the teeming populations labored in settlements surrounding the all-important "city" or religious center whose imposing temples were erected on pyramid mounds. Colossal stairways stretching up the dizzy height of the building exterior invited worshipers and victims to a reeling atmosphere appropriate to the ritual of martyrdom. Carved in bas-relief stucco on the walls and columns of the temples were grotesque and mythological figures, personifications of natural forces: the gods of rain, wind or sun—dragon-headed or waving serpent arms, terrible in their wrath, ever prompt to vengeance, unless appeased. These strange shapes, half man, half reptile, mean little to us, even as early Christian iconography conveys little to the unversed; yet the pattern and composition, the purely decorative elements are superbly disposed, executed with a sensitivity and refinement that are revealed to us as we learn to see in terms of Maya religion and vision. Many sculptured heads are human in appearance, possessing an austere beauty of proportion and a sensitiveness in modeling which have rarely been surpassed (Plates 717, 718). The pottery can be delicately beautiful too, its incised figures freely traced with masterly sureness of hand (Plate 719); animal, reptile and human figures are powerfully imaged in polychrome, with intense realism, generally endowed with symbolic attributes.

But then abruptly, at the height of this brilliant career hewn out of the lusty jungle life at Copan, Piedras Negras and Palenque, the toiling Maya abandoned their proud cities, left their adobe homes and temples, their causeways and marketplaces to the rapid oblivion of the ever-encroaching jungle. Pressure of invading forces, pestilence, or revolt against an oppressive theocracy which imposed slave labor for the construction of religious edifices—any or all of these may have been the actual causes of this wholesale migration. At any rate, within a short space of years, toward the end of the seventh century, the milling populace had wholly deserted their city squares and in mass groups headed northward into Yucatan, settling on the arid rocky soil of the western regions.

Slowly a new empire of farmer-warriors, absorbed in their gods and taboos, rose out of the desert stretches; the eighth century A.D. saw fully developed cities with their inevitable temples of outdoor worship, reared on lofty pyramid mounds. But a long period of stress was to intervene once more and it was only upon their further migration up to Chichen Itza and Izamal that the "dark age" came to an end and a renaissance known as New Empire, extending from the tenth century to

the twelfth, got under way. In art, the earlier realism gave way to ornate geometric design. To the simpler structure of Old Empire art, elements of refinement and elaborateness were added. The familiar corbeled arch, the roof combs or crests—walls mounted on roof tops to add height and dignity to buildings—were fancifully decorated.

During the second half of the twelfth century a new capital at Mayapan served as the pivotal center of an alliance between the Maya cities and Uxmal, a Toltec colony in Yucatan, providing for once a salutary balance of power, and enabling these warlike cities to cultivate the peaceful arts. By the end of the century Chichen Itza had revolted, but having been subdued, it became the capital of a Toltec-Maya state, with the result that Maya art thereafter is colored by influences from the valley of Mexico.

The guiding force in the League of Mayapan seems to have been supplied by a Toltec leader named Quetzalcoatl, who came to be identified with the mythological Kukulcan or Feathered Serpent, a symbol of divinity which recurs as the most cherished motive in Maya art, conventionalized in scores of designs almost beyond recognition. The most potent name in ancient America, Quetzalcoatl appears historically to have been a kind of Renaissance figure compounded of artist, emperor, warrior, statesman and great teacher. Under his inspiration industrial arts and crafts, agricultural developments and social reforms were inaugurated. Deified as God of Winds, to this day Quetzalcoatl's name inspires a promise of human liberation and triumph. He serves as one of the most striking figures in Orozco's mural decorations at the Dartmouth College Library in New Hampshire.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century the Maya civilization had entered a stage of rapid decline. The renaissance impulse was now spent, and amidst ensuing quarrels between local chieftains, crop failures and epidemics, the once brilliant culture was perceptibly degenerating. Upon the arrival of the Spanish adventurers, attended by massacre, rape and wholesale pillage, the classic civilization of America fell apart. The archeological remains and the three extant codices or records which escaped Spanish flames, supplemented by the accounts of Spanish and later native chroniclers, have helped us to piece out the fragmentary story of Maya society. Today over half a million Maya in Yucatan and Huasteca shelter the flame of their ancient customs against the sweeping winds of European traditions.

Those tribes adjoining the Maya, from the Isthmus of Panama northwest into Mexico, who had been slower in emerging above the archaic horizon, borrowed heavily from Maya ideas of art and government. The Olmec peoples of Tabasco and Vera Cruz are very close to the archaic plane and perhaps more properly related to earliest Mexican culture. Here the ancient craftsmen used jade which they carved in the likeness of human figures.

The Zapotecan culture in the State of Oaxaca produced the monuments of

Monte Alban and the superb tripod pottery and urns of bluish clay which closely follow the Maya style. Among the most charming and easily the most amusing objects of ancient American art are the smiling and laughing faces of the Totonacs who occupied Vera Cruz just south of the Maya colony of Huasteca (Plate 728). Their art is related to both the Maya and Mexican styles, the most important objects being their magnificently carved "yokes" (for sacrificial victims?) and palmate stones revealing the most sensitive modeling on extremely hard stone, executed with only the crudest of tools (Plate 722). Both Totonac and Olmec art convey a "tantalizing suggestion of Chinese forms, an impression heightened by the skillful production of mongoloid features . . ." Grace and tranquil charm, plastic rhythm and use of psychological values place Totonac sculpture among the finest in the world. Gold work like that produced on the Isthmus, including Colombia, was of course the consuming motive for the Conquistadores who seized all gold work in sight and had it melted down, with the result that these beautifully shaped objects are quite rare today (Plates 726, 727, 729).

The second flowering civilization of pre-Columbian America—the Aztec in the highlands of Mexico—burgeoned out of a new rooting of nomadic tribes on the richly nurtured soil of their predecessors, the native Toltecs. One of the barbaric tribes that had wandered into Mexico, the Aztecs displayed their remarkable energies by subduing the natives and founding Tenochtitlan, ancient Mexico City, in the first half of the fourteenth century. By the time Cortez arrived a century and a half later, the glittering splendor of their tightly organized government and religion had spread through the valley of Mexico, accompanied by the most barbaric religious ceremonies, pageants and human sacrifice. In art, nevertheless, their divinities remain glamorous expressions of the folk ideal of beauty. Coatlicue, a clawed goddess with skirt of rattlesnakes, is a monstrous creature personifying natural forces such as Caliban might have worshiped; yet the artist has made the most admirable use of line and form, imparting emotion which may be recognized as awe-inspired fervor.

For the ancient Mexican artist, the visible world is only an external manifestation of powerful hidden forces. In his creation of idols he combines the disparate visible elements to reconstruct his own interpretation of unseen gods, giving always free play to his love of decoration. The eagle eye and the rattlesnake fang are both imposed upon a jaguar head to which perhaps are added the mighty clawed talons of a tiger—taken together these attributes conjure up visions of a goddess endowed with multiple powers—the incarnation of all the potent forces at work in the seen and unseen world. The Mexicans, says Roger Fry, have left us "more masterpieces of pure sculpture than the whole of Mesopotamia, or the majority of modern European civilizations." Aztec art, according to another critic, "rivals the sober and vigorous solidity of great Egyptian sculpture, which it surpasses in human intensity" (Plates 723, 724, 725).

The zeal with which the Aztecs built their reservoirs, canals, drawbridges,

temples and irrigated lands, was to be matched by the greed of the first Spaniards who touched upon their shores and gaped in awe as they saw the rich splendors and listened to descriptions of massive idols beaten out of solid gold.

No more fascinating account of a cultural cycle—the emergence and decline of a civilization—exists than that chapter of ancient America dealing with Peru. It is a story which has special significance for us, since the remarkable culture of these early inhabitants strongly persists today in the fusion of traditions which followed upon the second discovery of America by Columbus; moreover, our own invasion from Europe could hardly have prospered without the incentive and example provided by the industry and ingenuity of the old inhabitants of this continent.

Peruvian art had its source among the ancient peoples of the Andean region, covering the territory today occupied by Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and parts of Argentina and Chile. Three strips of sharply contrasting land areas run the narrow length of this portion of the continent: desert coastland on the west shore, jungle woodland along the middle portion, and lofty highland among the mountain ranges to the east. This difficult terrain was to be the seat of the mighty Peruvian empires and to witness the flowering of four separate major art cultures which overlapped in territorial limits and chronology.

Early Chimu culture on the northern half of the Peruvian coastland extended from an indeterminate period B.C. to roughly the middle of the first millennium A.D. Whether this culture developed out of the native stock of primitive peoples or whether the Chimu culture was brought in by migratory bands of victorious warriors who subdued the natives and imposed a more advanced civilization, is not yet known. For a period at any rate of some six centuries, the early Chimu culture flowered and produced large quantities of gold work and pottery on which the people recorded their lives and times. And it is by these vases that we know their civilization.

In a world full of portents and perils, of omens and nameless terrors, these early peoples struggled to cultivate the soil in the fertile valleys; they hunted deer and fished with nets in a never-ending chore to sustain life. Like the paleolithic hunter who could depict realistically the bison and reindeer on which he subsisted, the Chimu artist knew intimately the natural objects of land and sea which made up his daily life: the lobster, the duck, the frog, the berry sprig, the spider, the llama—these are faithfully rendered on his pottery, invested with color and disposed in symbolic contexts. On the other pots we find displayed the full panoply of war, padded cotton armor, shields, helmets, javelins and slings; these and the martial scenes so frequently represented in their art tell us how ever constant with them was the business and pleasure of battle. Many of the bottles are deftly sculptured into lifelike studies of chieftains and warriors, a virile, proud race of men who appear as leaders undaunted by inimical surroundings (Plate 732).

The special genius of the Chimu or Mochica lies in his remarkable feeling for

plastic form. Of his practical nature we have ample evidence in the extensive reservoirs and irrigation canals, traces of which still mark the ground today. His sports and rituals, his musical instruments and dances in brave costume and mask of bird or demon, his landscape views and domestic scenes common to a well-developed agrarian society—all these are revealed to us on the handsome pottery whose characteristic form is the stirrup handle and single upright spout.

During these five or six centuries we find flourishing along the southern half of the Peruvian coastland the Early Nazca culture, apparently an offshoot of Early Chimu civilization. Among these southern cousins, the Chimu's interest in plastic form is lacking; instead the emphasis is laid on color and design. Moreover, though the pottery, commonly double-spouted, reveals the same interest in natural objects and human-animal figures, these are stylized into symbolic patterns, "a record in pictures of the sayings of gods and of men, of the cries of the living to the dead, of prayers and incantations"; this complex demonology, in the opinion of some scholars, provides a clue to the terrors and dread omens that beset the daily lives of the Nazca people (Plate 735).

The Nazca and the neighboring Paracas folk appear to have attained ultimate gratification in weaving the spells of their cosmography into textiles which are today accounted among the most remarkable in the world (Plates 734, 736). On a simple loom consisting of a number of warp threads strung from a cross bar that dangled from the side wall of the weaver's hut, the native, with infinite patience and a manual dexterity which defies analysis or description, wove in wool on a cotton base exquisite fabrics and embroideries whose patterns of color and figured designs have never been surpassed.

By the seventh century A.D. a new art culture was to make its appearance in the Andean highlands. While the west coast Chimu and Nazca were producing their arts, the people of Tiahuanaco (in modern Bolivia), situated just south of Lake Titicaca, appear to have remained in a quiescent state of primitive existence. Gradually, during the preceding century, some sort of contact, whether through trade or warfare, seems to have been established, fusing the three cultures and producing a new art phase. The Tiahuanaco Empire, which soon spread its dominion over an area almost equal to that of Italy, lasted from the seventh to the tenth century. It brought to the conquered peoples a new theology, based on the idea of a benign Sky God, surely a blessed relief from the angry demons of the Chimu and Nazca spirit life.

The arts of the Tiahuanaco culture were largely devoted to the erection of monumental structures whose ruins are still part of the landscape today. Some scholars are of the opinion that the maturer arts of Chimu and Nazca were borrowed by the Tiahuanaco folk only to be further stylized; architectural carvings, embroideries, pottery, all show figures of men and animals, with appendages inter-

changed, rendered into completely conventionalized ornamentation. Subject matter is compressed into symmetrical patterns with realism of features reduced to a barely recognizable minimum, forever subject to the geometric arabesques in which the artist delighted (Plate 733). This sense of organization, the careful balance of quantity, may be construed as the expression of a people who possessed a well-organized social-political structure. Again in the Tiahuanaco period superb textiles demonstrating newly evolved techniques make their appearance, while advances are made over the Nazca embroideries, producing for the first time the Indian tapestry. "In tapestry," says an outstanding expert, "Peru reached its highest development. The harmony of color, the beauty and fastness of the dyes, the perfection of the spinning and weaving, place these fabrics in a class by themselves, not only as compared to other textiles of this land, but as regards those of any other land."

With the downfall of Tiahuanaco in the tenth century, resulting from war or pestilence, the old Chimu and Nazca people reasserted their earlier independence, but though they continued to produce noteworthy art, the late Chimu and late Nazca artists never recaptured the unalloyed freshness and vigor of their predecessors.

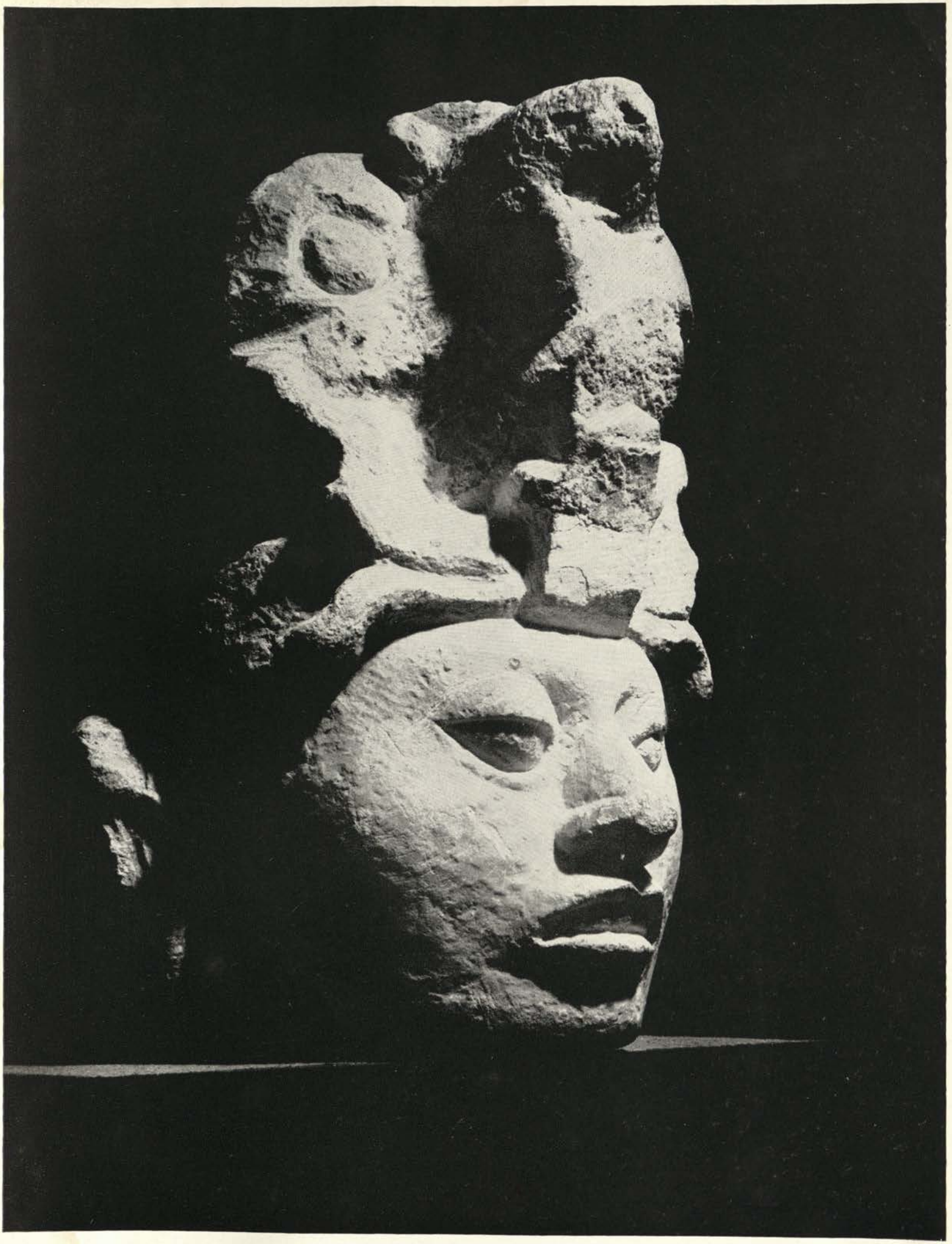
One of the most remarkable dynasties the world has ever known was that of the Inca of Peru, a family whose origins are variously and vaguely dated over a thousand-year span after the birth of Christ, for the family tree is rooted in folk tales echoing ancient legends. For the rest, since the Peruvians never developed a writing system as had the Maya, the Spanish chroniclers merely repeated the oral traditions. Beginning at least with the historical personage of the Inca Roca during the thirteenth century, we may discern the operation of a benevolent despotism flourishing in the Cuzco valley, a socialistic state with commonly owned storehouses of food divided between Church and state.

Vast reservoirs and suspension bridges, elaborate irrigation systems and miles of capacious aqueducts attest to the superb engineering skill of the Inca people; the scientific use of fertilizers, among other agricultural advances; the construction of imposing temples and palaces; the establishment of a national school to educate the ruling families; the paternalistic provision for every individual of a full measure of daily necessaries—these bespeak a rare intelligence among the ruling Incas. Moreover, as a policy of territorial aggrandizement the administration offered the annexed territory an opportunity for membership participation rather than subjugation. By diplomacy or, when necessary, by force of arms, the Incas absorbed region after region, in each case teaching the vanquished ruler the state religion, a form of pantheism, and restoring him to his former position among his people. The annexed territory became subject only to broad state and church regulations and a kind of federal tax. By the mid-fifteenth century the Incas had extended their dominion over a territory almost the length of our Atlantic coast states.

The ultimate downfall of this dazzling empire with the invasion of the Pizarro brothers and their band of marauding horsemen carrying fire-spitting instruments of death has been told with epic grandeur in that monument of American historical literature, William Hickling Prescott's "Conquest of Peru." The gold seekers destroyed the heathen civilization, seizing precious metals and jewels, melting down priceless works of art, burning all else in sight and slaughtering the barbarous sun worshipers, children of Inti.

Inca art is largely non-representational with figures completely conventionalized in geometric lines. Four figures which recur almost exclusively are the fish, the bird, the puma and man. To gold the Incas added silver and bronze, metals commonly recognized as products of well-advanced civilizations. Their textiles as well, rank with the finest produced in the world. The astonishing thing is that so civilized a nation (human sacrifice was not practiced here) should have progressed as it did without a system of writing—they had invented a clumsy method of reminders by means of knotted strings or quipus, which served for purposes of recording—nor the use of iron, nor the wheel.

Taken all in all, however, the lands to the south of us as well as our own are rich in Indian traditions which linger on and continue to exert a strong influence on our social fabric, while the art of these ancient people as well as of the North American Indian (Plates 737, 738, 739) has contributed enormously to the work of contemporary craftsmen and artists in both Americas.



Maya Culture, Great Empire Period, Honduras — *Stone Head*

Plate 717. MIDDLE AMERICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE, *Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana*

Maya Culture, Great Empire Period, Copan, Honduras

Mayan Divinity

Plate 718. AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, *New York City*

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Maya Culture, Yucatan, 800–1400

Vase with Engraved Design Representing a Jaguar

Plate 719

PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Maya Culture, Great Empire Period, Guatemala

Vase with Incised Figure of a Seated Warrior

Plate 720

ALBRIGHT ART GALLERY

Buffalo, New York

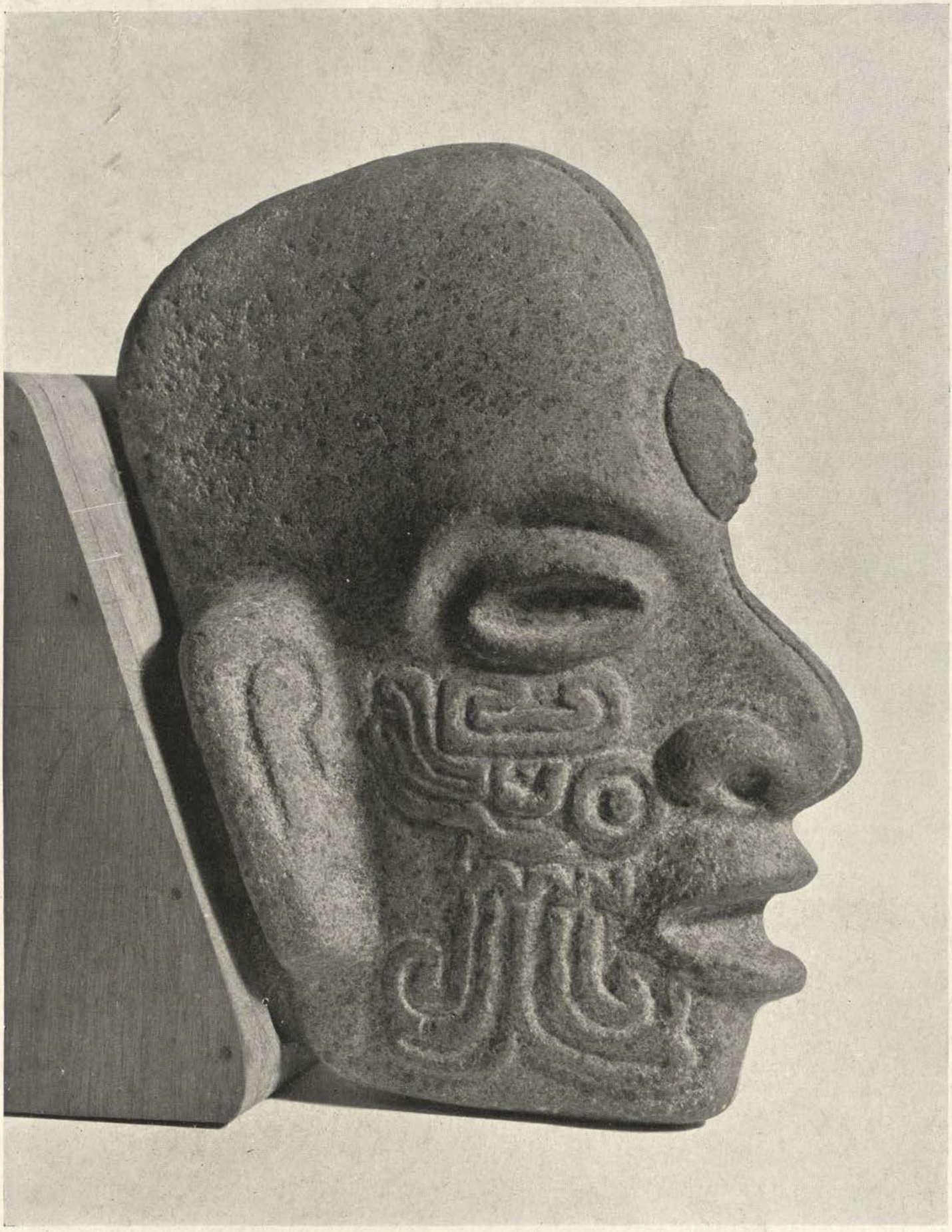
Maya Culture, Great Empire Period, Honduras

Sculptured Alabaster Vase. Jaguar Head Handles

Plate 721

MIDDLE AMERICAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana



Totonac Culture, Vera Cruz, Mexico, 800–1200 A.D.

Human Face with Tattooing. Axe-Shaped Stone. Architectural Decoration

Plate 722

CRANBROOK ACADEMY OF ART

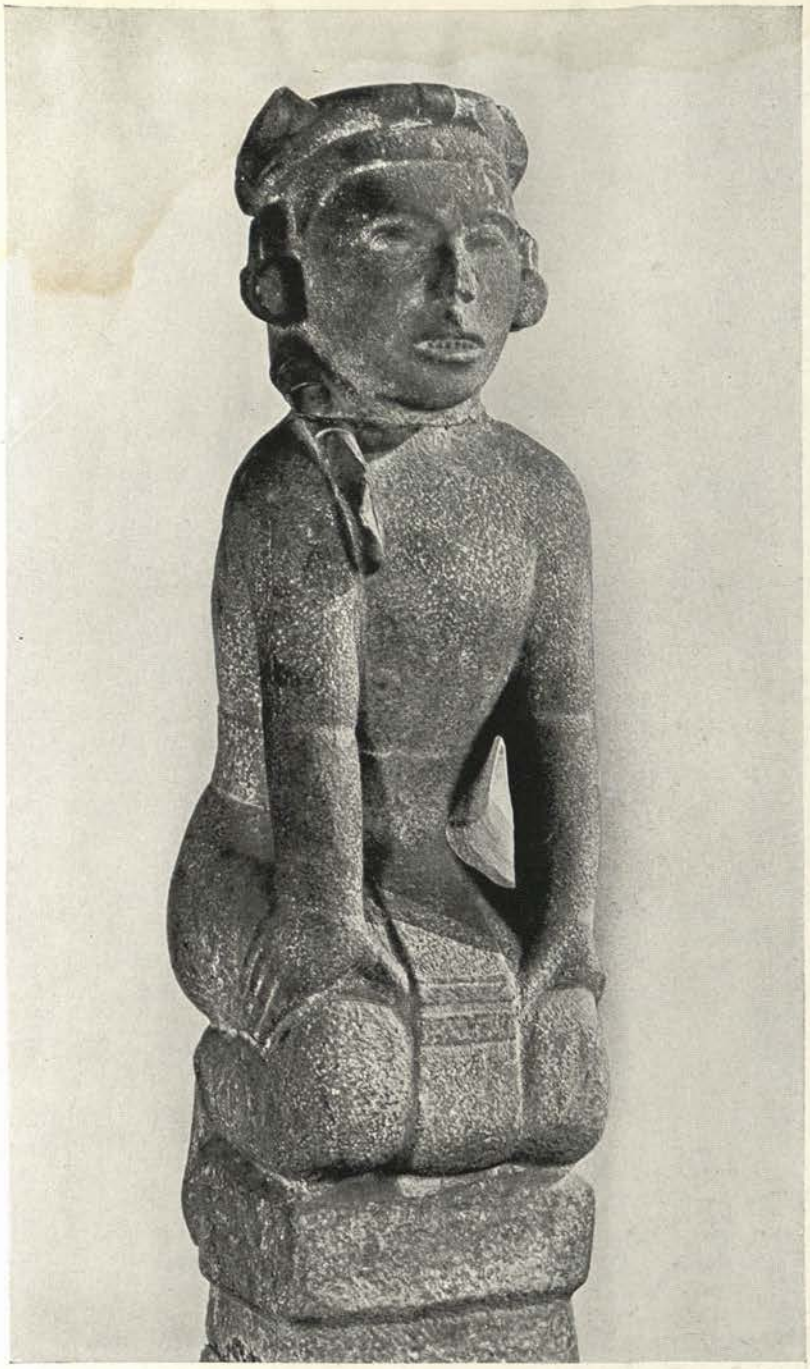
Bloomfield Hills, Michigan

Aztec Culture — *Mask Representing Goddess Coyolaxhqui. Jadeite*

Plate 723. PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Totonac Culture, Vera Cruz, Mexico — *Stone Disk*

Plate 724. AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, *New York City*



Huaxtec Culture,
Vera Cruz, Mexico

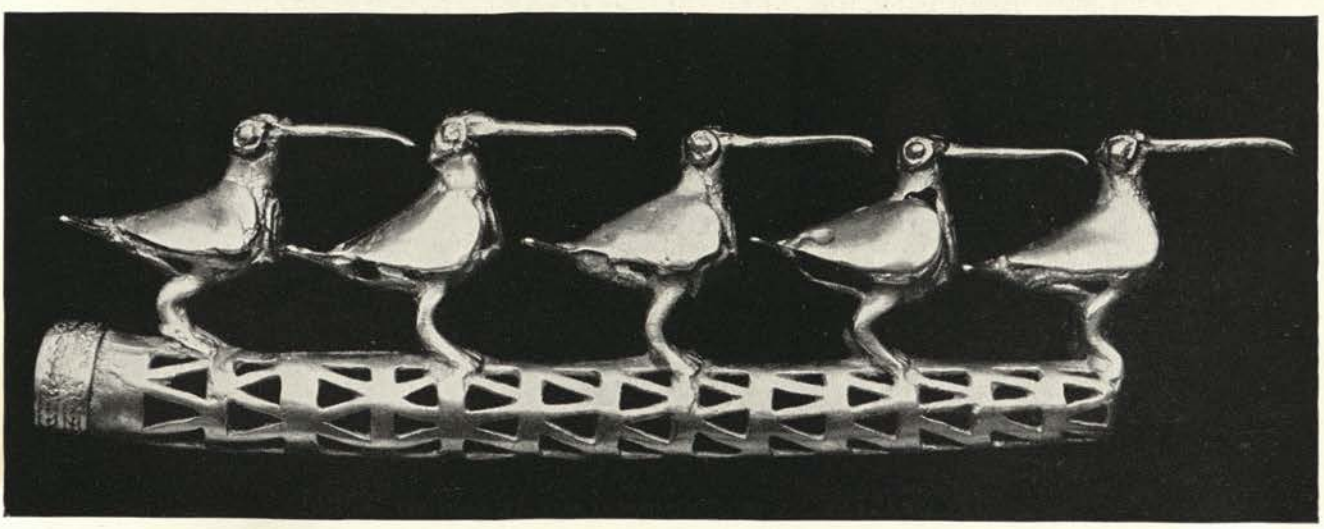
Seated Figure

Plate 725. AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, *New York City*

Quimbaya Culture,
Antioquia, Colombia

Nude Ceremonial
Figure Holding Flowers. Gold

Plate 726. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*



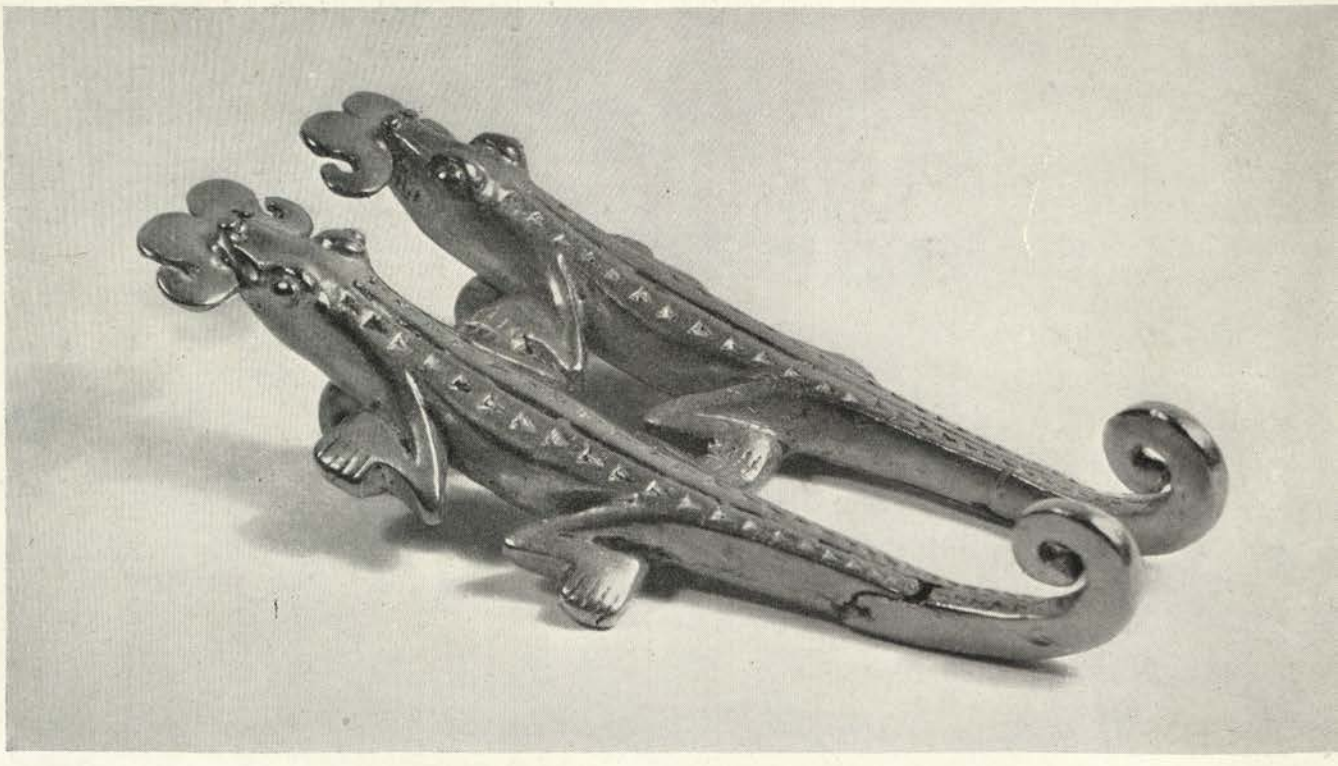
Monteria, Colombia

Staff Head with Birds. Gold

Plate 727. MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, *New York City*

Totonac Culture, Vera Cruz, Mexico *Laughing Head. Clay*

Plate 728. AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, *New York City*



Coclé, Panama *Twin Alligators Devouring Fish. Gold Pendant*

Plate 729. PEABODY MUSEUM OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*

Aztec Culture

Serpent. Polished Black Rock

Plate 730

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF MEXICO

Mexico City, Mexico

Huetar, Costa Rica. Archaic

Ceremonial Figurines Showing Fertility Goddess and Warriors with Captive Heads. Stone

Plate 731

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Peruvian, Early Chimu, ca. 1–500 A.D. *Portrait Vase*

Plate 732

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Peruvian, Tiahuanaco, ca. 600–900 A.D. *Decorated Bowl*

Plate 733

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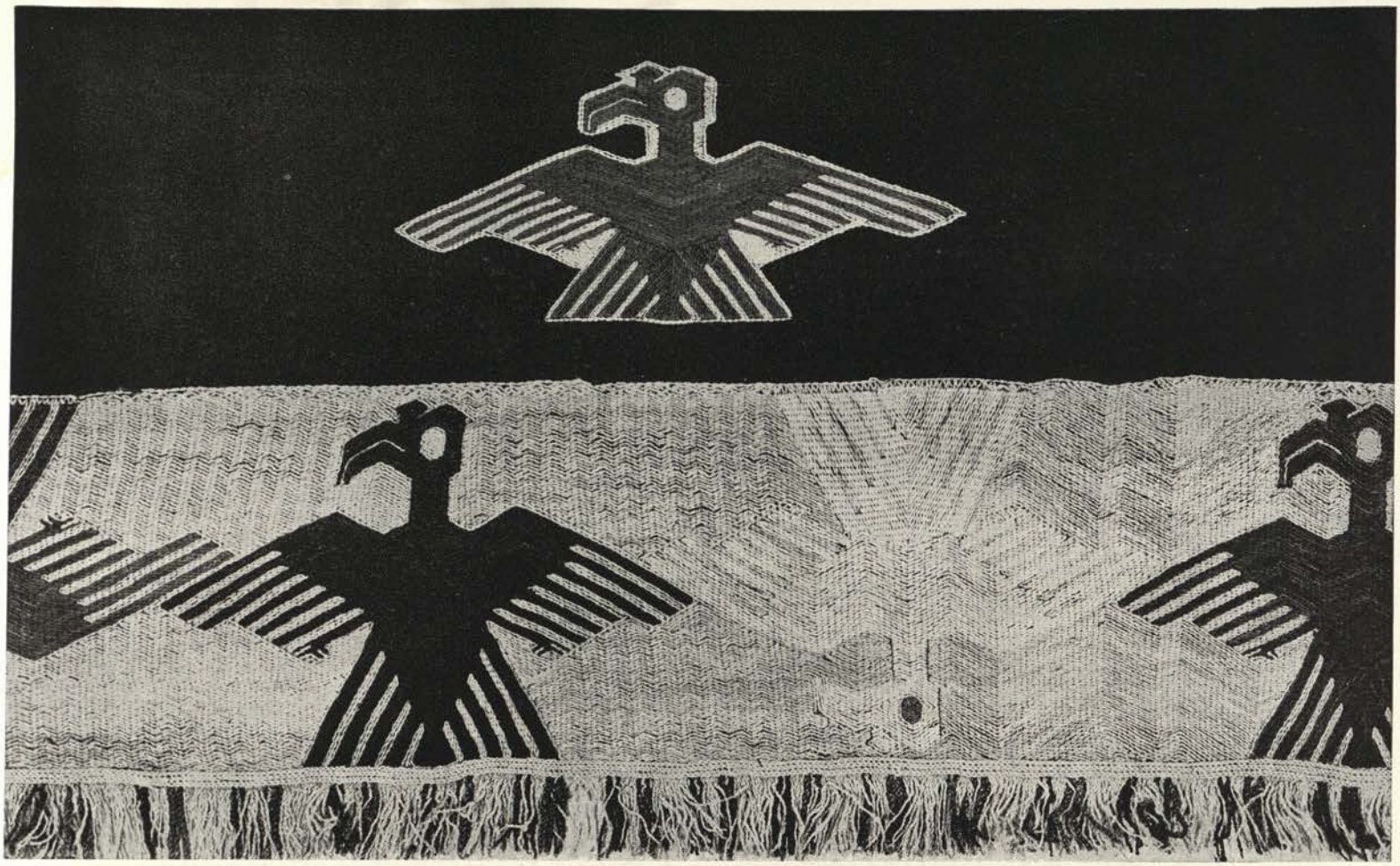
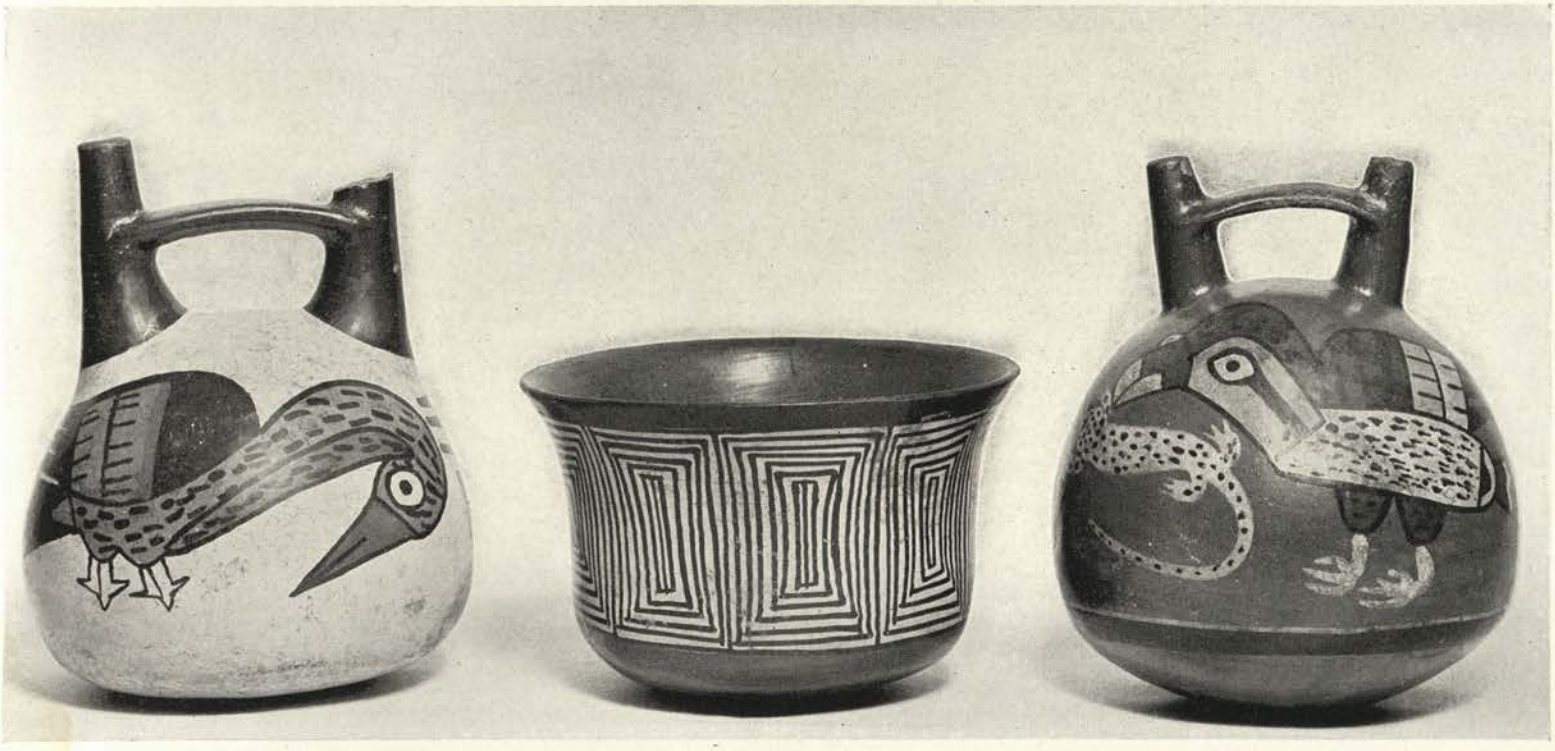


Peruvian, Paracas — *Blue Eagle Mantle. Textile*

Plate 734

BROOKLYN MUSEUM

Brooklyn, New York

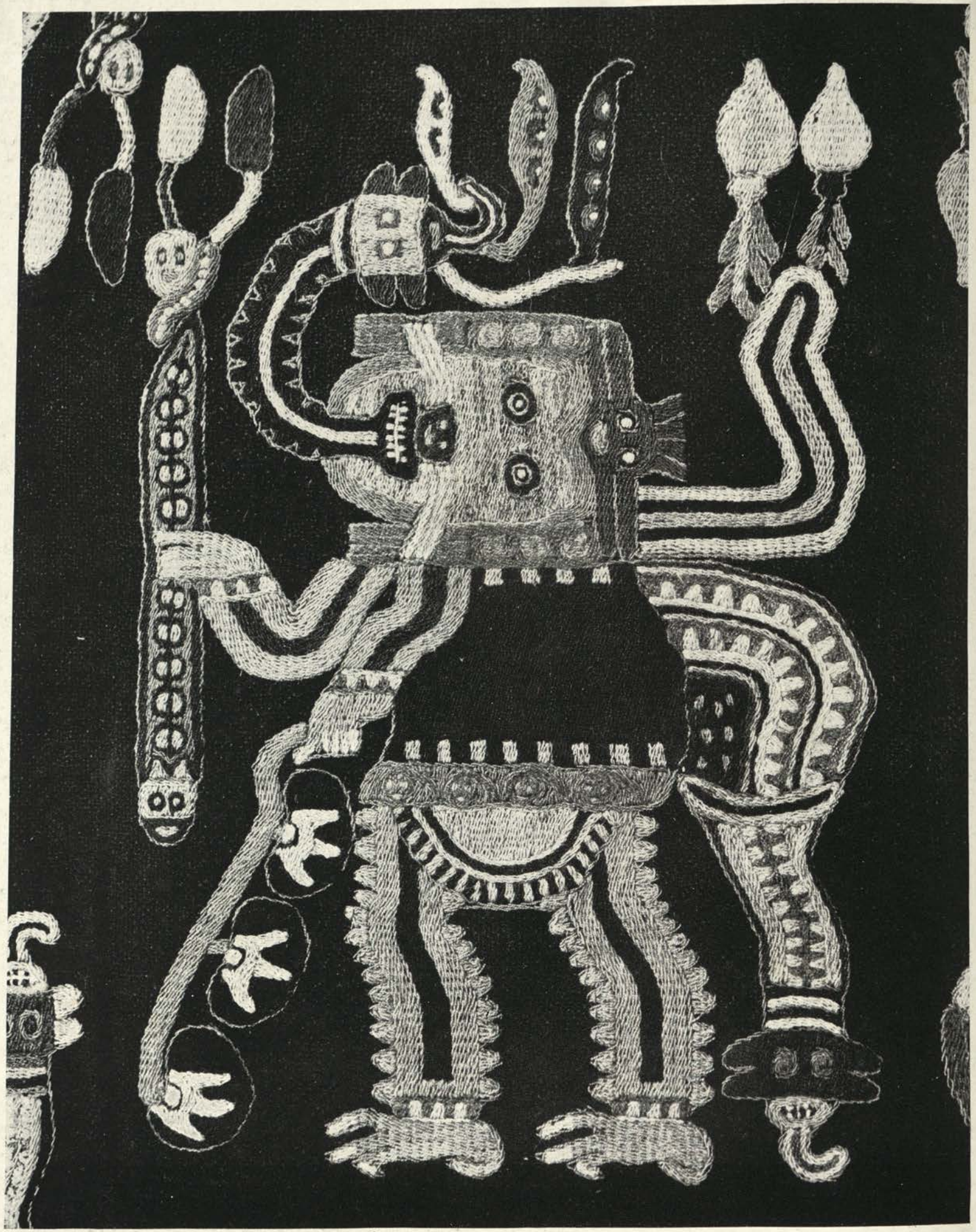


Peruvian, Early Nazca, 300–600 A.D. — *Decorated Pots*

Plate 735

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

Toronto, Canada



Peruvian, Early Nazca? Paracas *Textile. Detail*

Plate 736

RHODE ISLAND SCHOOL OF DESIGN MUSEUM

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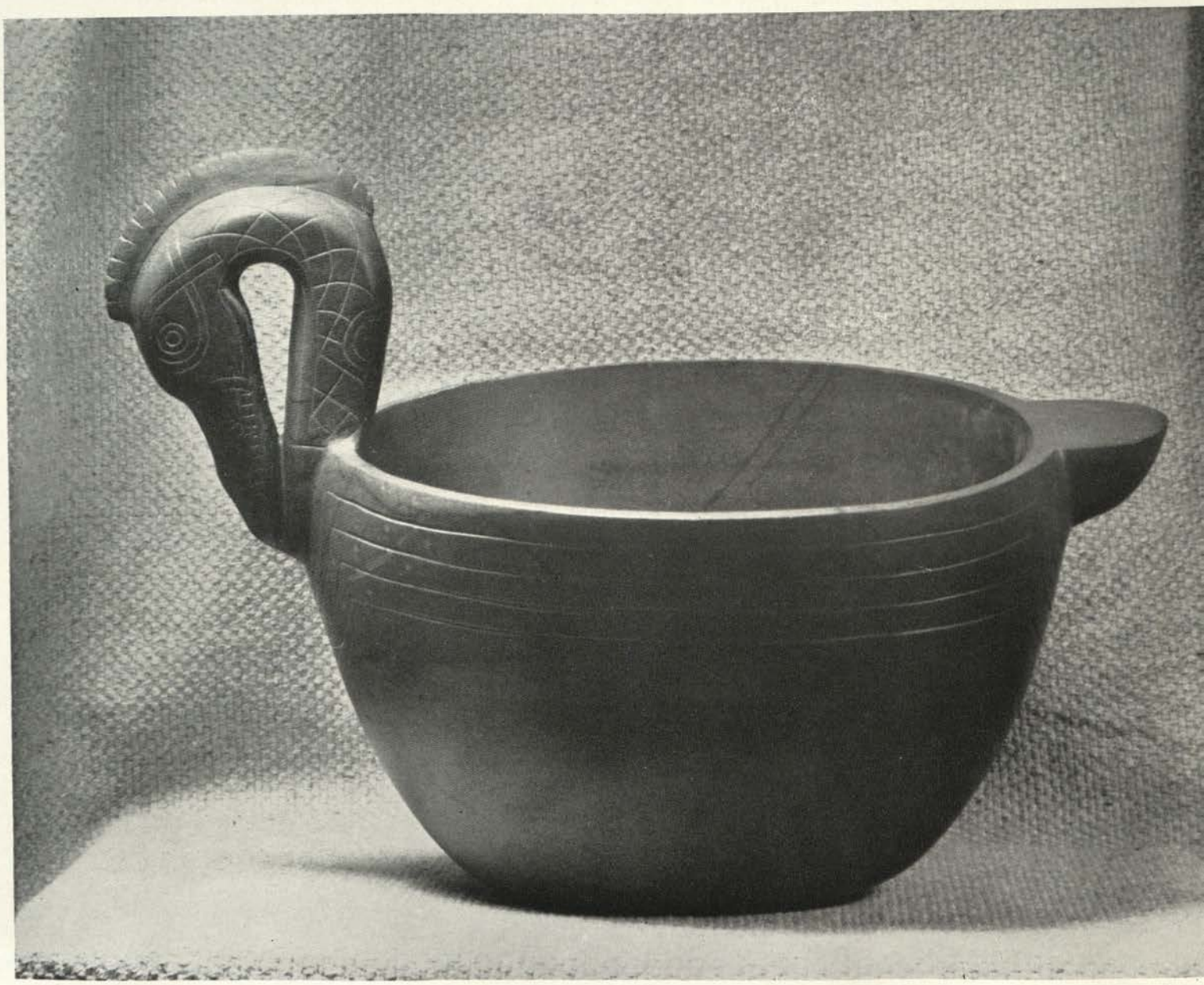
North American Indian — *Apache Bottle-Neck Basket. Background, Navajo Blanket*

Plate 737. DENVER ART MUSEUM, *Denver, Colorado*

North American Indian, White Mountain Apache — *Bowls and Jars*

Plate 738. UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, *Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*



North American Indian, Prehistoric, Alabama — *Diorite*

Plate 739. MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, *New York City*

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